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THE HISTORY OF THE POPES

DURING THE LAST FOUR CENTURIES

BY

LEOPOLD VON RANKE

VOL. II

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BOOK VI

INTERNAL CONFLICTS, DOCTRINAL AND POLITICAL

INTERNAL CONFLICTS, DOCTRINAL AND POLITICAL

1589–1607

The course now taken by the moral and intellectual development of the century was in a direction totally opposed to that which might have been expected from the characteristics of its commencement.

At that time the restraints of ecclesiastical authority were cast aside, the nations laboured to separate themselves from their common spiritual chief; in the court of Rome itself, those principles on which the hierarchy was founded were treated with ridicule and contumely; profane tastes predominated in literature and the arts, while the maxims of a pagan morality were acted on without reserve or concealment.

How entirely was all this now changed! It was in the name of religion that wars were now undertaken, conquests achieved, and states revolutionized. There has been no period in which theologians were more influential than at the close of the sixteenth century. They sat in the councils of kings, and discussed political affairs from the pulpit in the presence of the whole people,—they directed schools, controlled the efforts of learning, and governed the whole range of literature. From the confessional they gained opportunity for surprising the secret struggles of the soul with itself, and for giving the decisive bias to all the doubtful questions arising in private life. It may perhaps be affirmed that the eager violence with which they opposed each other, the fact that each of the two great divisions found its antagonist in its own body, was precisely the cause of that comprehensive and pervading influence.

And if this might be said of both parties, it was more particularly true of the Catholics. Among them the ideas and institutions, by which the minds of men are more immediately and effectually disciplined and guided, were arranged with the most perfect adaptation to the end proposed; no man could now exist without a father confessor. Among Catholics, moreover, the clergy, either as associates of some order, or in any case as members of the general hierarchy, constituted a corporation, combined in the strictest subordination, and acting in the most perfect unity of spirit. The head of this hierarchical body, the Pope of Rome, again acquired an influence but little inferior to that which he had possessed in the eleventh and twelfth centuries; by means of the enterprises which he was continually undertaking for the furtherance of his religious purposes, the Roman pontiff kept the world in perpetual movement.

Under these circumstances the boldest claims of the days of Hildebrand were revived,—axioms that had hitherto been preserved in the arsenals of the canon law, rather as antiquities than for use, were now brought forth into full effect and activity.

The European commonwealth has, however, at no time submitted to the dominion of pure force; at all periods it has been imbued by the effect of thought and opinion: no enterprise of importance can succeed, no power can rise into universal influence, without immediately suggesting to the minds of men the ideal of a forthcoming advancement of society. From this point proceed theories: these reproduce the moral import and significance of facts, which are then presented in the light of a universal and effectual truth, as deduced from reason or religion, and as a result arrived at by reflection. They thus anticipate, as it were, the completion of the event, which at the same time they most effectually promote.

Let us consider in what manner this took place at the period of which we are treating.

1. THEORY OF ECCLESIASTICAL POLICY

The principle of the Catholic religion is not unfrequently declared to have an especial connection with, and natural inclination towards, the monarchical or aristocratic forms of government. A century like the sixteenth, in which this principle displayed itself in vigorous action and full self-consciousness, is particularly competent to instruct us on this point. As the result of our examination, we shall find that the Catholic religion did, in fact, adhere to the existing order of things in Italy and Spain; that it further assisted the sovereign power in Germany to establish a new preponderance over the estates of the respective territories; in the Netherlands it promoted the subjugation of the country, and in Upper Germany, as well as in the Walloon provinces, it was upheld by the nobles with peculiar attachment. But if we inquire further, we shall perceive that these were not the only sympathies awakened by the Catholic religion. If we find it maintained by the patricians in Cologne, we see it supported with equal ardour by the populace in the neighbouring city of Trier. In the large towns of France it was in every case associated with the claims and struggles of the people. The principal consideration of Catholicism indeed was, where the best support, the most effectual resources were to be found. If the existing authorities were adverse to its influence, Catholicism was very far from sparing them, or even from acknowledging their power: it maintained the Irish nation in its hereditary opposition to the English government. In England itself, Catholicism laboured with its utmost force to undermine the allegiance demanded by the queen, and frequently broke out into active rebellion; finally, its adherents in France were confirmed by their religious advisers in their insurrection against their legitimate sovereigns. The religious principle, in general, has in fact no inherent predilection for one form of government more than another. During the short period of its revival, Catholicism evinced the most diversified preferences: first,

towards monarchy, for example, in Italy and Spain, and for the confirmation of territorial sovereignty in Germany; next, it lent itself in the Netherlands to the maintenance of the legally constituted aristocratic bodies, and at the close of the century it formed a decided alliance with the democratical tendency. This was the more important, because it now stood forth in the utmost plenitude of its activity, and the movements in which it took part represent the most influential political occurrences of the day. If the popes had succeeded at this juncture, they would have secured a perpetual predominance over the state. They advanced claims, and their adherents propounded opinions and principles, by which kingdoms and states were threatened at once with internal convulsions, and with the loss of their independence.

It was the Jesuits principally who appeared on the arena for the purpose of announcing and defending opinions of this character.

They first claimed for the Church an unlimited supremacy over the State.

They were compelled by a certain necessity to the discussion of this point in England, where the queen was declared head of the Church by the laws of the land. This declaration was met by the chiefs of the Catholic opposition with the most arrogant pretensions from the other side. William Allen maintained that it was not only the right, but the duty of a people, to refuse allegiance to a prince who had departed from the Catholic church, more especially when their refusal was further sanctioned by the commands of the pope.[1] Parsons declares it to be the primary condition of all power in a sovereign, that he should defend and cherish the Roman Catholic faith: he is bound to do this by his baptismal vows, and by his coronation-oath; if he refuse to fulfil these conditions, it is blindness to consider him as capable of reigning; it becomes, on the contrary,

[1] In the letter, Ad persecutores Anglos pro Christianis responsio (1582), I remark the following passage:—"Si reges Deo et Dei populo fidem datam fregerint, vicissim populo non solum permittitur, sed etiam ab eo requiritur ut jubente Christi vicario, supremo nimirum populorum omnium pastore, ipse quoque fidem datam tali principi non servet."

the duty of his subjects, in such a case, to expel him.[1] Such opinions are perfectly natural in these authors. They considered the exercise of religion to be the grand purpose and duty of life; they believed the Roman Catholic religion to be the only true one; they concluded that no authority, opposing itself to that religion, could be legitimate, and in consequence they make the existence of a government, and the allegiance accorded it, to depend on the application of its power for the benefit of the Roman Catholic church.

This was the general tenor of the doctrines now rising into acceptance. The assertions put forward in England during the heat of dispute were repeated by Cardinal Bellarmine from the solitude of his study, whence he sent them forth in ample treatises, and formed into an elaborate and well-connected system. He grounded his reasonings on the proposition that the pope is placed over the whole Church as its guardian and chief, by the immediate agency of God himself.[2] He is thus endowed with the fulness of spiritual power; to him it is granted that he cannot err; he judges all, and may be judged by no man; there accrues to him accordingly a large amount of secular authority. Bellarmine does not go so far as to attribute a secular power to the pope as of divine right,[3] although Sixtus V held this opinion, and was displeased to find it abandoned; but so much the more unhesitatingly does the cardinal

[1] Andreae Philopatri (Parsons) ad Elizabethae reginae edictum responsio, No. 162:—"Non tantum licet, sed summa etiam juris divini necessitate ac praecepto, imo conscientiae vinculo arctissimo et extremo animarum suarum periculo ac discrimine Christianis omnibus hoc ipsum incumbit, si praestare rem possunt." No. 163:—"Incumbit vero tum maxime . . . cum res jam ab ecclesia ac supremo ejus moderatore, pontifice nimirum Romano, judicata est: ad illum enim ex officio pertinet religionis ac divini cultus incolumitati prospicere et leprosos a mundis, ne inficiantur, secernere."

[2] Bellarminus, de conciliorum autoritate, c. 17: "Summus pontifex simpliciter et absolute est supra ecclesiam universam et supra concilium generale, ita ut nullum in terris supra se iudicium agnoscat."

[3] Bellarminus de Romano pontifice, v. vi.: "Asserimus, pontificem ut pontificem, etsi non habeat ullam meram temporalem potestatem, tamen habere in ordine ad bonum spirituale summam potestatem disponendi de temporalibus rebus omnium Christianorum."

invest him indirectly with this power. He compares the secular power to the body, and the spiritual to the soul of man; attributing to the Church a dominion over the State, similar to that which the soul exercises over the body. It is the right and the duty of the spiritual power to impose a curb on the temporal authority whenever the latter opposes an obstacle to the purposes of religion. It is not to be affirmed that the pope has claim to an immediate influence on the legislation of a state;[1] but if a law were required for the safety of souls, and the sovereign refused to proclaim it, or should a law be found injurious to the welfare of souls, and the sovereign persisted obstinately in maintaining it, then the pope has indubitably the right to enact the first and annul the second. With this principle he was enabled to proceed to great lengths; for does not the soul command even the death of the body when this becomes needful? As a general rule, the pope certainly cannot depose a prince, but should it become needful to the safety of souls, he then possesses the right of changing the government, and of transferring it from one person to another.[2]

But to these assertions there lay the manifest objection, that the sovereign authority was also based on divine right.

Or if not, then what was its origin, and wherein consisted its inherent import and sanction?

The Jesuits made no scruple of deriving the power of the prince from the people; they blended into one system their doctrine of the papal omnipotence with their theory of the sovereignty of the people. This opinion had already been

[1] Bellarminus de Romano pontifice, v. vi.: "Quantum ad personas, non potest papa ut papa ordinarie temporales principes deponere, etiam justa de causa, eo modo quo deponit episcopos, id est tanquam ordinarius judex: tamen potest mutare regna et uni auferre atque alteri conferre, tanquam summus princeps spiritualis, si id necessarium sit ad animarum salutem, etc."

[2] These doctrines are, in fact, nothing more than a revival of those held in the thirteenth century. Thomas Aquinas had already employed that comparison of the soul and body which here performs so conspicuous a part: ["Potestas secularis subditur spirituali sicut corpus animae"] In the Tractatus de potestate summi pontificis in rebus temporalibus adversus G. Barclaium, Bellarmine brings forward more than seventy writers of different countries, who regard the power of the pope in nearly the same light as himself.

expressed more or less explicitly by Allen and Parsons, and it formed the foundation of their tenets. Bellarmine laboured to establish it in its utmost extent. He considers that God has not bestowed the temporal power on any one man in particular. It follows, consequently, that he has confided it to the many. Hence the temporal authority resides with the people, and the people confide it sometimes to one, sometimes to many, but always retaining the power of altering the forms of government, of resuming the sovereignty, and of confiding it to new hands. Nor is it to be supposed that these views were peculiar to Bellarmine; they were, in fact, the doctrines prevalent in the Jesuit schools of that period. In a manual for confessors, which was disseminated throughout the Catholic world, and which had been revised by the Master of the Sacred Palace, (Magister Sacri Palatii,) the regal power is considered to be subject to the pope, not merely as regards the welfare of souls,[1] but also—and the assertion is made without ceremony—it is declared therein, that a sovereign may be deposed by the people for tyranny or neglect of his duties; and that another may be selected by the majority of the nation to fill his place.[2] Franciscus Suarez, primarius professor of theology at Coimbra, has made it his especial object, in his defence of the Catholic against the Anglican church, to expound and confirm the doctrines of Bellarmine.[3] But it is by Mariana that this idea of the sovereignty of the people is most fully elaborated. He has a manifest predilection for the subject, and setting forth all the questions that can arise on its different bearings,

[1] Aphorismi confessariorum ex doctorum sententiis collecti, autore Emanuele Sa, nuper accurate expurgati a rev^mo. P. M. sacri palatii, ed. Antv. p. 480. But the author adds, as though he had said too little: "Quidam tamen juris periti putarunt summum pontificem suprema civili potestate pollere."

[2] Ibid. p. 508 (ed. Colon. p. 313): "Rex potest per rempublicam privari ob tyrannidem, et si non faciat officium suum et cum est aliqua causa justa, et eligi potest alius a majore parte populi: quidam tamen solum tyrannidem causam putant."

[3] R. P. Franc. Suarez Granatensis, etc., Defensio fidei Catholicae et Apostolicae adversus Anglicanae sectae errores, lib. iii.; de summi pontificis supra temporales reges excellentia et potestate. It is very evident that Bellarmine's doctrine, of the right of the people to resume the power they had delegated, had excited especial opposition.

he decides them without reserve to the advantage of the people, and the prejudice of the princely authority. He has no doubt that a prince may be deposed, nay, put to death, in the event of his actions becoming prejudicial to religion. He pronounces on Jacques Clement, who first took counsel of divines, and then proceeded to assassinate his king, an eulogium replete with pathetic declamation.[1] In this he is at least entirely consistent. The fanaticism of the murderer had without doubt been inflamed by these very doctrines.

For they had, indeed, been nowhere propounded with such furious vehemence as in France. Any thing more anti-royalist than the diatribes thundered from the pulpit by Jean Boucher, it would be impossible to find. It is in the Estates that this preacher considers the public might and majesty to be deposited: to them he attributes the power to bind and to loose; the inalienable sovereignty; the right of jurisdiction over sceptre and realm—for in them is the origin and source of all power; the prince proceeds from the people—not of necessity, or by compulsion, but by free choice. He adopts the views of Bellarmine as to the connection between Church and State; and repeats the illustrative comparison of the body and soul. He declares the free choice of the people to be limited by one condition only: one thing alone is forbidden—to select a heretic as sovereign; by doing this, the people would draw down the curse of God on their heads.[2]

How extraordinary a combination of spiritual pretensions

[1] Mariana de rege et regis institutione. The following expressions are found among others: "Jac. Clemens . . . cognito a theologis, quos erat sciscitatus, tyrannum jure interimi posse . . . caeso rege ingens sibi nomen fecit."

[2] Jean Boucher, Sermons, Paris, 1594, in various places. The following words are found, p. 194: "L'église seigneurie les royaumes et estats de la chrestienté, non pour y usurper puissance directe comme sur son propre temporel, mais bien indirectement pour empescher que rien ne se passe au temporel qui soit au prejudice du royaume de Jesus Christ, comme par cy-devant il a esté declaré par la similitude de la puissance de l'esprit sur le corps." And further (p. 162): "La difference du prestre et du roi nous eclaircit cette matiere, le preste estant de Dieu seul, ce qui ne se peut dire du roi. Car si tous les rois estoient morts, les peuples s'en pourroient bien faire d'autres; mais s'il n'y avoit plus aucun prestre, il faudroit que Jesus Christ vinst en personne pour en faire de nouveaux."

and democratical ideas; of absolute freedom and complete subjection, contradictory in itself, and utterly anti-national; but which, nevertheless, enchained the minds of men as by an inexplicable spell.

The Sorbonne had, hitherto, defended the royal and national privileges with the utmost constancy against the pretensions of the ultra-montane priesthood. But when, after the assassination of the Guises, these tenets were preached from all the pulpits; when it was proclaimed through the streets, and represented by symbols on the altars and in processions, that Henry III had rendered himself unfit to wear the crown; "the good burghers and inhabitants of the city," as they called themselves, sought for aid, "in the scruples of their conscience," from the theological faculty of the University of Paris, desiring to receive from this body a valid decision in regard to the legitimacy of their opposition to their sovereign. The Sorbonne assembled accordingly on the 7th of January, 1589. Their decision is expressed as follows:—"After having heard the mature and unbiassed opinions of all the 'magistri;' after having examined many and various arguments, taken verbally, for the most part, from the Sacred Scriptures, the canon law, and papal ordinances, it has been declared by the dean of the faculty, without one dissenting voice;—first, that the people of this realm are absolved from the oath of allegiance and fidelity given by them to King Henry; further, that this people may combine together without scruple of conscience—may gather forces, arm themselves and collect money for the defence of the Roman Catholic and Apostolic religion against the abominable enterprises of the aforesaid king."[1] Seventy members of the faculty were assembled on this occasion; of these, the younger more particularly supported the resolutions with the most eager enthusiasm.[2]

The general assent with which these theories were

[1] Responsum facultatis theologicae Parisiensis, printed in the Additions au Journal de Henry III, vol. i. p. 317.

[2] Thuanus, lib. 94, p. 258, declares the number of those present to have been sixty only; and will not affirm their unanimity, although the document alluded to expressly says: "Audita omnium et singulorum magistrorum, qui ad septuaginta convenerant, deliberatione . . . conclusum est nemine refragante."

greeted, is, without doubt, principally attributable to their being at that moment the real expression of the facts—of the phenomena then passing before the eyes of the people. In the French troubles, an alliance had even been entered into between the ecclesiastical and popular oppositions; each advancing from its own side to a junction with the other. The citizens of Paris were confirmed and kept steady in their resistance to their lawful sovereign, by a legate from the pope. Bellarmine himself was, for a certain period, in the train of the legate. The doctrines which he had elaborated in his learned solitude, and which he had so successfully, and with so logical a consistency, promulgated, were now embodied and expressed in the event which he witnessed, and which, in some measure, he had contributed to produce.

The state of things here described was further promoted and favoured by the fact that Spain assented to these doctrines, and that they were tolerated by a prince so jealous of his power and prerogatives as was Philip II. The Spanish monarchy was, indeed, essentially based on a combination of ecclesiastical attributes. It may be gathered from many passages of Lope de Vega, that it was so understood by the nation, that, in their sovereign, the people loved the majesty of religion, and desired to see it represented in his person; but, in addition to this, comes the circumstance, that Philip was allied, for the furtherance of Catholic restoration, not with the priests only, but also with the revolted people. The inhabitants of Paris reposed a more entire confidence in him than in the French princes, who were chiefs of the League. The Spanish king had, besides, a new support in the doctrines of the Jesuits. At some future time, he might have something to fear from this society; but they now upheld his policy by a justification at once religious and legitimate, from which even his consideration and dignity in Spain itself derived important advantages, and which eminently promoted the opening of his path to foreign enterprises. It was to this momentary utility of the Jesuit doctrines, rather than to their general purport and tendency, that Philip of Spain gave his attention.[1]

[1] Pedro Ribadeneira, in his book against Machiavelli, which was completed and presented to the prince of Spain as early as 1595,

And is not this usually the case with regard to political tenets? Do these tenets arise out of the facts, or are they the originators and creators of events? Are they cherished for their own sakes, or for the utility to which men believe they may be turned?

2. CONFLICT OF OPINIONS

At no time, however, has either a power or a doctrine, least of all a political doctrine, gained pre-eminence in Europe to the extent of obtaining an absolute and undivided sovereignty.

We cannot indeed conceive of any, which, when compared with the ideal, and with the highest demands of the human mind, shall not appear contracted, partial, and insufficient.

A firm resistance has at all times arisen against every opinion that has laboured to obtain exclusive domination, and this antagonism proceeding from the inexhaustible depths of human life in its congregated masses, has invariably called new and vigorous energies into action.

Perceiving and acknowledging that no power will rise into effectual existence which does not repose on the basis of opinion, we may further assert that in opinion it also finds its limits; that conflicts of ideas by which great social results are elaborated, have invariably their completion also in the regions of thought and of conviction.

Thus it now happened that the idea of a sacerdotal religion, supreme over all other authority, was encountered by a mighty opposition from that national independence

repeated them, in a moderated form it is true, still he did repeat them. Tratado de la religion y virtudes que deve tener el principe Christiano para governar y conservar sus estados, contra lo que Nicolo Machiavello y los politicos d'este tiempo enseñan. Anveres, 1597. He considers princes as servants of the Church, and not her judges; they are armed to punish heretics and other enemies and rebels to the Church, but not to give her laws, or to expound the will of God. He repeats the comparison of body and soul. The kingdom of the earth, as St. Gregory declares, must remain subjected to the kingdom of heaven.

which is the proper expression of the secular element in society.

The Germanic institution of monarchy, widely diffused among the nations of Romance or Latin origin, and deeply rooted among them, has never been disturbed either by the pretensions of the priesthood or by the fiction of the sovereignty of the people, which last has in all cases been eventually proved untenable.

The extraordinary connection into which these two principles had entered at the period we are considering, was opposed by the doctrine of the divine right of monarchy.

It was next assailed by the Protestants, who appear to have been for some time wavering, with all the zealous eagerness of an adversary, who sees his opponent venture on a dangerous game, and attempting a path that must lead him to ruin.

God alone, as the Protestants maintained, appoints princes over the human race; he reserves to himself the office of exalting and abasing them; of apportioning and moderating the powers they are called on to exercise. It is true that he no longer descends from heaven to point out with a visible finger the individual to whom authority shall belong, but by his eternal providence, laws and a settled order of things have been introduced into every kingdom, in accordance with which the ruler is chosen. If a prince attain the command by virtue of these appointed regulations, his right is unquestionable, as though God's voice had said, "This shall be your king." God did indeed of old point out to his people, Moses, the Judges, and the first Kings; but when a fixed order had once been established, those who afterwards succeeded to the throne were equally with them the anointed of God.[1]

From these principles the Protestants deduced the consequence, that obedience is due even to unjust and culpable princes. They argued that, no man being perfect, so, if it

[1] "Explicatio controversiarum quae a nonnullis moventur ex Henrici Borbonii regis in regnum Franciae constitutione . . . . opus . . . . a Tossano Bercheto Lingonensi e Gallico in Latinum sermonem conversum." Sedani, 1590, cap. 2.

were once permitted to depart from the ordinance of God, men would avail themselves of the slightest defects as a pretext for their deposition of a sovereign. They maintain that even heresy in the monarch did not suffice to absolve his subjects entirely from their allegiance. An impious father was not indeed entitled to obedience from his son, when his commands were in contravention of God's law; but, on all other occasions, the son remains bound to pay him reverence and to continue in subjection.

The effect would have been of much importance, had the Protestants alone devised and firmly upheld these opinions; but they became of infinitely greater moment from the fact that they gained acceptance with a part of the French Catholics, or rather, that these last arrived at similar conclusions by their own unbiassed reflections.

In spite of the papal excommunication, a band of good Catholics, of no inconsiderable numbers, maintained their allegiance to Henry III, and, on his death, transferred it to Henry IV. The Jesuits failed to influence this party, which was at no loss for arguments to defend the position it had taken up, without, on that account, departing from Catholicism.

In the first instance, its members laboured to define the authority of the clergy and its relation to the secular power, from an opposite point of view to that adopted by the other side. They maintained that the spiritual kingdom is not of this world, and that the power of the clergy relates to spiritual things only; it followed that excommunication, by its very nature, affected the participation in spiritual benefits only, and could in no case deprive a man of his temporal rights. In the case of a king of France, they further declared that he could not even be excluded from the communion of the Church, for this was among the rights that were inalienable from "the banner of the lilies;" how much less allowable, then, is the attempt to deprive him of his inheritance! And where does it stand clearly written that subjects may rebel against their king and resort to arms against him? God has appointed him; therefore it is that he calls himself king by the grace of God. There is but one case in which a subject may lawfully refuse him obedience; namely, if he should command

anything running counter to the laws of God.[1] From this doctrine of divine right, they then concluded that it was not only lawful for them to acknowledge a Protestant king, but even their duty to do so. Such as God has given the king, so must the subject accept him; to obey him is the command of God; no ground can exist that should justify depriving a sovereign of his right.[2] They further declared that their decision was that most advantageous to the Catholic cause: they maintained that Henry IV was judicious, mild, and just; that nothing but good was to be expected from him. Should he be rejected, inferior pretenders to power would rise on every side, and, in the universal discord that would ensue, the Protestant party would find means to acquire complete predominance.[3]

Thus there arose within the bosom of Catholicism itself an opposition to those pretensions which the papacy had been emboldened, by the revival, to put forth; and from the very first it was doubtful whether power would be found in Rome for its suppression. The tenets maintained by this party were not, perhaps, entirely matured; their defenders were less practised than those of the Jesuit pretensions, but they were firmly rooted in the convictions of the European world; the position assumed by those upholding them was in itself entirely just and blameless, and they derived an important advantage from the fact that the papal doctrines were in close alliance with the Spanish power.

The sovereignty of Philip II seemed daily to become more perilous to the general freedom; it awakened throughout Europe that jealous aversion, which proceeds less from the acts of violence committed, than from the apprehension of such violence, and from that sense of danger to freedom which seizes on the minds of men, although they cannot clearly account to themselves for its presence.

So intimate a connection now existed between Rome

[1] I here follow an extract from an anonymous writing which appeared at Paris, in 1588, and which I find in Cayet: Collection universelle des mémoires, vol. lvi. p. 44.

[2] Etienne Pasquier: Recherches de France, pp. 341, 344.

[3] Exposition in Thuanus, lib. xcvii. p. 316: "Sectarios dissoluto imperio et singulis regni partibus a reliquo corpore divisis, potentiores fore."

and Spain, that the opponents of the papal claims were also antagonists to the progress of the Spanish power: they hereby performed an office now become needful to the safety of Europe, and could thus not fail of obtaining approbation and support. A secret sympathy united the nations; determined allies arose unsolicited and from unexpected quarters in aid of the national party of French Catholics; they appeared in Italy itself before the eyes of the pope, and first of all in Venice.

Some few years previously, in 1582, a change had taken place in Venice, which was effected silently, and was almost overlooked in the history of the republic, but was nevertheless of powerful influence. Up to that period, all affairs of moment had been confided to a few patricians—men advanced in years, who had been chosen from a small circle of families; but, at the time we are contemplating, a discontented majority in the senate, consisting principally of the younger members, had instituted a successful struggle for a share in the administration, to which they were beyond doubt entitled by the letter of the constitution.

It is true that even the previous government had ever maintained a zealous guard over the Venetian independence, and had sedulously asserted it on all occasions; but it had always coalesced, so far as was by any means practicable, in the views of the Church and of Spain. The new administration no longer adhered to this policy; they rather evinced an inclination, from the mere spirit of opposition, to throw difficulties in the path of those powers.

In this mode of proceeding, the interests of the Venetians were moreover nearly engaged.

For they remarked with displeasure, on the one hand, that the doctrine of papal omnipotence, and of the blind obedience due to the pontiff, was preached among them also; while, on the other, they anticipated the total destruction of the balance of power in Europe, should the Spaniards succeed in organizing a predominant influence in France. The liberties of Europe seemed hitherto secured by the hostility subsisting between those two countries.

It thus happened, that the course and results of events in France were observed with redoubled strength of interest;

and writings in defence of the royal prerogative were seized on with avidity. An extraordinary influence was exercised by a society of statesmen and men of letters, which assembled at the house of Andrea Morosini. Leonardo Donato and Niccolo Contarini, each of whom held afterwards the office of doge, were among its members, as was Domenico Molino, subsequently a leading ruler in the republic, Fra Paolo Sarpi, and other distinguished men: all these persons were then of an age at which men are best fitted, not only to assimilate new ideas, but also to retain them with tenacity, and carry them out to their consequences. They were all decided opponents of ecclesiastical pretensions, and of the Spanish ascendancy.[1] It must always be highly important to the construction and the efficiency of a political system, even when it is based on facts, that men of talent should be found to stand forward as representing it in their own persons, and that they should agree among each other to disseminate its principles, each in his own immediate circle. This is of increased importance in a republic.

Under these circumstances, men did not content themselves with mere thoughts and inclinations. The Venetians had felt confidence in Henry IV from the very commencement of his career; they had believed him capable of reviving the fortunes of France, and restoring the lost balance of power. They were bound by manifold obligations to the pope, who had excommunicated Henry, and were encompassed both on land and sea by the Spaniards, who desired to destroy that prince. The extent of their power was not such as to command great influence in the world, yet the Venetians were the first of all the Catholics who had courage to acknowledge Henry of Navarre as king of France. When his accession was notified to them by their ambassador Mocenigo, they at once empowered that functionary to

[1] In the anonymous Vita di Fra Paolo Sarpi (by Fra Fulgentio), p. 104, in Griselini's Memoirs of Fra Paolo, pp. 40, 78, and in various passages of Foscarini, we find notices of this *ridotto Mauroceno*. In addition to those before mentioned, Pietro and Giacopo Contarini, Giacopo Morosini, and Leonardo Mocenigo also belonged to it, though not attending so regularly as the first-named; as did likewise Antonio Quirini, Giacopo Marcello, Marino Zane, and Alessandro Malipiero, who, old as he was, constantly accompanied Fra Paolo home.

congratulate Henry on the occasion.[1] Their example did not fail to influence others. Although the Grand Duke Ferdinand of Tuscany had not courage for a public acknowledgment of the new sovereign, he nevertheless entered into relations of personal friendship with him.[2] The Protestant prince suddenly beheld himself surrounded by Catholic allies, — nay, received into their protection and shielded by them from the supreme head of their own Church.

At all times when an important decision is to be made, the public opinion of Europe is invariably declared in a manner that admits of no doubt. Fortunate is he on whose side it takes its stand. Thenceforth his undertakings are accomplished with greatly increased facility. This power now favoured the cause of Henry IV. The ideas connected with his name had scarcely found expression; they were nevertheless already so influential as to make it not altogether impossible that the papacy itself might be won over to their side.

3. LATTER TIMES OF SIXTUS V

We return once again to Sixtus V. His internal administration, and the part he took in the restoration of the Church, have already been considered: we will now give some few words to the description of his policy in general.

In doing this, we cannot fail to remark the extraordinary fact, that the inexorable justice exercised by this pontiff, the rigid system of finance that he established, and the close exactitude of his domestic economy, were accompanied by the most inexplicable disposition to political plans of fantastic extravagance.

What strange ideas were permitted to enter his head!

He flattered himself for a long time that his power would suffice to put an end to the Turkish empire. He formed

[1] Andreae Mauroceni Historiarum Venetarum, lib. xiii. p. 548.

[2] Galluzzi; Istoria del Granducato di Toscana, lib. v. (tom. v. p. 78).

relations in the East,—with the Persians, with certain Arab chiefs, and with the Druses. He fitted out galleys and hoped to obtain others from Spain and Tuscany. He fancied he should thus be enabled to co-operate by sea with Stephen Bathory, king of Poland, who was appointed to make the principal attack by land. For this undertaking, Sixtus hoped to combine all the forces of the north-east and south-west. He even persuaded himself that Russia would not only enter into alliance with the king of Poland, but would consent to subject herself to his command.

Another time he amused himself with the notion that he could make the conquest of Egypt, either by his own resources, or with the aid of Tuscany alone. On this hope he founded the most extensive designs: the formation of a passage to connect the Red Sea with the Mediterranean;[1] the restoration of commerce as pursued by the ancients, and the conquest of the Holy Sepulchre. But supposing these plans should be found not immediately practicable, might not an incursion at least be made into Syria, in order to have the tomb of the Saviour hewn out of the rock by skilful masters in their craft, and brought, carefully wrapt and protected, to Italy? He already entertained the hope of seeing this sanctuary, the most sacred in the world, erected in Montalto. Then would his native province, the March of Ancona, where the Holy House of Loreto was already placed, comprise within its limits both the birth-place and tomb of the Redeemer.

These were plans, or rather—for that word has too definite a meaning—these were fantasies, castles in the air, of the most extraordinary character. How flagrantly are these visions in disaccord with the stern reality, the rigid practical activity, earnestly pressing forward to its end, by which this pontiff was distinguished!

We may nevertheless be permitted to declare, that even

[1] Dispaccio Gritti, 23 Agosto, 1587: "(Il papa) entrò a parlar della fossa che li re dell' Egitto havevano fatta per passar del mare rosso nel mar mediterraneo" Sometimes he formed the project of attacking Egypt single-handed. "Scoprì la causa del desiderar danari per impiegarli in una armata che vorria far solo per l'impresa dell' Egitto e pagar quelle galee che ajutassero a far quella impresa."

these had their origin in the exuberance of thoughts too mighty for accomplishment.

The elevation of Rome into the acknowledged metropolis of Christendom, to which, after a certain lapse of years, all nations, even those of America, were to resort,—the conversion of ancient monuments into memorials of the subjugation of heathenism by the Christian faith,—the accumulation of a treasure, formed of money borrowed and paying interest, as a basis for the secular power of the papal states,—all these are purposes surpassing the limits of the practicable, which found their origin in the ardour of religious enthusiasm, but which were yet highly influential in determining the restless activity of this pontiff's character.

From youth upward, the life of man, active or passive, is but the reflection of his hopes and wishes. The present, if we may so speak, is compassed round by the future, and the soul resigns itself with unwearied constancy to anticipations of personal happiness. But as life advances, these desires and expectations become attached to more extensive interests; they aspire to the completion of some great object in science, in politics, in the more important general concerns of life; they expand, in a word, into cares for the universal interest. In the case of our Franciscan, the fascination and stimulus of personal hopes had been ever all the more powerful, because he had found himself engaged in a career which opened to him the most exalted prospects: they had accompanied him from step to step, and had sustained his spirit in the extremity of his obscure penury. He had eagerly seized on every word foreboding prosperity, had treasured it in the depths of his heart, and, in the anticipation of success, had connected with each some magnificent design suggested by monkish enthusiasm. At length his utmost hopes were realized; from a beginning the least auspicious, the most hopeless, he had risen to the highest dignity in Christendom,—a dignity of which, eminent as it was, he yet entertained a conception exaggerated beyond the reality. He believed himself immediately selected by a special providence for the realization of those ideas that floated before his imagination.

Even when arrived at the possession of supreme power, he retained the habit and faculty of discerning, amidst all the complexities of general politics, whatever opportunity might present itself for magnificent enterprises, and employed himself in projects for their execution. But to the charms of power and lasting renown he was profoundly sensible; hence in all his acts we descry an element of a strictly personal character predominant. The lustre surrounding himself he desired to see diffused over all immediately belonging to or connected with him, his family, his birth-place, his native province. This wish was nevertheless invariably subordinate to his interest in the general welfare of Catholic Christendom: his mind was ever accessible to the influence of grand and elevated ideas. A certain difference is, however, to be remarked. To one portion of his plans he could himself give effectual accomplishment; for the execution of the other, he was compelled to depend on external aid. As a consequence, we perceive that he applied himself to the first with the inexhaustible activity which results from conviction, enthusiasm, and ambition. With regard to the latter, on the contrary, he was by no means so earnest, whether because he was by nature distrustful, or because the chief part in the execution, and consequently in the gain and glory, had to be resigned to others. If we inquire what he really accomplished, towards the completion of his oriental projects, for example, we perceive that he did no more than form alliances, exchange letters, issue admonitions, and take similar steps,—all preliminary only. That any measures, effectively adapted to the end he proposed, were ever taken, we cannot perceive. He would form the plan with all the eagerness of an excitable imagination, but since he could not immediately proceed to action, and the accomplishment of the work lay in remote distance, his will was not efficiently exerted, the project by which he had perhaps been considerably occupied was suffered to fall into oblivion, while some other succeeded to its place.

At the moment now in question, the pope was absorbed by the grandest views connected with the undertaking against Henry IV. He anticipated a decisive victory for

strict Catholicism, and hoped to see the universal supremacy of the pontificate fully restored,—his whole life for the moment was engrossed by these prospects. He was persuaded that all the Catholic states were entirely agreed on this point, and would turn the whole force of their united powers against the Protestant who laid claim to the kingdom of France.

In this direction of his thoughts, and while thus ardently zealous, he was made acquainted with the fact that a Catholic power—one too with which he had believed himself on particularly good terms — Venice, namely — had offered congratulations to that very Protestant. He was profoundly afflicted by this proceeding. For a moment he attempted to restrain the republic from taking further steps; he entreated the Venetians to wait. Time, he assured them, brought forth marvellous fruits; he had himself learned from the good and venerable senators to permit their arrival at maturity.[1]

Notwithstanding this request, the republic persisted, and acknowledged De Maisse, the former ambassador of France, after he had received his new credentials as plenipotentiary of Henry IV. Hereupon the pope proceeded from exhortations to menaces. He declared that he should well know what it behoved him to do, and commanded that the old "monitoria" proclaimed against the Venetians in the time of Julius II should be sought out, and the formula of a new one prepared.

It was yet not without pain and deep regret that he did this; let us listen for a moment to the words of the pontiff, as uttered in conference with the ambassador, whom the Venetians sent to him on this occasion.

"To fall at variance with those whom we do not love," said the pope, "that is no such great misfortune; but with those whom one loves, that is indeed a sorrow. Yes! it will cause us much grief"—he laid his hand on his breast—"to break with Venice.

"But Venice has offended us. Navarre!"—it was thus he called Henry IV—"Navarre is a heretic, excommunicated

[1] 9th Sett. 1589: "Che per amor di Dio non si vada tanto avanti con questo Navarra; che si stia a veder, &c."

by the Holy See: and yet Venice, in defiance of all our remonstrances, has acknowledged him.

"Does the Signory make pretension to be the most sovereign power of the earth? Does it belong to Venice to give example to all the rest of the world? There is still a king of Spain,—there is still an Emperor.

"Has the republic any fear of Navarre? We will defend her, if it be necessary, with all our force,—we have nerve enough.

"Or does the republic propose to inflict some injury on us? God himself would be our defender.

"The republic should prize our friendship beyond that of Navarre; we can do more for her welfare.

"I beseech you to recall at least one step. The Catholic king has recalled many because we desired it; not from fear of us, for our strength, as compared with his, is but as a fly compared with an elephant; but he has done it from love, and because it was the pope who had spoken, the vicegerent of Christ, who prescribes the rule of faith to him, and to all others. Let the Signory do as much: they can easily find some expedient that shall serve as the pretext; that cannot be difficult for them, they have wise and aged men enough, every one of whom would be capable of governing a world." [1]

But so much was not said without eliciting a reply. The

[1] Dispaccio Donato, 25 Nov. 1589. The pope spake for so long a time, that the ambassadors said it would have taken them an hour and a half to read it before the senate, had they written it all down. Among other matters, he continually insisted on the effects of excommunication: "Tre sono stati scommunicati, il re passato, il principe di Condé, il re di Navarra. Due sono malamente morti, il terzo ci travaglia, e Dio per nostro esercitio lo mantiene; ma finirà anche esso e terminarà male: dubitiamo punto di lui.—2 Dec. Il papa publica un solennissimo giubileo per invitar ogn' uno a dover pregar S. Divina Ma. per la quiete et augumento della fede Cattolica." [Three have been excommunicated; the late king, the prince of Condé, and the king of Navarre. Two of them have met with an evil death, the third still vexes us; and God upholds him for the exercise of our faith; but he also will finish, and will come to a bad end: we need have no doubt concerning him.—2nd Dec. The pope published a most solemn jubilee, inviting all to supplicate the Divine Majesty for the peace and extension of the Catholic faith.] During this jubilee, Sixtus would see no one, "per viver a se stesso et a sue divotioni."

envoy extraordinary of the Venetians was Leonardo Donato, a member of the society we have described as assembled by Andrea Morosini. He was deeply imbued with the spirit of the ecclesiastical and political opposition, was a man of what would now be called the most consummate skill in diplomacy, and had already successfully conducted many difficult and delicate negotiations.

The various motives by which the Venetians were influenced could not well be set forth in Rome; Donato, therefore, gave prominence to those which the pope had in common with the republic, and which were consequently assured of finding acceptance with his holiness.

Was it not manifest, for example, that the Spanish predominance in the south of Europe became more decided, and more perilous from year to year? The pope felt this as deeply as any other Italian prince. He could take no step in Italy even at this time, without first obtaining the consent of Spain; what then would be the state of things when the Spaniards should have gained the mastery in France? On this consideration, then, on the necessity for maintaining the balance of power in Europe, and on the means by which it might be restored, Donato principally insisted. He laboured to prove that the republic, far from seeking to offend the pope, had rather arranged her policy with a view to defending and promoting the most important interests of the papal see.

The pope listened to his words, but appeared to be utterly immoveable, and by no means to be convinced. Donato resigned all hope of accomplishing any thing, and requested an audience of leave.[1] This he obtained on the 16th of December, 1589, when the pontiff assumed an appearance of intending to refuse him his blessing. Yet Sixtus was not so perfectly enslaved but that arguments of sound reason produced their effect. He was self-willed, imperious, and obstinate; yet his convictions were not altogether incapable of change: it was not impossible to lead him into new views of things, and he was in the main good-natured. Even while continuing the dispute, and stubbornly

[1] Dispaccio Donato: "Dopo si lungo negotio restando privo d'ogni speranza."

defending his position, he felt himself moved in his heart, and even convinced. In the midst of that audience he became suddenly mild and compliant. "He who has a colleague," he exclaimed, "has a master. I will speak to the congregation; I will tell them that I have been angry with you, but that you have overcome my resentment." They waited some days longer, when the pope declared that he could not approve what the republic had done, but he would refrain from adopting the measures he had contemplated against her. He gave Donato his blessing and embraced him.[1]

This may be called an almost insensible change of mere personal feeling. The most important results were, nevertheless, involved in it. The pope himself permitted the rigour with which he had persecuted the Protestant king to relax. Neither would he absolutely condemn the Catholic party attached to Henry, by which his former policy had been opposed. A first step is always important; because the whole tendency of the course pursued is involved in and determined by it. This was instantly perceived on the part of the opposition: it had originally sought only to exculpate itself; it now proceeded to attempt to convince and gain over the pope himself.

Monseigneur de Luxembourg soon after appeared in Italy, bearing a charge from the princes of the blood and Catholic peers attached to Henry IV. He was permitted to enter Rome, in January, 1590; and, in spite of the warning representations of the Spaniards, Sixtus granted him an audience. The envoy expatiated particularly on the personal qualities of Henry, placing his courage, magnanimity, and kindness of heart in the most brilliant light. The pope was quite enchanted with this description. "In good truth," he exclaimed, "it repents me that I have excommunicated him." Luxembourg declared that his lord and king would now render himself worthy of absolution; and, at the feet of his holiness, would return into the bosom of the Catholic church. "In that case," replied the pope, "I will embrace and console him."

[1] Dispaccio Donato: "Finalmente, inspirato dal Signor Dio, —— disse di contentarsene (to give them his blessing) e di essersi lasciato vincer da noi."

For already his imagination was powerfully excited, and he at once conceived the boldest hopes from these advances. He suffered himself to believe that the Protestants were prevented from returning to the Catholic church by political aversion to Spain, rather than by religious convictions in hostility with those of the Roman see; and thought he ought not to repel them. There was already an English ambassador in Rome—one from Saxony was announced. The pontiff was perfectly ready to hear them. "Would to God," he exclaimed, "they would all come to our feet!"[1]

The extent of the change that had taken place in the convictions of Sixtus V was made manifest by the mode of his proceeding towards Cardinal Morosini, his legate in France. The forbearance of this minister towards Henry III had, in earlier days, been reproved as a crime; and he had returned to Italy, labouring under his sovereign's displeasure. He was now brought into the Consistory by Cardinal Montalto, and Sixtus received him with the declaration that he rejoiced to see a cardinal of his own creation, as was Morosini, obtaining universal approbation.[2] He was invited to the table of Donna Camilla.

How greatly must this total change have astonished the strict Catholic world! The pope evinced a favourable disposition towards a Protestant whom he had himself excommunicated; and who, according to the ancient ordinances of the Church, had rendered himself incapable even of receiving absolution, by the commission of a double apostasy.

That from all this there should result a reaction, was in the nature of things. The party holding rigid Catholic

[1] Dispaccio Donato, 13 Genn. 1590. "Il papa biasima l'opinione de' cardinali e d'altri prelati che lo stimulano a dover licentiar esso signor de Lucenburg, e li accusa che vogliano farsi suo pedante (his prompter, as we should say), in quello che ha studiato tutto il tempo della vita sua. Soggiunse che haveria caro che la regina d'Inghilterra, il duca di Sassonia e tutti gli altri andassero a suoi piedi con bona dispositione: che dispiacerà a S. S^tà che andassero ad altri principi (catholics, of course) et havessero communicatione con loro, ma si consolava quando vadino a suoi piedi a dimandar perdono."

[2] Dispaccio, 3 Marzo: "Dice di consolarsi assai ch'egli soa creatura fusse di tutti tanto celebrato. Il cl^mo Morosini acquista molto honore e riputatione per la soa relatione delle cose di Francia."

opinions was not so entirely dependent on the pope as to make their opposing him out of the question ; and the Spanish power supplied them with a support of which they eagerly availed themselves.

The adherents of the League in France accused the pope of avarice. They asserted that he would not open his purse, but desired to retain all the money he had heaped up in the Castle of St. Angelo for his nephews and other connections. A Jesuit in Spain preached publicly on the deplorable condition of the Church. "It was not the republic of Venice only that favoured the heretics ; but—hush, hush," he said, placing his finger on his lips, "but even the pope himself." These words resounded through Italy. Sixtus V had become so sensitive on these subjects, that when the General of the Capuchins proclaimed an exhortation to general prayers, "to invoke the favour of God for the affairs of the Church," he considered this as a personal affront, and suspended the Capuchin.

Nor was the effect confined to mere hints and private complaints. On the 22nd of March, 1590, the Spanish ambassador appeared in the papal apartments to make a formal protest in the name of his sovereign against the proceedings of the pope.[1] There was an opinion, as these things shew us, more orthodox, more Catholic, than that of the pope himself. The Spanish ambassador now appeared in the palace to give this opinion effect and expression before the very face of the pontiff. It was an extraordinary

[1] The following questions were laid before the pontiff by the Spanish envoy so early as the 10th of March : "Li ha ricercato la risposta sopra le tre cose, cioè di licentiar Lucenburg, iscommunicar li cardinali et altri prelati che seguono il Navarra, e prometter di non habilitar mai esso Navarra alla successione della corona." [He demanded a reply as to three things ; that is, the dismissal of Luxembourg, the excommunication of the cardinals and other prelates adhering to Navarre ; and the assurance that he would never render this Navarre eligible to the crown of France.] He had besides given notice of a protest, whereupon the pope menaced him with excommunication : "Minaccia di iscommunicar quei e castigarli nella vita che ardiranno di tentar quanto egli li havea detto, cacciandolo inanzi e serrandogli in faccia la porta." [He threatens to excommunicate and inflict capital punishment on all who shall dare to attempt what he had intimated, driving him forth, and closing the door in his face.]

incident: the ambassador knelt on one knee and entreated his holiness for permission to execute the commands of his lord. The pope requested him to rise, saying it would be heresy to pursue the course he was contemplating against the vicar of Christ. The ambassador would not suffer himself to be disconcerted. "His holiness," he began, "ought to proclaim the excommunication of all adherents of the king of Navarre without distinction. His holiness should declare that Navarre was incapable of ascending the French throne under every circumstance and for all time. If this were not done, the Catholic king would abandon his allegiance to his holiness, for the majesty of Spain could not permit the cause of Christ to be brought to ruin."[1] Scarcely would the pope allow him to utter his protest to this extent; he exclaimed that this was not the business of the king. The ambassador rose, then knelt down again, resolved to continue. The pope called him a stone of offence and went away. But Olivarez was not yet content and would not permit himself to be baffled; he declared that he would and must complete his protest, should the pope condemn him to the loss of his head; he knew well that the king would avenge him and bestow the recompense of his fidelity on his children. Sixtus V, on the other hand, was violently enraged. He maintained that no prince on earth was empowered to dictate to the pope, who is appointed by God as the superior of every other sovereign; that the proceedings of the ambassador were positively sacrilegious; his instructions authorized him to make protestation only in the event of the pontiff's evincing indifference towards the cause of the League. How did he know that this was the case? Did the ambassador pretend to direct the steps of his holiness?

Catholicism in its genuine forms appeared now to have but one aim—one undivided opinion. It seemed in the road to victory, and on the very point of success; but there were

[1] "Che S. S^{a}. dichiari iscommunicati tutti quei che seguitano in Francia il Navarra e tutti gli altri che quovis modo li dessero ajuto, e che dichiari esso Navarra incapace perpetuamente alla corona di Francia: altramente che il re suo si leverà della obedienza della chiesa, e procurerà che non sia fatta ingiuria alla causa di Christo e che la pietà e la religione soa sia conosciuta."

formed unexpectedly within it two parties—two systems of opinion opposing each other politically and ecclesiastically; the one disposed to make aggressions, the other prepared for resistance. The struggle was commenced by each party exerting its utmost power in the effort to win over the head of the Church to its own side. The one already held possession of the pope, and now laboured to retain him by menaces, bitterness, and almost by force. Towards the other a secret feeling had disposed him at a very critical moment, and this now sought to secure him entirely for itself: attempts were made to allure him by promises; the most attractive prospects were displayed before him. For the decision of the contest, the question to which party the pontiff should attach himself, was one of the utmost importance.

The demeanour of this pope, so renowned for active energy and decision of character, was at that moment such as to fill us with amazement.

When letters arrived from Philip II, expressing the determination of that sovereign to uphold the rightful cause and support the League with all the force of his kingdom,—nay, with his own blood,—the pope was instantly full of zeal. Never would he expose himself, as he then declared, to the disgrace of not having opposed a heretic like Navarre.[1]

He was none the less soon afterwards perceived to incline towards the opposite side. When the difficulties in which the affairs of France involved him were represented to the pontiff, he exclaimed, that if Navarre were present, he would entreat him on his knees to become Catholic.

No prince was ever placed in a more extraordinary position with regard to his plenipotentiary than that occupied by Sixtus V in relation to his legate Gaetano, whom he had

[1] He declared, even in the Consistory, "di haver scritto al re con sua propria mano, che procurerà sempre con tutte le sue forze spirituali e temporali che mai riesca re di Francia alcuno che non sia di compita sodisfattione alla Sua Cattolica Maestà." So early as Jan. 1590, the ambassadors say that, in his negotiations, the pope speaks of his designs to one in one sense, and to another in a sense totally different: "il papa nelle trattationi parla con uno ad un modo con suoi disegni et ad un altro con altri (disegni)."

sent to France during the time of his most intimate alliance with the Spaniards. The pontiff had certainly not yet gone over to the side of the French, but his mind had been rendered irresolute, and he had been brought into a state of neutrality. Without the slightest regard to this change, the legate pursued his original instructions. When Henry IV besieged Paris after the victory of Ivry, it was from the papal legate that he experienced the most effectual resistance. In his presence it was that the magistrates and leaders of the people took an oath never to capitulate or make terms with Navarre. By the dignity attached to his spiritual office, and by a deportment remarkable for address and firmness, Gaetano succeeded in holding them to their engagements.[1]

It was, in fact, by the party attached to rigidly orthodox Catholicism that the superiority in strength was finally manifested.

Olivarez compelled the pope to dismiss Luxembourg, although under the pretext of a pilgrimage to Loreto. Sixtus had intended to select Monsignor Serafino, who was believed to hold French opinions, for a mission to France. Olivarez uttered loud complaints and threatened to appear no more at the audience; the pope replied that he might depart in God's name. Olivarez, nevertheless, eventually prevailed, and the mission of Serafino was laid aside. There is an invincible force in an orthodox opinion, adhered to with unflinching steadfastness, and more especially when it is advocated by a man of vigorous mind. Olivarez had the congregation which managed affairs connected with France, and which had been constituted in earlier times, in his favour. In July, 1590, in accordance with an earlier agreement, negotiations were entered into on the question of uniting the papal forces with the Spanish against Henry IV, who was then laying siege to Paris. It was the time when Alexander Farnese was preparing to lead his army, which had been tried in the Netherlands, across the French frontier. The number of troops which the pope would send to join him under the Duke of Urbino was settled,[2] and to friends who advised

[1] Discours véritable et notable du siège de la ville de Paris en l'an 1590, in Villeroy, Mémoires d'Estat, tom. ii. p. 417.

[2] The king was to furnish 20,000 foot soldiers and 3,000 cavalry;

him to remain neutral Sixtus replied that he must do something in the matter. The treaty was concluded after a warm exchange of opinions, but the pope then delayed the fulfilment of the contract. He demanded secure retreats for his army and an outspoken understanding on the subject with the Catholics.[1] Nevertheless, it must not be supposed that he had meanwhile abandoned the other party.

There was at the papal court, at this very moment, an agent from Lesdiguières, one of the leaders of the Huguenots, an envoy from the Landgrave, and an emissary from England. The imperial ambassador was further alarmed by the approach of the Saxon envoy, whose arrival was expected, and against whose suggestions, which he greatly dreaded, he was already seeking means of defence. The intrigues of Chancellor Crell extended their effect even to Rome.[2]

Thus did the powerful prince of the Church, the sovereign who lived in the persuasion that he was invested with a direct authority over the whole earth, and who had amassed a treasure that might well have enabled him to perform some mighty deed, remain undecided and incapable of action when the moment for decision had arrived.

the pope 15,000 infantry and 2,000 horse. "Li ambasciatori sollicitano con li cardinali la conclusione e sottoscrittione del capitolato." [The ambassadors pressed the cardinals for the conclusion and signing of the treaty.] (Disp. 14 July.) The pope proposed in the congregation the question: "An electio regis Franciae, vacante principe ex corpore sanguinis, spectet ad pontificem?" Esortato a star neutrale, laudando il consiglio risponde non poter restar a far qualche cosa. [Being exhorted to remain neutral, he commended that advice; but declared that he could not refrain from doing something.] (Disp. 28 July.) The despatch of the 21 July says, in the meantime: Laodigeres haveva mandato un suo huomo a trattar con S. S^a. il quale ha trattato lungamente seco. [Lesdiguières had sent one of his creatures to treat with his holiness, who talked with the same at great length.]

[1] Despatch of the Duke of Sessa, Aug. 7, 1590, to Philip II, in Hübner, Sixte-Quint III, 499.

[2] The fact that the imperial ambassador warned the pope against Saxon insinuation cannot otherwise be explained. "L'ambasciatore dell' imperatore prega il pontefice di non voler ascoltare quel huomo che vien detto esser mandato dal duca di Sassonia, in quello che fusse di pregiuditio del suo patron e della casa d'Austria: e così li vien promesso."

Ought we to reproach him with this as a fault? I fear that we should do him injustice. He had seen through the condition of things, he perceived the dangers on both sides, he suffered himself to be subjected to the influence of conflicting opinions. No crisis presented itself by which he might have been compelled to a final decision. The elements that were dividing the world had filled his very soul with the confusion of their conflict, and neither could there obtain the decisive mastery.

It is certain that by this irresolute state of his own spirit, he placed himself in a position wherein it was impossible that he should effectually influence the world. On the contrary, he was himself re-acted on by the forces then agitating society, and this effect was produced in a manner highly peculiar.

Sixtus had succeeded in suppressing the banditti, principally by establishing friendly relations with his neighbours. But since these were now interrupted—since opinions prevailed in Tuscany and Venice, which were altogether different from those held in Naples and Milan, and the pope would declare himself decidedly for neither, he became the object of suspicion, first to one and then to the other of these neighbours, and under favour of this state of things, the banditti once more aroused themselves to activity.

It was in April, 1590, that they appeared again, led by Sacripante in the Maremma, by Piccolomini in Romagna, and by Battistella in the Campagna of Rome. They were amply provided with money, and it is said that they were observed to disburse large numbers of Spanish doubloons. They found adherents principally among the Guelphs, and were already once more traversing the country in regularly organized bands, with banners flying and military music. Nor were the papal troops by any means disposed to offer them battle.[1] This state of things produced an immediate effect on all the relations of the country. The people of Bologna opposed themselves to the pope's intention of

[1] Desp. 21 July: "I fuorusciti corrono fino su le porte di Roma." [The outlaws commit their ravages up to the very gates of Rome.] The despatches of the 17th of March, 7th and 28th of April, 12th of May, and 2nd of June contain details of these disorders.

adding to the senators of their city with a boldness and independence of action long unthought of.

In this condition, surrounded by so many pressing disquietudes, and without having even attempted to announce a decision, or to adopt a resolution concerning the most important affairs, Pope Sixtus V died, on the 27th of August, 1590.

A storm burst over the Quirinal at the moment when he breathed his last. The ill-taught multitude persuaded themselves that Fra Felice had made a compact with the evil spirit, by whose aid he had risen from step to step, and that the stipulated period having now expired, his soul had been carried away in the tempest. It was in this manner that they signified their discontent at the number of new taxes he had imposed, and expressed those doubts of his perfect orthodoxy which had for some years been frequently agitated. With impetuous fury they tore down the statues that had been erected in his earlier days, and even came to a resolution in the Capitol, that no statue should ever again be erected to a pontiff during his lifetime.

4. URBAN VII, GREGORY XIV, INNOCENT IX, AND THEIR CONCLAVES, 1590–1591

The new election was now of redoubled importance. To which of the two principles just commencing their contest the pontiff about to be chosen should attach himself, must principally depend on the personal dispositions of the man selected; and it could not be doubted that his decision would involve consequences which must influence the whole world. The tumult and intriguing strife of the conclave hence assume peculiar importance, and require us to devote a few words to their consideration.

During the first half of the sixteenth century, the college of cardinals was powerfully influenced either by the imperial faction, or by that of France. It was even remarked by one of the popes, that the cardinals no longer possessed any freedom of election. But from the middle of the century,

the influence thus exerted by foreign powers had materially declined. The Curia was left much more to its own decisions; and there arose, from the ferment of its internal agitations, a principle or custom of very singular character.

It was the habit of each pontiff to nominate a number of cardinals, who gathered round his nephews and kinsmen in the next conclave, maintained the family interests of the pope just deceased, formed a new power, and usually sought to raise one of their own party to the papal throne. It is a remarkable fact that they never succeeded, that the opposition was victorious on every occasion, and in most cases put forward an adversary of the last pope.

I will not attempt any close investigation of this matter. We have testimonies relating to these elections that are not altogether unworthy of credit; but it would be impossible to gain correct and clear views of the personal relations and motives really in action on these occasions: our best efforts could but result in the production of mere shadows.

It must suffice that we direct attention to the principle. At the period in question, the pontiff elected was invariably the antagonist, and never the adherent of the pope preceding; he was the creature, that is to say, of the last but one. Paul IV was thus advanced to the papal see by the creatures of Paul III, while Pius IV was elected by the enemies of Paul IV and the Caraffa family. Borromeo, the nephew of Pius IV, was sufficiently disinterested to give his support to a man of the party opposed to his own, because he considered him to be the most pious and best fitted; but he did this in the face of earnest remonstrance from the creatures of his uncle, who, as the report informs us, could scarcely believe that they saw what they saw, or did what they did;[1] and accordingly they sought to turn their compliance to account on the next occasion. They endeavoured to make this custom a fixed precedent, to give it the force of an established rule; and the successor of Pius V was in fact selected from the creatures of Pius IV. A similar practice prevailed at the election of Sixtus V, who was elevated from among the adversaries of his predecessor, Gregory XIII.

[1] See Appendix, No. 63.

We are, therefore, not to be surprised at constantly finding men of opposite characters successively occupying the papal throne. Each faction was alternately driven from its place by the other.

In virtue of this mode of succession, the opponents of Sixtus V, especially those of his later policy, found a cheering prospect opened before them. Sixtus had raised his nephew to great power, and Montalto now entered the conclave with a train of cardinals devoted to his interests, as numerous as any that had appeared on previous occasions. He was nevertheless compelled to give way. The creatures of Gregory succeeded in electing an opponent of the late pontiff, one who had indeed been especially offended by Sixtus, and was unequivocally attached to the Spanish interests; this was Giovanni Battista Castagna, Urban VII.[1]

But they were not fortunate in their choice. Urban VII died before he had been crowned, before he had nominated a single prelate, and when he had worn the tiara twelve days only; the contest of election had consequently to be opened anew.

It was decided by the fact that the Spaniards again took the most earnest part in its proceedings. They saw clearly the great importance of the result as regarded the affairs of France, and King Philip resolved on a step for which he was reproached in Rome as for a dangerous innovation, and which his own partizans could excuse only by alleging the difficult circumstances in which he was placed.[2] He nominated seven cardinals, from all of whom he hoped to obtain good service, and declared that he would acknowledge no candidate but these. At the head of these nominees stood the name of Madruzzi, and the Spanish cardinals instantly put forth

[1] Conclave di papa Urbano VII MS.: "La pratica (di questa elettione) fu guidata dal cardinal Sforza (capo delle creature di papa Gregorio XIII) e da cardinale Genovesi." In a dispatch from De Maisse, ambassador of France in Venice, which is given in F. von Raumer's Histor. Briefen, i. p. 360, we are told that Colonna, having already placed himself in the pontifical seat, was dragged from it by Cardinal Sforza; but this should scarcely be understood literally.

[2] "Il grande interesse del re cattolico e la spesa nella quale si trova senza ajuto nissuno per servitio della christianità fa che gli si debbia condonare."

their utmost efforts to carry the election of this their chief. But they were met by an obstinate resistance. The college refused Madruzzi because he was a German, and because it was not to be suffered that the papacy should again fall into the hands of barbarians.[1] Neither would Montalto permit any one of the remaining nominees to be chosen. He would have vainly attempted to raise one of his own adherents to the papal chair, but he had at least the power of excluding the candidates whom he opposed. The sittings of the conclave were unusually protracted: the banditti were masters of the country; intelligence of property plundered and villages burnt was daily brought to the city; there was even fear of commotions in Rome itself.

There remained but one method of arriving at a conclusion,—this was, to select from the candidates the one least objectionable to the kinsmen of Sixtus V. In the Florentine accounts[2] we are told that the grand duke of Tuscany contributed largely to this result; those written by the Romans ascribe it to Cardinal Sforza, the leader of the Gregorian cardinals. Retired within his cell, perhaps because he had been told that it would be for his advantage to remain silent, and suffering at the moment from fever, lived Cardinal Sfondrato, one of the seven. In his favour the different parties agreed, and a family alliance between the houses of Montalto and Sfondrato was at once brought into discussion. Montalto then visited the cardinal in his cell; he found him in prayer before the crucifix, still not entirely free from fever, and informed him that he would be elected on the following morning. When the time arrived, Sfondrato was led to the chapel where the votes were taken, by Cardinals Montalto and Sforza. He was duly elected, and assumed the name of Gregory XIV.[3]

The new pontiff was a man who fasted twice every week, said mass daily, repeated the prescribed number of prayers

[1] Cardinal Morosini said: "Italia anderebbe in preda a' barbari, che sarebbe una vergogna." [Italy would fall a prey to barbarians, which would be a shame to all.] Conclave della sede vacante di Urbano VII.

[2] Galluzzi: Storia del Granducato di Toscana, v. 99.

[3] Tasso has celebrated this accession to the throne in an admirable canzone, "Da gran lode immortal."

on his knees, and then devoted an hour to his favourite author, St. Bernard; carefully noting down such passages in the work before him as he found more particularly striking,—a man of a spirit most pure and blameless. It was, however, remarked, half jestingly, that as he had come into the world too early—at seven months—and had not been reared without difficulty, so there was upon the whole too little of the earthly element in his composition. Of the practices and intrigues of the Curia, he had never been able to comprehend anything. He took it for granted that the cause upheld by the Spaniards was the cause of the Church; he was a born subject of Philip II, and a man after his own heart. Without any delay he declared himself decidedly in favour of the League.[1]

"Do you," he wrote to the Parisians, "you, who have made so praiseworthy a beginning, continue to persevere; make no halt until you have attained the end of your course. Inspired by God, we have resolved to come to your assistance. First, we send you a subsidy in money, and that indeed beyond our means; next, we despatch our nuncio, Landriano, to France, that by his efforts he may bring back all who have deserted from your banners; and finally, we send you, though not without heavily burthening the Church, our dear son and nephew Ercole Sfondrato, duke of Montemarciano, with cavalry and infantry to defend you by force of arms. Should you require yet more, we will provide you with that also."[2]

In this letter the whole policy of Gregory XIV is expressed. It was, however, extremely effective. The explicit declaration of his intentions, the renewal of excommunication against Henry IV, by which it was accompanied, and, lastly, the exhortation with which Landriano was charged to all the clergy, nobles, judicial functionaries, and the third estate, to separate themselves, under pain of heavy penalties, from Henry of Bourbon, produced a deep impression.[3] Many of

[1] Cicarella de Vita Gregorio XIV, to be found in all the later editions of Platina.

[2] Gregoire pape XIV à mes fils bien-aymez les gens du conseil des seize quartiers de la ville de Paris. In Cayet, Chronologie novenaire, Mémoires coll. univ., tom. lvii. p. 62.

[3] Even Cayet remarks this: "Le party du roi estoit sans aucune

the followers of Henry, who held rigidly Catholic opinions, were at length perplexed and shaken by this decisive step of the head of their Church; they declared that the Church had a regular succession as well as the kingdom, and that it was no more permitted to change the religion than the dynasty. It was at this time that what was called the third party arose among the adherents of the king. This continually exhorted him to return to the Catholic faith. It remained firm in its allegiance to him on this condition, and with this expectation only, and possessed the more importance because it included the most powerful men among those immediately surrounding the king.

But results of still higher moment were to be expected from the further measures announced by Gregory in the letter just quoted, and which he carried into effect without delay. He sent the Parisians 15,000 scudi every month; he despatched Colonel Lusi into Switzerland to raise troops, and having solemnly committed the standard of the Church to Ercole Sfondrato, as their general, in Santa Maria Maggiore, he sent him to Milan, where his forces were to assemble. The commissary who accompanied him, Archbishop Matteucci, was largely provided with money.

Under these auspices, Philip II no longer hesitated to take earnest part in the affairs of France. His troops advanced into Brittany, and at the same time possessed themselves of Toulouse and Montpellier. On some provinces he thought he had peculiar claims, in others he was in close confederacy with the leading chiefs; these alliances had been gradually formed by certain Capuchin friars and were kept up by their agency. He was considered in many provinces as "the sole protector of the orthodox faithful against the Huguenots," and was invited in the most pressing terms even to Paris. Meanwhile the Piedmontese attacked Provence, and the papal army united with that of the League at Verdun. It was a general movement of the Spanish and Italian powers for the purpose of drawing France by force

division. Ce qui fut entretenu jusques au temps de la publication des bulles monitoriales du pape Gregoire XIV, que d'aucuns voulurent engendrer un tiers party et le former des catholiques qui estoient dans le party royal."

into those rigidly Catholic opinions prevailing in Spain and Italy. The treasures accumulated with so much effort by Pope Sixtus, and which he had so jealously guarded, were now converted to the profit of Spain. After Gregory XIV had taken from the castle of St. Angelo those sums, to the expenditure of which the late pontiff had not attached conditions, he seized those which had been most strictly tied up. He was of opinion that a more pressing necessity than now assailed the Church could never occur.

The decision with which these measures were entered on, the prudence of the king, the wealth of the pontiff, and the influence exerted on France by their united dignity and authority, made it impossible to calculate the extent to which this two-fold ambition, temporal and spiritual, might have proceeded, and the results that might have ensued; but in the midst of the undertaking Gregory XIV expired. He had possessed the papal chair only ten months and ten days, and yet had effected alterations of vast importance. What might not have been the consequence had he retained this power during a course of years? The loss of the pontiff was the heaviest affliction that could possibly have befallen the party of Spain and the League.

It is true that the Spaniards once more ruled the conclave. They had again appointed seven candidates,[1] and one of these cardinals, Giovanni Antonio Fachinetto, was elected under the title of Innocent IX. He also appears to have been disposed towards the interests of Spain, so far as can be judged; it is certain that he afforded supplies to the League, and there is a letter still extant, in which he urges Alessandro Farnese to hasten the preparation of his forces, to move forward into France and relieve the city of Rouen,—movements which that general then executed with so much ability and success.[2] But the misfortune was,

[1] In the Histoire des Conclaves, i. 251, we read, "Les Espagnols vouloient rétablir leur réputation." but this is only a mis-translation. In the MS. which forms the groundwork of this book, Conclave di Innocenzio IX (Inff. Politt.), we find, "per non perder la racquistata autorità" [that they might not lose the authority they had regained], which is in strict accordance with the state of affairs (App. No. 63).

[2] According to Davila, Historia delle guerre civili di Francia, xii. p. 763, Innocent does not appear to have been so decidedly favourable

that Innocent IX was already very old and failing; he scarcely ever left his couch; even his audiences were given there. From the death-bed of an aged man, who was himself incapable of moving, proceeded exhortations to war, by which France—nay, all Europe—was set in commotion. Two months had scarcely elapsed from the elevation of Innocent IX to the pontifical seat when he also died.

And thus were the conflicts of election renewed in the conclave for the fourth time. They were now the more important, because these continual changes had enforced the conviction that it was most essential to choose a man of vigorous powers and with a promise of long life. The decision now to be arrived at was one that must influence a considerable period of time. Thus, the proceedings of this conclave were of high and important interest for the history of the whole world.

5. ELECTION AND CHARACTER OF CLEMENT VIII

Amidst the prosperous course of their interests in Rome during the last year, the Spaniards had finally won over even Montalto himself. His house had acquired possessions in the Neapolitan territory, and whilst Montalto pledged himself to oppose no further resistance to the will of the king, Philip promised in return that he would not absolutely exclude all the adherents of Sixtus V. They were thus to be henceforward in alliance, and the Spaniards no longer delayed to put forward the man from whose active co-operation they might hope the most effectual aid in the French war.

Among all the cardinals, Santorio, holding the title of Sanseverina, was considered the most zealous. He had sustained many conflicts with the Protestants, even when living at Naples in his youth; and in his autobiography, still extant in MS., he describes the massacre of the Huguenots

to the League; but the letter cited (it is in Cayet, p. 356) removes all doubt.

at Paris as "the renowned day of St. Bartholomew, in the highest degree cheering to Catholics."[1] He had invariably advocated the most violent opinions, was the leading member in the congregation for the management of French affairs, and had long been the soul of the inquisition. He was in good health, and of tolerably vigorous years.

On this man the Spaniards desired to confer the supreme spiritual dignity,—one more devoted to them they could not have found. Olivarez had already arranged all preliminaries;[2] no doubt of success seemed to remain. Of fifty-two votes he had secured thirty-six,—just sufficient to decide the choice, for which two-thirds of the whole number were always required. On the first morning after the close of the conclave, the cardinals accordingly proceeded to the formal act of election. Montalto and Madruzzi, the chiefs of the united factions, led Sanseverina from his cell, which was instantly stripped of all it contained by the servants, according to the custom always practised in regard to the cells of the pontiffs elect. Thirty-six cardinals accompanied him to the Pauline chapel. He had already been entreated to forgive his opponents, and had declared that he would pardon all, and would adopt the name of Clement, as a first intimation of his placable intentions. Empires and nations were then commended to his protection.

But in the selection of this prelate, one circumstance had been left out of view. Sanseverina was reputed to be so rigidly austere that every one feared him.

It thus happened that many voters had steadily refused to take part with him,—as, for example, the younger cardinals: these joined themselves to his ancient personal adversaries, and this party now assembled in the Sistine chapel. There were, it is true, but sixteen persons when all were met together, and they wanted one more vote to secure them the power of exclusion: some of those present

[1] He speaks of a "giusto sdegno del re Carlo IX di gloriosa memoria in quel celebre giorno di S. Bartolommeo lietissimo a' cattolici." (App. No. 64.)

[2] Conclave di Clemente VIII MS.: "Il conte di Olivarez, fedele et inseparabile amico di S. Severina, aveva prima di partire di Roma per il governo di Sicilia tutto preordinato."

then evinced a disposition to submit to their destiny and acknowledge Sanseverina, but the experienced Altemps had sufficient influence to make them still hold out. They relied on his judgment, and believed him to understand the matter better than themselves.

And a similar disinclination was in fact prevailing even among those who had given their word to Sanseverina, but many of whom rejected him in their hearts; they had resigned themselves to the wishes of the king and Montalto, but were only waiting an opportunity to recall their assent. On assembling in the chapel of election, there were symptoms of disquietude and agitation, altogether unusual when the choice had been previously decided. The counting of the votes was commenced, but there was an evident reluctance to bring it to a conclusion. Sanseverina's own countrymen threw obstacles in his way.[1] There wanted only some one who would open a way for the expression of the feeling by which so many present were actuated. Ascanio Colonna at length found courage to do this. He belonged to the Roman barons, by whom the inquisitorial severity of Sanseverina was more especially dreaded. He exclaimed, "I see that God will not have Sanseverina, neither will Ascanio Colonna!" He then left the Pauline chapel, and passed over to the opposite party in the Sistine.

By this act the latter gained the victory. A secret scrutiny was accorded. There were many who would never have dared openly to retract their promised votes, but who were glad to do so in secret, and when assured that their names would be concealed. When the balloting lists were opened, thirty votes only were found for the proposed candidate.

Sanseverina had come to the Vatican assured of his election. He believed himself already in possession of that plenitude of spiritual authority to which he attributed so exalted a significance, and in defence of which he had so earnestly battled: between the prospect of attaining to the fulfilment of his highest wishes, and that of a future

[1] In regard to this matter, we have the accounts contained in printed and MS. Conclaves, as also that left us by Severina himself, which I give in the appendix. (See No. 64, sections 1 and 4.)

perpetually burdened by the sense of rejection, between the condition of ruler and that of servant, he had passed seven hours as between life and death. The decision was at length made known. Bereaved of his hopes, he was sent back to his dismantled cell. "The next night," he tells us in his autobiography, "was, of all the unhappy moments I have ever experienced, the most unhappy; the heavy sorrow of my soul, and my inward anguish, forced from me, incredible to relate, a bloody sweat."

He was sufficiently acquainted with the nature of a conclave to know that he must entertain no further hopes. His friends did indeed once more propose him, but the attempt was utterly vain.

By this event the Spaniards themselves also lost ground. The king had named five candidates, not one of whom could carry his election. They were now compelled to attempt the elevation of a sixth, whom the Spaniards had also nominated, but only as a supernumerary.

This was Cardinal Aldobrandini, an adherent of Sixtus V, whom Philip had rejected the year before, and had now named, rather to oblige his confederate Montalto, than of his own accord. To him they now recurred, as to the only candidate whose election was possible. He was entirely agreeable to Montalto, as may be imagined; and the Spaniards could say nothing in opposition, because he had been nominated by themselves. He was not unwelcome to the rest of the electors, and was indeed generally beloved. Thus Aldobrandini was elected with but little opposition, on the 20th of January, 1592. He assumed the name of Clement VIII.

The conclusion of these conflicts, as regarded the Spaniards, was sufficiently curious. They had laboured to win Montalto to their side, in the hope of thereby securing the election of their own partisan; and now it was in consequence of this very alliance that they were compelled to aid in the elevation of a friend of Montalto, and a creature of Sixtus V, to the papal seat.

It is to be observed, that on this occasion a change in the course of the papal elections was originated, which we cannot consider unimportant. Men of opposite factions

had for a long time invariably succeeded each other. Even now the same thing had occurred: the adherents of Sixtus V had been driven three times from the contest, but the victors had possessed only a transitory enjoyment of power, and had not been able to form any new or powerful faction. Deaths, funerals, and new conclaves had rapidly followed each other. The first who once more attained the papal throne, in the full vigour of life, was Clement VIII. The government, of which he was the head, was that of the same party by whom the most enduring tenure of power had of late years been held.

Attention was now universally directed to the inquiry of who the new ruler was, and what might be expected from him.

Clement VIII was born in exile. His father, Salvestro Aldobrandini, of a distinguished Florentine family, but a determined and active antagonist of the Medici, was banished on the ultimate triumph obtained by that house in the year 1531, and compelled to seek his fortune in other lands.[1] He was a doctor of law, and had previously given lectures at Pisa. We find him, soon after his banishment, in Venice, where he took part in the amelioration of the Venetian statutes, and in an edition of the institutes. We next meet him in Ferrara or Urbino, forming part of the council or tribunal of the duke; but more permanently in the service, first of one and then of another among the cardinals, as whose deputy he was charged with the administration of justice or of the government in one or other of the ecclesiastical cities. He is perhaps most clearly distinguished by the fact, that in this uncertain mode of life he found means to educate five excellent sons. The most highly gifted

[1] Varchi, Storia Fiorentina, iii. 42, 61. Mazzuchelli, Scrittori d'Italia, I. i. 392, gives as usual a most elaborate and instructive article under this name, but it is not complete. Among other omissions, is that of the activity he displayed in Venice, with the description of which Giovanni Delfino begins his relation, in a manner that leaves no doubt of the fact: "Silvestro Aldobrandini ne' tempi della ribellione di Firenze cacciato da quella città se ne venne qui, riformò li nostri statuti e rivedde le leggi et ordini della republica." [Silvestro Aldobrandini came to this city when driven from Florence in the rebellion; he reformed our statutes and revised the laws and ordinances of the republic.] See App. No. 70.

among them was perhaps Giovanni, the eldest, whom they called the charioteer of the family. It was by him that their path was cleared. Entering on the judicial career, he rose from its dignities to that of cardinal in the year 1570. Had longer life been granted to him, it is believed that he might have had well-founded hopes of the tiara. Bernardo gained renown in the profession of arms. Tommaso was an eminent philologist; his translation of Diogenes Laertius has been frequently reprinted. Pietro was reputed to be an excellent practical jurist. The youngest, Ippolito, born at Fano in the year 1536,[1] was at first the cause of some anxiety to his father, who feared that he would be unable to provide him with an education worthy of his talents; but in the first instance Cardinal Alessandro Farnese took the boy under his protection, and settled on him a yearly allowance from the revenues of his bishopric of Spoleto; the rising fortunes of his brothers were afterwards sufficient of themselves to bring him forward. He soon obtained the prelacy, and next succeeded to the office of his eldest brother in the court of the Rota. He was nominated cardinal by Sixtus V, who despatched him on an embassy to Poland. This it was that first brought him into a sort of connection with the house of Austria. All the members of that family considered themselves his debtors for the address with which he had liberated the Archduke Maximilian from the captivity he had been held in by the Poles,—a service, in the performance of which he had used his authority with a prudence and foresight that could not but ensure admiration as well as success. When Philip II resolved on naming a cardinal, created by Sixtus, as a supernumerary, it was this circumstance that induced him to prefer Aldobrandini to others. And thus did the son of a homeless fugitive, of whom it was at one moment feared that he must pass his life in the labours of the desk, attain to the highest dignity in Christendom.

There is a monument in the church of Santa Maria alla Minerva in Rome, the inscription on which it is impossible

[1] In the baptismal register of the cathedral parish of Fano, we find the following entry: "a di 4 Marzo 1536 fu battezato un putto di M^r^ Salvestro, che fu luogotenente qui: hebbe nome Ippolyto."

to read without a certain feeling of satisfaction. It is that erected by Salvestro Aldobrandini to the mother of so noble a band of sons, and is inscribed as follows:—"To his dear wife Lesa, of the house of Deti, with whom he lived in harmony for seven and thirty years."

The new pontiff brought to his office all the activity peculiar to a family which has contended with difficulties. He held his sittings in the early hours of morning, his audiences in the afternoon;[1] all reports were received and investigated, all despatches were read and discussed, legal arguments were sought out, early precedents compared. It was no unusual thing for the pope to display more knowledge of the subject in question than was possessed by the lawyers who laid it before him. He laboured with the same assiduity when pope, as when he was auditor of the Rota; his attention was given as much to the details of internal policy as to those of Europe in general, or to the great interests of the ecclesiastical authority. The question "In what he took pleasure?" was asked: "In every thing or nothing," was the reply.[2]

Nor would he permit himself to incur the blame of the slightest negligence in his spiritual duties. Baronius received his confession every evening; he celebrated mass himself every morning at noon. Twelve poor men dined daily in the same room with himself, at least during the early years of his pontificate, and the pleasures of the table were in his case altogether out of the question. On Fridays and Saturdays, moreover, he fasted. When he had laboured earnestly through the week, his recreation on the Sunday was to send for certain pious monks, or for the fathers of

[1] Bentivoglio, Memorie, i. p. 54, sets before us the whole order of the week.

[2] Relatione al card^l. d'Este, 1599. MS. Fosc. "He carried on war like Julius II, he built like Sixtus V, he reformed like Pius V, his conversation, moreover, was seasoned with wit." Then comes the following description: "Di complessione flemmatico e sanguigno, ma con qualche mistura di colera, di corporatura carnoso e grasso, di costumi gravi e modesti, di maniera dolce et affabile, nel moto tardo, nelle attioni circonspetto, nell' esecutioni cuntatore: quando non risolve, premedita.—E tenace del secreto, cupo nei pensieri, industrioso nel tirarli al fine." (See App. No. 69.)

Vallicella, and hold discourse with them on the more profound questions of divinity. The reputation for virtue, piety, and an exemplary life that he had always enjoyed, was raised to an extraordinary degree by such modes of proceeding. He knew this, and desired it; for by this reputation his efficiency as sovereign pastor of the Church was increased.

Clement VIII conducted himself on all occasions with enlightened deliberation. He laboured willingly, being endowed with one of those natures that derive fresh strength from their toils: but he was careful to regulate the ardour of his pursuits, and to mitigate the severity of his efforts by due exercise.[1] He would sometimes display great irritation, would become violent, and use bitter words; but if he perceived that the persons before him were rendered silent by the majesty of the papacy, but yet perhaps betrayed dissent and resentment by their looks, he would command himself and seek to remove the painful impression. He desired that nothing should be perceived in him but what was becoming in itself and consonant with the idea of a good, pious, and wise man.[2]

Former popes had believed themselves raised above all law, and had endeavoured to turn the administration of their high office into a means of mere personal enjoyment; but the spirit of the age would at that time no longer permit this to be done. Personal inclinations must now be kept in subjection. The man was merged in his office; no one could then have either obtained or administered that office without making his conduct conform to the idea entertained of its character.

[1] Venier, Relatione di Roma, 1601: "La gotta molto meno che per l'inanzi li da molestia al presente, per la sua bona regola di viver, nel quale da certo tempo in qua procede con grandissima riserva e con notabile astinenza nel bere: che le giova anco moltissimo a non dar fomento alla grassezza, alla quale è molto inclinata la sua complessione, usando anco per questo di frequentare l'esercitio di caminar longamente sempre che senza sconcio de' negozi conosce di poterlo fare, ai quali nondimeno per la sua gran capacità supplisce." (See App. No. 71.)

[2] Delfino: "Si va conoscendo certo che in tutte le cose si move S. Sª con gran zelo dell' onor di Dio e con gran desiderio del ben publico." (App. No. 70.)

It is manifest that the strength of the papacy itself was immeasurably increased by this change. Human institutions are strong only so long as their spirit has vital existence, and exhibits its efficacy in those who wield the powers they create.

6. ABSOLUTION OF HENRY IV

And now the most interesting subject of inquiry to all was, how this pontiff, so remarkable for talent, activity, and force, and withal so blameless in character, would consider and treat the most momentous question of Europe,—the state of France.

Would he attach himself unconditionally to Spain, as his immediate predecessors had done? There was nothing in his previous life that imposed on him the necessity for this, neither was he led to it by personal inclination. He did not fail to perceive that the predominance of Spain was becoming oppressive even to the papacy, and would despoil it more especially of its political independence.

Or would he decide for the party of Henry IV? It is true that this prince gave intimations of a disposition to become Catholic, but such a promise was more readily given than fulfilled: he was still a Protestant. Clement VIII feared to be deceived.

We have seen how Sixtus V stood wavering between these two possibilities, and the serious perplexities arising from that cause. The party of the zealots still retained its strength in Rome, and the new pope durst not expose himself to their animosity and opposition.

He was surrounded by difficulties on every side, and was constantly on his guard, that no word might lay him open to attack, or awaken slumbering enmities. It is only from his acts, from the general tenor of his conduct, that we are enabled gradually to infer his opinions and feelings.

At his accession to power, the papal see had a legate in France, who was believed to be in the Spanish interests, and an army which had been sent to oppose Henry IV.

Rome also paid subsidies to the League. The new pope could make no change in all these things. Had he withheld his subsidies, withdrawn his troops, or recalled his legate, his reputation for orthodoxy would have been endangered, and he would have exposed himself to more rancorous animosities than Pope Sixtus had experienced. He was, however, far from increasing the efforts made by the papacy for the League, or from giving them a new impulse; on the contrary, he took every favourable opportunity for their gradual diminution and restriction.

But no long time had elapsed before he found himself compelled to a step of a less ambiguous character.

In the year 1592, Cardinal Gondi was despatched into Italy by Henry IV, with instructions to proceed also to Rome. The king was daily becoming more disposed to Catholicism, but his idea on the subject seems rather to have been that of reuniting himself to the Catholic church by a sort of treaty arranged through the mediation of Venice and Tuscany, than a positive submission. And was not even this very desirable for the pope? Was not the return of the king to Catholicism a palpable advantage, under whatever form it might take place? But Clement did not consider it expedient to go into the affair, nor did he consent to receive Cardinal Gondi. The presence of Luxembourg had produced many vexatious consequences to Sixtus V, while no useful result had followed. Remembering this, Clement sent a monk, Fra Franceschi, to Florence, where Gondi had already arrived, to inform the cardinal that he could not be received in Rome. It was perfectly satisfactory to the pope that the cardinal, and even the grand-duke, complained; he desired that his refusal should excite attention, and cause a discussion. This, however, was only one side of the affair; to irritate the king, or to reject all advances towards a reconciliation, could not possibly be the pope's intention. We find from the Venetian reports, that Fra Franceschi had affixed a remark to his official communication, purporting that he had reason to believe the cardinal might be granted an audience privately, or that he would be received in secret.[1] It would seem, indeed, that Gondi did really

[1] Dispaccio Donato, 23 Oct. 1592, from a relation made to the

proceed to Rome, where the pope is reported to have told him that he must knock at his door more than once. It is at least certain that an agent of Gondi's appeared in Rome, and after he had been admitted to several conferences, he declared to the Venetian ambassador that "by the blessing of God he had ample reason for hope, and to be satisfied, but was not permitted to say more."[1] In a word, the open repulse was accompanied by secret advances and encouragement. Clement VIII did not wish to offend the Spaniards, nor yet to repel the king of France. His conduct was calculated to secure that neither should be done.

A new question, and one of much higher moment, had meanwhile arisen.

In January, 1583, that part of the states of France which adhered to the League assembled to elect a new king. As the ground for excluding Henry IV lay entirely in the religion he professed, the papal legate exercised an unusual degree of authority over the discussions. This legate was still Sega, bishop of Piacenza, who had been chosen by Gregory XIV, a man imbued with the opinions prevailing under that pontiff, both as to Spanish and ecclesiastical affairs. Clement considered it expedient to send him particular instructions, and admonished him to be careful that neither violence nor bribery should influence the votes; he also entreated him to be on his guard against all precipitation in so weighty a matter.[2]

An exhortation of this kind would have been sufficiently significant, if addressed to an ambassador, who considered himself bound to govern his conduct by the slightest intimation from his sovereign, but it was conceived in terms too general to cause this churchman, whose hopes of promotion

Florentine ambassador, Nicolini. The explanation of Fra Franceschi was, "che crede che il papa l'admetteria, ma che vuole levare li cattolici fuori di dubio et ogni ombra che admettendolo riceve ambasceria di Navarra" [that he believed the pope would admit him; but that his holiness wished to put the Catholics out of all doubt, and would not suffer the shadow of an appearance that he (the pontiff) was receiving an embassy from Navarre.]

[1] Ibid. "dopo aver lassato sfogar il primo moto della alteration di S. Beat." [After having allowed the first heat of the pontiff's displeasure to pass away.]

[2] Davila has given an extract from this instruction, xiii., p. 810.

were rather in the Spanish sovereign than the pope, to withdraw from a party with which he had always acted, and which he believed to be orthodox. Thus Cardinal Sega made not the slightest change in his line of proceeding on that account. On the 13th of June, 1593, he published a declaration, wherein he called on the estates to elect a king, who should not only be truly Catholic, but also resolved to render useless all the efforts of the heretics and capable of carrying his resolution into effect. He added, that this was what his holiness desired more than any other earthly event.[1]

The general measures of the pope were of a similar character with this instruction. He adhered for the most part to the rigidly orthodox ecclesiastical party attached to Spain; not, it is true, with the fervour and devotion by which other popes had been distinguished; if he possessed these qualities, they were effectual in secret only; it was enough for him to proceed quietly and without reproach, as the order of public affairs demanded, in adherence to that party which had already been adopted, and which seemed to have the closest analogy with the character of his office. We may, nevertheless, clearly perceive that he had no wish for the perfect estrangement of the opposite party; he was careful, on the contrary, to avoid provoking it to hostilities, and by secret advances and indirect expressions inspired it with the hope of reconciliation, to take place at some future day. He contented the Spaniards, but their rivals were suffered to believe that his actions were not altogether uncontrolled; that their character was indeed determined by deference to the wishes of Spain, and not by any harsher feeling. The indecision of Sixtus arose from the strife of opposite opinions contending within himself, by which he was prevented from adopting decided measures. Clement respected both sides, and chose his line of policy with the purpose of conciliating both: his proceedings were governed by prudence and circumspection; they resulted from extensive experience and the wish to avoid exciting enmities.

[1] "Qu'il ait le courage et les autres vertus requises pour pouvoir heureusement réprimer et anéantir du tout les efforts et mauvais desseins des hérétiques. C'est la chose du monde que plus S. S. presse et désire." (In Cayet, 58, 350.)

But it followed necessarily that he too failed to exercise any decisive influence.

The affairs of France, thus left to themselves, proceeded all the more freely towards the development of their natural impulses.

A circumstance of primary importance was, that the chiefs of the League fell into discord among themselves. The Sixteen attached themselves closely to Spain. Mayenne pursued the aims of his personal ambition. The zeal of the Sixteen became all the more fiery; they proceeded to the most atrocious crimes against all who were either known or suspected to be deserters from their party; as, for example, to the assassination of the president Brisson. For these things, Mayenne thought it requisite to punish them, and caused the most violent of their leaders to be executed. Favoured by these dissensions, a mode of thinking of greatly moderated character, both in politics and religion, was observed to prevail in Paris, even so early as the year 1592: it was still Catholic, but was opposed to the course hitherto pursued by the League, and above all, to the Sixteen and the Spaniards. A combination was formed, not greatly differing from that of the League itself, but with the purpose of placing all the offices of the city in the hands of moderate men holding its own opinions: this they found means to effect in great measure during the course of that year.[1] And now since the Spaniards, by their proposal to recognize the Infanta Isabella, the granddaughter of Henry II, as heir to the throne, outraged French national feeling, the movement in favour of Spain and the League met at last with enduring opposition. While bigoted preachers still declared every man excommunicated who did but speak of peace with the "Heretic," even though he should attend the mass, the parliament was reminding its members of those essential laws of the realm which excluded foreign princes from the crown; it was manifest that this whole party, which was called the political party, was only waiting the conversion of Henry IV to subject itself to his rule.

Wherein did the difference then consist between them

[1] Cayet (lib. iv. tom. lviii. p. 5) gives the propositions that were made in the first assembly.

and the Catholic royalists in the camp of Henry? It consisted in this only, that the first, before professing their allegiance, desired to see a step really taken which the last believed they might venture to await; for the Catholic royalists were also of opinion that the king must return to their Church, although they did not consider his right or legitimacy to depend on his doing so. Their antipathy to the Protestants in the immediate circle of the king may also have caused them to insist the more earnestly on this point. The princes of the blood, the most distinguished statesmen, and the principal part of the court, were attached to that "tiers-parti," whose distinctive characteristic was in this demand.[1]

When affairs had assumed this appearance, it became evident to all, and the Protestants themselves did not deny it, that if Henry desired to be king he must become a Catholic. We need not investigate the claim of those who assert that they gave the final impulse to that determination. The principal part was effected by the grand combination of circumstances, the necessity of things.[2] In the completion of the act by which he passed over to Catholicism, Henry associated himself with that national sentiment of the French Catholics, which was represented by the "tiers-parti," and the so-called political party, and which had now the prospect of maintaining the ascendancy in France.

This was in fact merely that "Catholic opposition," which had gathered round the banners of legitimacy and national independence, for the purpose of resisting the ecclesiastical and Spanish interests. But how greatly had it now increased in power and importance! It had without question predominance in the public opinion of the country; the people throughout France declared for it, if not openly, at least in private. It now attained a firm internal support from the change of religion in the sovereign—a sovereign, too, so warlike, so generous, and so successful. Thus enforced and extended, this party once more appeared

[1] It is thus described by Sully, v. 249.

[2] That Henry had resolved on this in April, 1593, is proved by his letter to the grand-duke of Tuscany, dated 26th of that month.—Galluzzi, Istoria del Granducato, tom. v. p. 160.

before the pope, and implored his recognition and blessing. What glory would he obtain, and how effectual an influence, if he would now at least declare himself without circumlocution in its favour! And there was still so much depending on it. The prelates who had received the king into the bosom of the Church had indeed done so only with the express condition that he should prevail on the pope to accord him absolution.[1] This was also earnestly enforced by the most powerful members of the League, with whom Henry had commenced negotiations.[2] Although promises are not always performed, it is yet unquestionable that the papal absolution, had it been granted at this moment, would have produced important effects on the course of events. Henry IV sent one of the great nobles of his kingdom, the duke of Nevers, to solicit this from the pope, and a truce was agreed on while awaiting the reply.

But Clement was distrustful and wary. As the hopes of a religious ambition had influenced Sixtus V, so did the fear of being deceived and involved in vexatious consequences restrain Clement VIII. He still felt apprehensive lest Henry should, after all, return to Protestantism, as he had done once before, and declared that he should not believe the king sincerely attached to the Catholic church, until an angel from heaven should come and whisper it in his ear. He looked around him and found the greater part of the Curia still adverse to the French. Pamphlets still appeared from time to time, in which the assertion was reiterated, that Henry IV, being, as he was, "haereticus relapsus," could not receive absolution, even from the pope himself. Clement did not feel courage to offer a defiance to the Spaniards, by whom this opinion was put forward and maintained.[3] And was not the party, thus entreating

[1] "Messieurs du clergé luy avoient donné l'absolution à la charge qu'il envoyeroit vers sa S^te^ la requérir d'approuver ce qu'ils avoient fait."—Cayet, 58, 390.

[2] Villeroy, Mémoires. Coll. Univ. 62, 186.

[3] Les intimidations qui furent faites au Pape Clement VIII par le duc de Sessa; not very authentic, however, and printed long since in the Mémoires de M. le Duc de Nevers, ii. 716, although given by Capefigue, Histoire de la Réforme, tom. viii., as something new.

his forgiveness, still employed in resisting the claims of the Romish church? "Rebels to the Crown and the Church," as he expressed himself,—"bastards, the children of the bondwoman and not of the wife, while the Leaguers have proved themselves the true sons."[1] Considered from this point of view, it would without doubt have required some resolution to grant their request, and Clement could not man himself for the effort.[2] The duke of Nevers entered Rome with a full consciousness of his high rank, as well as of the weight attached to his mission. He expected to be received with joy, and expressed himself to that effect. The king's letter, which he had brought with him, was conceived in a similar tone. The pope thought it sounded as if Henry had not only long been a Catholic, but as though he had come like a second Charlemagne, from a victory over the enemies of the Church. Nevers was quite amazed to find himself so coldly received, and to see how indifferent an ear was turned to his proposals. When he found all his efforts fruitless, he asked the pope at length what the king should do to merit favour from his holiness. The pope replied, that there were theologians enough in France to instruct him on that head. "But will your holiness be satisfied with what the theologians shall decide?" To this the pope refused a reply. He would not even consider the duke as ambassador from Henry, but only as Louis Gonzaga, duke of Nevers. He did not wish their conversations to be considered as official communications, but simply as private discourses, and was not to be prevailed on to give any written decision. "Nothing remains to me," remarked Nevers to Cardinal Toledo, by whom he was informed of the pope's determination, "but to lament the misfortunes that France will have to endure

[1] Disp. 20 Aug. 1593. Relation of Henry's conversion: "Il papa non s'era per tali avisi molte alterato e tuttavia restava con l'animo molto involto nelli suoi soliti dubbj e perplessità." [The pope was but little moved by these advices, and altogether continued with his mind involved in the usual doubts and perplexities.] He told the Venetian ambassador, that Henry was and would remain "haereticus relapsus;" and that his conversion was not to be relied on.

[2] Relatio dictorum a Clemente VIII papa, die 28 Dec. 1593, in Consistorio.—Mém. de Nevers, ii. 638.

from the rage of the soldiery, when the war breaks forth anew." The cardinal said not a word, but he smiled. Nevers left Rome, and gave expression to his displeasure in bitter reports.[1]

Men have rarely much feeling except for their own personal situation. The Roman Curia understood only what was of advantage to itself. We can find no true sympathy for the fate of France in its proceedings.

It is true that we know enough of this pontiff to believe that he did not mean absolutely to repulse the adherents of Henry IV; least of all would he do that now, when their strength was so much greater than formerly. On the contrary, he assured a secret agent, that the king had only to shew himself completely Catholic, and absolution should not be wanting. It is characteristic of Clement, that while in public he so stubbornly refrained from taking any part in the return of Henry to the Catholic faith, yet, in private, he caused it to be intimated to the grand duke of Tuscany, that he would yet make no objection to any thing the clergy of France might decide on doing.[2] The grand duke was also empowered to communicate favourable expressions on the part of the pope to the chiefs of the Catholic royalists.[3] But, in all this, he thought only of securing himself; and thus the affairs of France were left to do as they could.

The truce was at an end. The sword was once more drawn—all was again depending on the fortune of war.

But here the superiority of Henry became at once and decidedly manifest. To the commanders opposing him, that firmness of conviction, which had formerly secured them so strong a position, was now wholly wanting. The doctrines of the political party, the conversion of the king, and the successful progress of his fortunes, had shaken the opposition

[1] Two writings, but almost entirely to the same purport: "Discours de ce que fit M. de Nevers à son voyage de Rome en l'année 1593," and "Discours de la légation de M. le duc de Nevers," both in the second volume of Mémoires de Nevers, before mentioned, the first almost verbatim in Cayet; extracts in Thuanus and Davila, and lately, as if from unknown sources, in Capefigue.

[2] See Appendix, No. 65; Vita et Gesta Clementis VIII.

[3] Davila, lib. xiv. p. 939.

of all. One after another went over to his side, without regarding the want of the papal absolution. Vitri, the commandant of Meaux, who no longer received the pay of his troops from the Spaniards, was the first; and he was followed by Orleans, Bourges, and Rouen. The most important consideration now was, what turn affairs would take in Paris. The political or national party had there obtained a decided preponderance. After many vicissitudes, it had gained over the first families, and had filled the most important places from its own members. The armed citizens were already commanded by men of the prevalent opinions. The Hôtel de Ville was directed by the same party. The prévôt des marchands and the echevins belonged to it with only one exception. Under these circumstances, no further impediment could now exist to the return of the king, which took place on the 22nd of March, 1594. Henry IV was amazed to find himself received with acclamations so joyful, by a people from whom he had so long experienced the most obstinate resistance, and thought he might justly infer that they had been previously acting under the force of a tyrannous government; but this was not altogether true. The spirit of the League really had been predominant over the minds of men, although another had now taken its place. The king's return was principally to be attributed to the triumph of a political opinion. The Leaguers now endured persecutions similar to those they had so often inflicted. Their most influential founders and chiefs—the formidable Boucher, for example—left the city with the Spanish troops. More than a hundred, who were considered the most dangerous, were formally banished. All the authorities, with the whole population, took the oath of allegiance. Even the Sorbonne —whose most obstinate members, and among them the rector of the university himself, were banished—gave in its adhesion to the ruling opinions. How different were its present decisions from those of the year 1589. The Sorbonne now acknowledged that all power comes from God, according to the thirteenth chapter of Romans; that whoever opposes the king, withstands God also, and subjects himself to damnation. It reprobated the opinion that obedience might be lawfully refused to a king, because he was not

acknowledged by the pope, as the suggestion of wicked and ill-advised men. The members of the university now took the oath of fidelity to Henry IV in a body. Rector, dean, theologians, decretists, physicians, artists, monks, and conventuals, students and officers, all pledged themselves to shed their blood for his defence. Nay, more than that, the university instituted a campaign against the Jesuits, on the ground of this its new orthodoxy, accusing them of seditious principles; which principles they had, in fact, but lately shared; and reproaching them with their attachment to Spanish interests. The Jesuits defended themselves for some time with good effect; but in that same year, a man named Jean Chastel,[1] who had attended their schools, made an attempt to assassinate the king, and admitted, in the course of his examination, that he had often heard the Jesuits declare that a man might lawfully slay a king who was not reconciled to the Church. This event made it impossible for the Order to oppose itself any longer to the ascendancy of the party against which it had hitherto so constantly laboured. The populace was with difficulty restrained from storming their college; and all the members of the society were at length condemned, as seducers of youth, disturbers of the public peace, and enemies of the king and state, to quit the kingdom within fourteen days.[2] Thus did those opinions, which had first appeared as opposition, and had confirmed their hold, from a small and feeble commencement, gradually gain possession of Paris and the kingdom, while they drove their antagonists from the field. Changes of similar character took place in all parts of the French dominions. New submissions were daily made to the king's authority. He had

[1] Juvencius, partis v. lib. xii. n. 13, gives the following description of the criminal: "Indoles iuveni tristis ac tetrica, mores improbi, mens anxia recordatione criminum atque unius potissimum, quod matrem aliquando verberasset. — — Conscientia criminum ultrix mentem efferatam diro vexare pergebat metu: quem ut leniret, immane parricidium impos mentis an potius erebi furiis incitatus designat, quo tanquam de religione ac regno bene meritus peccatorum veniam facilius, ut demens reputabat, consequeretur."

[2] Annuae literae societatis Jesu 1596, p. 350. "Tanta superat adhuc praeteriti naufragii fluctuatio, ut nondum tabulas omnes atque armamenta disiecta collegerimus."

been crowned and anointed at Chartres; prayers were put up for him in all the pulpits; the monastic orders acknowledged him; he exercised those ecclesiastical prerogatives of the crown, which are of such high significance, without opposition; and herein found occasion to shew himself a good Catholic. Whenever the ritual of the Church had been departed from during the late troubles, he took care to re-establish it; and where it had maintained itself in exclusive possession, he solemnly confirmed to it the right of doing so. All this he did without having yet been reconciled with the pope.

It had, however, now become urgently necessary to the pontiff himself, that the means of a reconciliation should be considered.[1] If he had delayed longer, a schism might have been occasioned. An entirely separate Church might have been established.

It is true that the Spaniards still opposed themselves to this reconciliation. They maintained that Henry was by no means a true convert; that the time when a schism was most to be apprehended, was when he should have received absolution:[2] they even particularized the occasions on which it was likely to break out.[3] The pope had still to exercise considerable resolution before he could place himself in opposition to those whose power encompassed him, and who had a large party in the Curia. It was no light thing to separate himself from opinions that were considered orthodox; for which his predecessors had so often employed their weapons, spiritual and temporal, and to which he had himself for many years given his sanction. He perceived, nevertheless, that all delay must now be injurious, and that he must expect nothing more from the opposite party. He was convinced that the party now predominant in France, though in spiritual affairs opposing the rigid doctrines to a certain extent, yet displayed an obvious sympathy with the

[1] On the 5th of Nov. 1594, the Venetian ambassador first mentions finding the pope "meglio inclinato che nel passato" [more favourably inclined than of old] towards the affairs of France.

[2] Ossat à M. de Villeroy, Rome, 6 Dec. 1594.—Lettres d'Ossat, i. 53.

[3] See Appendix, No. 70, section 3.

interests of Rome in temporal matters. The adverse feeling might, perhaps, be removed, and the favourable sentiment would then become more available. Suffice it to say, that Clement now shewed himself disposed to concession at the first word addressed to him. We have reports of the negotiations by the French plenipotentiary d'Ossat; they are agreeable, instructive, and worth reading; but I do not find that he had any great difficulties to overcome. It would be useless to follow the proceedings in detail; the general state of affairs had already determined the pope. The only question remaining was, whether Henry would, on his part, agree to certain demands to be made by the pontiff. Those who were unfavourable to the proposed reconciliation would willingly have raised these demands to the utmost, maintaining that, on this occasion, the Church required the most effectual securities; but Clement remained firm to the more moderate conditions. He required, particularly, the restoration of Catholicism in Béarn; the introduction of the decrees issued by the Council of Trent, so far as they were compatible with the laws of the kingdom; an exact observance of the concordat, and the education of the heir-presumptive to the crown, the prince of Condé, in the Catholic faith. It was still very desirable for Henry that he should be reconciled with the papal see. His power was based on his conversion to Catholicism; and this act would receive its full authenticity only from the accordance of absolution by the pope; for though by far the greater number gave in their adhesion, yet there were still some who made the want of this a pretext for their continued opposition.[1] Henry assented to these conditions with little difficulty: he had already prepared their fulfilment in some degree of his own accord, and had it much at heart to prove himself a good Catholic.

[1] Du Perron au Roi, 6 Nov. 1595: "De toucher icy, combien l'authorité et la faveur de ce siége estant entre vos mains vous peut servir d'un utile instrument non seulement pour remettre et conserver vos sujets en paix et en obéissance, mais aussi pour vous préparer toutes sortes de grandeurs hors de vostre royaume, et à tout le moins pour tenir vos ennemis en quelque crainte et devoir par l'appréhension de la mesme authorité dont ils se sont aydez pour troubler vos estats et vos peuples, ce seroit un discours superflu."—Les Ambassades du Cardinal Du Perron, i. 27.

However greatly increased his power had become since the mission of Nevers, yet the letter in which he now entreated absolution from the pontiff sounds much more humble and submissive than the former. "The king," it declares,[1] "returns to the feet of your holiness, and beseeches you in all humility, by the bowels of our Lord Jesus Christ, that you deign to confer upon him your holy blessing and your supreme absolution." The pope was entirely satisfied.[2]

Nothing further now remained but that the college of cardinals should declare its assent. But Clement would not permit the question to be laid before a regularly assembled consistory, where a recurrence to resolutions adopted under a different class of circumstances might easily have occasioned undesirable results. The cardinals were invited to give their opinions to the pontiff, each in a special audience; an expedient that had frequently been adopted before on similar occasions. Having received them all, he declared that two-thirds of the votes were favourable to the absolution.

Preparations were accordingly made for the completion of the ceremony, which took place on the 17th of December, 1595. The pontiff's throne was erected before the church of St. Peter, the cardinals and Curia reverently surrounding their sovereign. The petition of Henry, with the conditions

[1] Requête du Roi, among the remarks of Amelot in Ossat, i. 160.

[2] The court of Rome still considered the resolution imprudent and hazardous. Delfino, Relatione: "I piu gravi negotii il papa ha saputo espedire e molto bene e ancora con gran celerità: perche con tanti contrarj quanti ogn' uno sa benedisse il re di Francia, lo accettò nel grembo della chiesa mandò li un legato nel tempo che tutti lo ributtavano sotto pretesto che non fosse sua dignità mandarlo avanti che 'l re mandasse il suo ambasciatore a Roma, et in quello l'autorità della Srìa Vra giovò assai, che così mi disse S. Sà, per diversi offici che a quel tempo io aveva fatto a nome di lei." [The pope has found means to despatch the most serious affairs, not only well, but with the utmost celerity. For in spite of the many well-known obstacles raised before him, he bestowed his benediction on the French king, received him into the bosom of the Church, and sent him a legate, when every one discouraged his doing so, under the pretext that it was not for his dignity to send one before the king had sent his ambassador to Rome; and in this affair the authority of your signory availed no little, for so his holiness told me in regard to certain services that I performed at that time in your name.]

to which he had assented, was read aloud. The representative of the most Christian king thereupon threw himself at the feet of the pope, who, touching him lightly with a wand, thus imparted the absolution. The papal see once more appeared on this occasion in all the splendour of its ancient authority.[1]

And this ceremony was, in fact, the manifestation of a great result effectually secured. The ruling power in France, now strong in itself and firmly seated, had again become Catholic. Its interest consequently was to keep on good terms with the pope. A new central point for Catholicism was formed in that country, and from this a most efficient influence must inevitably proceed.

When more nearly contemplated, this event is seen to offer two distinct aspects.

It was not by the immediate influence of the pope, nor by victory obtained by the rigidly Catholic party, that France had been recovered; it was rather by the union of opinions taking a medium between the two extremes of party. This result was indeed brought about by the superior force of that body which had at first constituted the opposition. It followed that the French church assumed a position entirely different from that accorded to those of Italy, the Netherlands, or the newly established church of Germany. It submitted to the pope, but this was done with a freedom and essential independence proceeding from its origin, the sentiment of which was never again resigned. Thus, the papal see was far from having the right to consider France as a complete conquest.

But the second aspect, the political side, presented the most important advantages. The lost balance of power was restored. Two great sovereignties, each jealous of the other, and both involved in continual strife and conflict, kept each other within due limits; both were Catholic, and might eventually be guided into the same direction; but in any case, the pope assumed between them a position of far

[1] Ossat, who is generally very circumstantial, passes rapidly over this ceremony. "Tout s'y est passé," he says, "convenablement à la dignité de la couronne très-chrétienne." But this was not the general opinion.

more perfect independence than his predecessors had for a long time found it possible to attain. From the fetters, hitherto thrown about him by the Spanish preponderance, he was now, to a great extent, freed.

This political result was indeed brought into view only by the progress of events. It was on the lapse of Ferrara to the papal see that French influence first became again manifest in the affairs of Italy; and this was an event which in many respects was of so great an importance to the progress of political power in the States of the Church, that we may for a moment allow it to divert our attention, as it did that of contemporaries, from the affairs of religion. We will begin with a retrospective glance at the duchy under the last of its princes.

7. FERRARA UNDER ALFONSO II

It has been frequently assumed that Ferrara was in a peculiarly prosperous condition under the last prince of the family of d'Este. This is nevertheless merely an illusion, and has originated, like so many others, from antipathy to the secular dominion of Rome.

Montaigne visited Ferrara under Alfonso II. He admired the broad streets of the city and its handsome palaces, but he remarked that it looked desolate and depopulated, as travellers have so frequently done in our own days.[1] The prosperity of the country depended on the maintenance of the dams and the regulation of the waters, but neither the dams nor the streams and canals were kept in good order. Inundations were not infrequent. The Volana and Primero were suffered to become choked with sand, so that their navigation was totally suspended.[2]

[1] Montaigne, Voyage I. 226–231.

[2] An account of the States of the Church, about the beginning of the seventeenth century, declares that the duke had transferred the peasants, whose duty it was to labour on the Po, to his own property of Mesola, so that the necessary works on the river had fallen into decay, and could not be restored.—Inff. Politt. tom. ix.

It would be even more erroneous to believe that the subjects of this house were either free or happy. Alfonso II enforced the claims of his exchequer with extreme severity. On the conclusion of every contract, were it only for a loan, one-tenth of the amount fell to the duke, and he levied a tenth on every article brought into the city. He had the monopoly of salt, and burdened the trade in oil with a new tax. By the advice of Christofano da Fiume, his commissioner of customs, he finally took the trade in flour and bread into his own hands. None might venture to procure these first necessaries of life except from the ducal officers, nor did any man dare even to lend a bowl of flour to his neighbour.[1] The nobles themselves were not permitted to hunt for more than a few days, and then were never allowed to use more than three dogs. One day six men were seen hanging in the market-place; dead pheasants were tied to their feet, and this was said to be in token of their having been shot while poaching on the ducal preserves.

It is obvious, therefore, that the writers who insist on the prosperity and activity of Ferrara cannot mean to speak of the country or the city, but simply of the court.

In the storms that convulsed the first ten years of the sixteenth century, in which so many prosperous families and mighty principalities were totally ruined, and when all Italy was shaken to its centre, the house of Este succeeded in maintaining its ground, and by the union of political address with stout-hearted self-defence, had managed to weather all danger. Other qualities were also united to these. Who has not read of that race which, as Bojardo expresses himself, was destined to maintain all bravery,

[1] Frizzi, Memorie per la Storia di Ferrara, tom. iv. p. 364; and more particularly Manolesso, Relatione di Ferrara: "Il duca non è così amato come li suoi precessori, e questo per l'austerità et esattioni che fa Christofano da Fiume cognominato il Frisato (sfregiato) suo gabelliere. — — Il Frisato s'offerse di vendere miglior mercato le robbe a beneficio del popolo di quello che facevano gli altri e di darne molto utile a S. Eccza; piacque il partito al duca: — ma se bene il Frisato paga al duca quello che gli ha data intentione, non sodisfa però al popolo, vendendo la robba cattiva quanto alla qualità e molto cara quanto al prezzo."

virtue, courtesy, and social gaiety alive in the world;[1] or of its dwelling-place, which, as Ariosto says, was adorned, not only with ample royal palaces, but with fair studies also and excellent manners.[2] But if the house of Este had the merit of bestowing patronage on science and poetry, it has been richly rewarded. The memory of the splendour and power which so rapidly pass away has been perpetuated by great authors in works that must live for ever.

As matters had stood under the earlier dukes of Ferrara, so Alfonso II sought to maintain them. His views and objects of pursuit were similar to those of his predecessors.

He had not indeed to sustain the violence of conflict by which they were assailed, but being continually involved in dissensions with Florence, and not feeling very secure of the pope, who was his feudal lord, he held himself constantly in an attitude of defence. Next to Padua, Ferrara was reputed the strongest fortress in Italy. Twenty-seven thousand men were enrolled in the militia,[3] and Alfonso laboured to encourage a military spirit in his people. Desiring to strengthen himself by a friendship sufficiently important to counterbalance the favour enjoyed by Tuscany at the court of Rome, he attached himself to the German emperors. He not unfrequently traversed the Alps with

[1] Bojardo, Orlando Innamorato, ii. 22.

"Da questa (stirpe) fia servato ogni valore,
Ogni bontade et ogni cortesia,
Amore, leggiadria, stato giocundo
Tra quella gente fiorita nel mundo."

[Be still transmitted by that favoured race
Which in the world's respect doth foremost shine,
Love, honour, valour, courtesy, and grace,
Each gentle virtue and each art divine.—C. F.]

[2] Ariosto, Orlando Furioso, xxxv. 6.

"Non pur di mura e d'ampli tetti regi,
Ma di bei studi e di costumi egregi."

[Nor for its walls alone and royal towers,
But eke for learning fair and for the Graces' bowers.—C. F.]

[3] Relatione sopra la Romagna di Ferrara: "Erano descritti nelli rolli della militia dal commissario della battaglia a ciò deputato tutti i sudditi atti a portar armi. Erano costretti a starne provisti per haver da servire nell' occasioni a piedi o a cavallo secondo le forze delle loro facoltà e godevano essi alcune esentioni."

a splendid train, received the hand of an Austrian princess in marriage, and is reported to have used the German language. In 1566 he marched into Hungary, to the aid of the emperor against the Turks, with a body of troops fourteen thousand strong.

The prosperity of literature increased greatly under his patronage. I do not indeed know of any country where its connection with the state has been more closely intimate. Two professors of the university, Pigna and Montecatino, were successively prime ministers of the duchy, and this without relinquishing their literary labours. It is at least certain that Pigna, while conducting the government, still delivered his lectures, and even published a book from time to time.[1] Battista Guarini, the author of the "Pastor Fido," was sent as ambassador to Venice, and afterwards to Poland. Even Francesco Patrizi, though engaged in the most abstruse subjects, yet speaks in high terms of the sympathy he experienced from the court. All these were of one mind; scientific discussions were followed by propositions touching various disputed questions of love, such, for example, as were once handled by Tasso, who was at one period a member of the university. Sometimes the court gave theatrical representations, at others a similar entertainment was offered by the university; but this theatre possessed also literary attractions, since attempts were continually made for the production of new forms, and it is to these that the perfection of the pastoral drama must be ascribed, as also the foundation of the opera. Ferrara was

[1] Manolesso: "Segretario intimo è il S^r Giovamb. Pigna, per mano del quale passano tutti negotii. Legge publicamente la filosofia morale, e scrive l'istoria della casa d'Este; è oratore, filosofo e poeta molto eccelente; possiede benissimo la lingua Greca, e servendo il suo principe ne' negotii e trattando e iscrivendo quanto occorre, non tralascia però i studi, et in tutte le professioni è tale che pare che ad una sola attenda." [Signor Giovambattista Pigna is the private secretary, and through his hands all business affairs must pass. He lectures publicly on moral philosophy, and is writing the history of the house of Este; he is a philosopher, an orator, and an excellent poet; is well acquainted with Greek, and though labouring for his prince, transacting affairs, and writing whatever is needed, he does not neglect his studies, but so fulfils each of his employments, that it might be thought he was occupied with that alone.]

sometimes visited by foreign ambassadors, cardinals, and princes, more especially by those of the neighbouring cities of Mantua, Guastalla, and Urbino, and sometimes even by an archduke. Then the court displayed its utmost splendour; tournaments were given, in which the nobility of the land spared no cost; a hundred knights sometimes assembled and tilted in the court of the palace. There were also representations from some fabulous work, or legend of poetry, as the names given to them sufficiently shew,—"The Temple of Love," "The Island of Happiness," for example.[1] Enchanted castles were attacked, defended, and conquered.

It was the most extraordinary union of poetry, learning, politics, and chivalry. The pomp of display became ennobled by the spirit which inspired it, and talent made ample amends for the defects of the means employed.

In the "Rime," as well as in the Epic, of Tasso, this court is presented in very lively colours: the prince "in whom force and elevation of character shines so nobly forth, and of whom it is difficult to decide whether he is a better knight or general," his wife, and above all, his sisters. The elder, Lucrezia, passed but little of her time with her husband in Urbino, and for the most part resided in Ferrara, exercising no slight influence over public affairs, though still more earnestly occupied in the promotion of literary interests, to which, and to the musical genius of the day, her patronage gave impulse and encouragement. It was this princess who secured the advancement of Tasso at the court of Ferrara. The younger, Leonora, held a less conspicuous position; she was gentle and retiring of manner, and delicate in health, but was endowed like her sister with a mind of great force.[2] During

[1] Extracts from descriptions which appeared at the time—from the "Tempio d'Amore," for example—may be found in Muratori, Serassi, and Frizzi.

[2] In the year 1566 she conducted the regency in the absence of the duke, according to Manolesso, "con infinita sodisfattione de' sudditi" [to the infinite satisfaction of the subjects]. "Non ha preso," he continues, "nè vuol prendere marito, per esser di debolissima complessione; è però di gran spirito." [She has not married, nor will she marry, because of the delicacy of her health; she has nevertheless a very high spirit.]

an earthquake, both refused to quit the palace. Leonora more particularly displayed a stoical indifference; when, at length, they yielded, it was almost too late, the roof falling in on the instant of their departure. Leonora was considered almost a saint; the deliverance of the city from an inundation was attributed to her prayers.[1] The homage offered to them by Tasso was in accordance with their respective characters: towards the younger, restrained and subdued, and as one who controls the expression of his thoughts; his admiration of the elder was more unreserved; he compared her to the full-blown fragrant rose, which maturity has deprived of no charm, &c. Other ladies adorned the courtly circle; among them were Barbara Sanseverina and her daughter Leonora Sanvitale. Tasso has described, with incomparable grace, the serene self-possession of the mother, and the radiant charm of youthful beauty in the daughter; no portrait could place them more clearly before us. Then follow descriptions of visits to the rural palaces of the duke; of the hunting parties and other amusements entered into on those occasions; in short, there are few who can resist the impression which these descriptions of the whole course and proceeding of that brilliant life, in their rich and musical flow, are so well calculated to produce.

Yet we must not entirely surrender ourselves to such impressions. The same power by which the country was maintained in so implicit an obedience did not fail to make itself felt at the court also.

These scenes of poetry and enjoyment were occasionally interrupted by others of a very different character: events in which the most exalted were as little spared as those of lower station.

One of the house of Gonzaga had been murdered, and all believed the young Ercole Contrario to be guilty of the crime: it was at least known that the murderers had found refuge on one of his estates. The duke commanded that they should be given up, and Contrario, to avoid being accused by them, caused them to be put to death himself, and sent their dead bodies only to the duke. Hereupon

[1] Serassi, Vita di Torquato Tasso, p. 150.

he was himself one day summoned to the court, and received in audience on the 2nd of August, 1575. The house of Contrario was the most ancient and wealthy of Ferrara. Ercole was its last remaining scion; yet he had not long entered the palace before he was carried out of it a corpse. The duke said that the young man had been suddenly struck with apoplexy while in discourse with him; but no one believed the assertion; traces of violence were perceived on the body; it was indeed acknowledged by the friends of the duke, that their lord had caused him to be put to death, but they excused this act, on the ground that he had not chosen to sully so illustrious a name by a more disgraceful death.[1]

This was a sort of justice that kept every one in terror, —the rather, as the possessions of the family had by this event fallen to the duke.

But it would not on the whole have been advisable for any one to oppose himself in the slightest degree to the sovereign will.[2] This court was indeed very dangerous and slippery ground. All the subtlety of Montecatino could not enable him to retain his footing to the last. The most distinguished preacher in Italy was at that time Panigarola, and he had been induced to settle at Ferrara, but not without difficulty. He was suddenly banished with injurious violence; and when it was asked for what crime he thus suffered, the only one adduced was, that he had negotiated respecting promotion with some other court. Neither could the changeful, susceptible, and melancholy Tasso at length keep his ground there; the duke seemed attached to him, felt pleasure in listening to him, and often took him to the

[1] Frizzi, Memorie, iv. 382.

[2] When Tasso was not in good humour, he expressed himself in different terms from those quoted above. In a letter to the duke of Urbino, he says, "Perchè io conosceva il duca per natural inclinatione dispostissimo alla malignità e pieno d'una certa ambitiosa alterezza, la quale egli trae della nobiltà del sangue e della conoscenza ch' egli ha del suo valore, del quale in molte cose non si da punto ad intendere il falso" [because I knew that the duke was naturally much disposed to malignity, and full of a certain overweening arrogance, which he derives from the nobility of his blood, and from the consciousness that he has of his own importance, which is in some respects certainly real.]—Lettere, n. 284. Opere, tom. ix. 188.

ducal palaces in the country; nor did he disdain to correct the descriptions of military proceedings that appear in the "Gerusalemme." But after Tasso had shown some inclination to enter the service of the Medici, all cordiality between them was at an end. The hapless poet left Ferrara; but impelled by an irresistible longing, he returned, and a few reproachful words, uttered in an access of melancholy, sufficed to determine the duke to condemn him to seven long years of imprisonment.[1]

We here see the whole character of the Italian principality, as it existed in the fifteenth century: based on judiciously calculated political relations, it was absolute and unlimited in the power of its internal administration; surrounded by splendour, closely connected with literature, and jealous even of the very appearance of power. Extraordinary aspect of human affairs! The whole power and all the resources of a country produce a court,—the centre of the court is the prince; finally, then, the ultimate product of all this gathered life is the self-sufficiency of the sovereign. From his position in the world, the obedience he receives, the respect accorded to him, he derives the sense of his own value and importance.

Alfonso II was childless, although he had been three times married. His whole policy is exemplified in the mode of his conduct under these circumstances.

He had two purposes to secure; the one was, to prevent his subjects from thinking it possible that they could fall off from his house; the other, to retain the nomination of a successor in his own hands, and to avoid raising up a rival against himself.

In September, 1589, he repaired to Loreto, where the sister of Sixtus V, Donna Camilla, then was; he spared neither gifts nor promises to gain her over. He hoped that she would procure him permission from the pontiff to name any one of his connections, whom he might prefer to be his successor; but the negotiations had but just been effectually commenced when Sixtus V expired.

By a similar expedient—presents to the sister-in-law of the pope, and alacrity in the service of his nephew—Alfonso

[1] Serassi, Vita del Tasso, p. 282.

gained access to Gregory XIV in the year 1591. When he perceived hope of success, he proceeded to Rome himself, for the more effectual conduct of the negotiations. The first question was, whether the bull of Pius V, which forbade all new investiture of papal fiefs that had lapsed to the feudal lord, was applicable to Ferrara. Alfonso maintained that it was not, because Ferrara had never lapsed. But the words were too precise, and the congregation decided that the bull applied beyond all doubt to Ferrara. All that yet remained to be inquired was, whether a pope had not the power to give a special determination in a special case. This the congregation did not venture to say he could not do; but they added this condition, that the necessity must be urgent, and the utility clearly obvious.[1] An important step was hereby made. It is not improbable that, if expedition had been used, and a new investiture at once prepared in favour of some one person then named, the affair might have been brought to the end desired; but Alfonso would not name his heir; neither was he entirely agreed on this point with the Sfondrati, who wished him to choose the Marquis Filippo d'Este, while he preferred his nearer kinsman, Cesare. Time passed while these things were in discussion, and Gregory also died before any thing had been concluded.[2]

Negotiations had, meanwhile, been opened with the imperial court likewise; for though Ferrara was a papal fief, Modena and Reggio were fiefs of the empire. The previous policy of the duke here did him good service: he was on the best terms with the emperor's most influential

[1] Dispaccio Donato: "Quando ci fusse evidentissima utilità et urgente necessità — — il che fu fatto per aprire la strada all' intentione del S^r Duca." Cardinal San Severina assures us that it was he who principally contributed to frustrate this design, though with great difficulty, and amidst violent opposition; the pope is also declared to have repented in the end of that qualification of the bull.

[2] Cronica di Ferrara, MS. in the Albani Library, also affirms that there was no doubt of Gregory's intention to do something for Ferrara. He left the congregation in a fit of anger, and became ill in consequence. Alfonso went to a villa of Cardinal Farnese's, "aspettando o vita o morte di questo papa. Venne la morte. Il duca ritornò" [waiting the event, whether the life or death of the pope. Death ensued—then the duke returned]. See Appendix, No. 64, section 3.

minister, Wolf Rumpf. Rudolf II accorded him the renewal of his investiture; and even granted him a certain period of time within which he was permitted to choose whoever he might wish to appoint, as his successor.

But all the more inflexible was Clement VIII, who had now become pope. It seemed to him more for the Catholic and ecclesiastical interests to retake possession of a lapsed fief than to grant it anew: it was thus too that the holy pontiff Pius V had decided for such cases. In the year 1592, Clement proposed in a secret consistory, that the bull of Pius should be ratified according to its original tenor, and without the addition made by Gregory XIV. In that form it was accordingly confirmed.[1]

The term granted by the emperor had also elapsed; and the duke was compelled to resolve on pointing out his successor. Alfonso I had married Laura Eustochia, when he was advanced in years, and after she had borne him a son. From this son descended Don Cesare d'Este, whom, after long delay, the duke appointed his successor. But he still proceeded with the most cautious secrecy. Without the knowledge of any one person, and in a letter written with his own hand to the emperor, he completed the nomination; but, at the same time, he entreated his majesty pressingly to let no one know what he had done; not even the ambassador from Ferrara to the imperial court. He requested the emperor to express his approval in no other manner than by returning the letter with the imperial signature affixed.[2]

Alfonso desired to hold the supreme authority in his small territories undivided to his last breath. He was resolved not to see his court turn towards the rising sun.

[1] Dispaccio Donato, 27 Dec. 1592.

[2] Relatione di quello che è successo in Ferrara dopo la morte del duca Alfonso (MS. Barber): "Il duca fra l'anno concessogli di tempo alla dichiaratione scrisse di suo pugno una lettera all' imperatore e nominò Don Cesare, pregando caldamente S. M. Cesª che in confirmatione del nominato sottoscrivesse la sua, quale sigillata senza publicare il fatto la rimandasse indietro per il conte Ercole Rondinelli, non conferendogli altramente il negotio. Il tutto faceva S. A. acciò Don Cesare non s'insuperbisse nè della nobiltà fusse riverito e corteggiato come lor principe."

Cesare himself received no intimation of the favour prepared for him. He was held, on the contrary, under a more rigid rule than before; was even restricted, in a certain sense, as to the splendour of his appearance (being forbidden to have more than three nobles in his train); and it was only when the duke's life was at the lowest ebb, when the physicians had resigned their last hope, that Alfonso permitted him to be summoned, and informed him of his good fortune. The testament was opened in presence of the principal inhabitants of the duchy. These persons were admonished by the minister to be true to the house of Este. The duke told Cesare that he left him the fairest dominion in the world; strong by its military force, its population, and its allies, both in Italy and beyond her limits; from whom he might promise himself help on all occasions. This being done, Alfonso II expired on the same day, 27th of October, 1597.

8. CONQUEST OF FERRARA

Cesare took possession of the imperial fiefs without opposition, and received homage even from those of the pope. In Ferrara he was robed by the magistrate in the ducal mantle, and greeted by the people as their sovereign with joyful acclamations.

His predecessor had assured him of foreign aid, as well as of the native strength he would find in his new dominions. Cesare was very soon placed in a position to put these promises to the test.

Clement remained immovable in his determination to resume possession of Ferrara. So many pontiffs had already made the attempt, that he believed he should secure himself eternal renown by its accomplishment. When intelligence was brought him of Alfonso's death, he declared that he was sorry the duke had left no son; but that the Church must have her own again. He would not listen to the ambassadors of Cesare, and called his taking possession, usurpation. He threatened to place him under

the ban of the Church, if he did not resign the duchy within fourteen days; and to give greater effect to his words, the pontiff at once prepared to take arms. A new loan was raised, and a new monte founded, that the money in the castle of St. Angelo might remain untouched.[1] He also despatched his nephew, Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini, to Ancona, with a staff of experienced military commanders, for the purpose of gathering troops. Recruiting parties were sent in all directions, and the provinces were burdened with heavy contributions.

Cesare also seemed at first to be full of spirit.[2] He declared, that he would defend his good right to the last drop of his blood, without fear that either his religion or salvation would be endangered by his doing so. Accordingly, the fortifications of his strongholds were repaired, the militia of the country were put under arms, a body of his troops advanced to the frontiers of the papal states; and we find an invitation to him to appear in Romagna, where the inhabitants were dissatisfied with the papal government, and only wanted some fair occasion to overturn it. He had also the good fortune to have the neighbouring Italian states on his side. His brother-in-law, the grand duke of Tuscany, declared that he would never abandon his cause. The republic of Venice prevented the pope from recruiting in Dalmatia, and refused him the arms and other munitions of war that he desired to obtain from Brescia. The aggrandizement of the papal states was a project abhorrent to the hearts of all its neighbours.

[1] Many affirm, nevertheless, that this did happen, but Delfino declares, "Con gran strettezza de' danari, senza metter mano a quelli del castello, per conservar la riputatione della chiesa, in poco piu di un mese ha posto insieme un esercito di 22 m. fanti e 3 m. cavalli." [Though suffering great dearth of money, he got together an army of 22,000 foot and 3000 horse in little more than a month, and without touching the treasure in the castle, for he desired to preserve the reputation of the Church.] See Appendix, No. 70.

[2] Nicolò Contarini delle historie Venetiane, MS., tom. i. lib. i.: "Cesare nel principio si mostrò molto coraggioso in voler difender le sue ragioni, o perchè non prevedeva il contrasto, o pur perchè gl'inesperti come nei vicini pericoli s'atterriscono, così nelli lontani si manifestano intrepidi." The narrative of Contarini supplies much exact and impressive intelligence respecting this occurrence.

Had the position of Italy been similar to that which she had held a hundred years earlier—independent, upon the whole, of foreign influences, and left to her own efforts—Clement VIII would probably not have effected more than Sixtus IV had then done; but those times were gone by; every thing now depended on the general state of European relations, and on the great powers of that period, France and Spain.

The inclinations of the Spaniards did not admit of doubt. Cesare d'Este relied so implicitly on Philip II, that he proposed him to the pope as umpire. The king's governor of Milan declared for Cesare without reserve, and offered him Spanish garrisons for his fortresses; but it could not be denied that Philip himself, who had all his life striven to repress commotions in Italy, was reluctant to give occasion for war in his advanced age, and governed all his proceedings with infinite caution, as did also his ambassador in Rome.[1]

So much the more important, under these circumstances, was the decision given by Henry IV. The restoration of France to Catholicism, as well as to power, was immediately followed by the most important consequences to Italy. It was with the assent and aid of the Italian princes that Henry IV had secured his fortunes; and they did not doubt but that he would now prove himself grateful, and take part with them in their difference with the Holy See. The crown of France was, besides, under great obligation to the house of Este. That family had advanced more than a million of scudi to the royal house of France during the civil wars; this sum had never yet been repaid; and would have now sufficed to raise an army such as no pope could have hoped to withstand.

[1] Delfino describes the fear that was felt in Rome regarding him: "Vi è un pensiero radicato a buon fundamento, che la benedizione data al re di Franza sia stata offesa tale al cattolico et a Spagnuoli, che non siano per scordarsela mai, e pare a S. S^{a} esserne molto ben chiarita in questa occasione di Ferrara." [There is a well-founded idea firmly rooted among the people there, that the benediction bestowed on the king of France has been so great an offence to the Catholic King and the Spaniards, that they will never forget it: and his holiness thinks this has been clearly shewn in the affair of Ferrara.]

These, however, were not the considerations by which Henry IV was influenced. He knew that, notwithstanding his conversion to Catholicism, he should still be often obliged to do many things that could not fail to displease the Roman court. In the affair of Ferrara, he saw nothing more than an opportunity for causing these things to be forgotten, and for once more raising the lilies, as his statesmen expressed it, at the court of Rome. Without hesitation or delay, therefore, he sent assurances to the Holy Father of assistance from France. He declared himself not only ready to lead an army across the Alps whenever the pope should desire it; but even, if need were, to appear in person, with all his force, for the defence of the pontiff.

It was by this declaration that the matter was decided. The Roman court, already sensible of the many embarrassments preparing for it, by the unfriendly dispositions of its neighbours, and the open resistance of Ferrara, now breathed again. "I cannot express," writes Ossat to the king, "what goodwill, praise, and blessing your majesty has obtained for your offer." He assures his master that, if his promise be fulfilled, he will assume a position similar to that held in the Church by Pepin and Charlemagne. On his part, the pope now made immediate preparation for the formal excommunication of his opponent.

So much the more were the princes alarmed and surprised; they complained of black ingratitude, and lost all courage for supporting Cesare d'Este, which they would otherwise doubtless have done, either openly or in secret, with their whole powers.

These things produced an immediate effect on Ferrara. The rigid government of Alfonso had of necessity caused many to feel dissatisfied. Cesare was new to the duties of sovereignty, without effectual talent, and wholly inexperienced. He had formed no personal acquaintance even with the members of his council, until holding his first sitting as their sovereign.[1] His older friends, those who knew him,

[1] Niccolò Contarini: "Cesare si ridusse in camera co' suoi soli consiglieri, de' quali molti, per la ritiratezza nelle quale era vissuto così volendo chi comandava, non conosceva se no di faccia, et egli non sufficiente di prender risolutione da se, vacillava nei concetti, perche

and in whom he felt confidence, were despatched to different courts, so that he had no one near him on whom he could firmly rely, or with whom he could hold confidential communication. He could not fail to make false steps. From the highest class downwards there prevailed a feeling of insecurity, such as frequently precedes approaching ruin. The more important personages, those who possessed a share in the power of the country, already began to calculate the advantages that might accrue from a change, and made advances towards the conclusion of a secret compact with the pontiff. Antonio Montecatino proceeded to Rome for that purpose; but the most grievous and most unfortunate circumstance was, that dissensions arose in the house of Este itself. Lucrezia had detested the father of Cesare; she hated himself no less, and would not consent to be his subject. She herself, the sister of the duke just departed, made no difficulty of entering into an alliance with Clement VIII and Cardinal Aldobrandini.

The pope had meanwhile completed the act of excommunication. On the 22nd of December, 1597, he went in all the pomp of a solemn procession to St. Peter's, and ascended with his immediate attendants to the loggia of the church; a cardinal read the bull before the people. Don Cesare d'Este was therein declared an enemy to the Church, guilty of treason, fallen under the heaviest censure and under the sentence of anathema: his subjects were freed from their oath of allegiance, and his officers were admonished to quit his service. After the bull had been read, the pope, assuming a look of anger, threw a large burning taper on the ground in the piazza beneath him. Trumpets and drums pealed forth, cannon were fired, and the roar of the populace rose above all.

Circumstances were so arranged, that this excommunication necessarily produced its full effect. A copy of the

quelli che consigliavano erano pieni di passioni particolari e per le speranze di Roma, in cui miravano, infetti di grandi contaminationi." Ossat, also, (Lettres, i. 495,) asserts the main source of his misfortunes to have been "le peu de fidélité de ses conseillers mesmes, qui partie pour son peu de résolution, partie pour avoir des rentes et autres biens en l'estat de l'eglise et espérer et craindre plus du st. siége que de lui, regardoient autant ou plus vers le pape que vers lui."

bull was carried into Ferrara by one of her own inhabitants,[1] who had it sewed into his clothes and delivered it to the bishop. On the following day, the 31st of December, 1597, a canon of the cathedral was to be interred. The church was hung with black, and the people had assembled to hear the funeral sermon. The bishop ascended the pulpit and began to speak of death. "But much worse," he suddenly exclaimed, "than the death of the body, is the perdition of the soul which now threatens us all." He ceased speaking and commanded the bull to be read aloud. In this document, all who would not separate themselves from Don Cesare were menaced with being "cut off like withered branches from the tree of spiritual life." This being done, the bull was fixed on the church door, the people filled the place with sighs and lamentations, and dismay seized the whole city.

Don Cesare was not the man to appease a commotion of this character. He had been advised to enlist Swiss and Germans for his defence, but could not summon resolution to do so. He would not have Catholics, because they were adherents of the pope; still less would he take Protestants, because they were heretics. "Just as if he had any thing to do," says Niccolò Contarini, "with exercising the office of an inquisitor." He now asked his confessor what he was to do. This was a Jesuit, Benedetto Palma. He recommended Don Cesare to submit.

He[2] was now in so difficult a position that, in order to

[1] A certain Coralta. "Ributtato al primo ingresso da' soldati, se escusò che lui ivi dimorava nè era ancora partito per Bologna (though he had indeed just arrived from that city, and had dismounted from his horse at a short distance from the gate) e ragionando si pose fra loro a sedere, finalmente assicurato si licentiò della guardia, entrò nella città, presentò al vescovo la scommunica con la lettera del arcivescovo di Bologna." [At his first attempt to enter he was driven back by the soldiers; he made his way by declaring that he lived there, and had not yet set off for Bologna. Discoursing with the soldiers, he seated himself among them; at last feeling secure, he bade the guard farewell, entered the city, and gave the bishop the bull with the letter from the archbishop of Bologna.]—Relatione di quello che, &c.

[2] Contarini: "Come chi abandona ogni speranza, piu facilmente si rimette nell' arbitrio dell' inimico che nella confidenza dell' amico, andò (Cesare) a ritrovare la duchessa d'Urbino, et a lei, la qual ben

present this submission under favourable conditions, he was obliged to have recourse to the person whom he knew to be his most violent enemy. To secure a tolerable retreat, he was compelled to avail himself of the secret, and in a certain sense treasonable connection, into which Lucrezia had entered with Rome. Commissioned by the duke, Lucrezia therefore betook herself, abating nothing of her accustomed splendour, to the enemy's camp.

The adherents of Cesare constantly affirmed that she might have obtained better conditions for him; but won over by the promise of Bertinoro, which she was to hold for life with the title of its duchess, and personally attracted by the young and clever cardinal, she agreed to all that was required from her. On the 12th of January, 1598, the treaty was drawn up, by virtue of which Don Cesare resigned his rights to Ferrara, Comacchio, and his portion of Romagna, in return for which he was to be released from the ban of the Church. He had flattered himself that he should at least save something, and felt that to be so completely despoiled was indeed very hard. He once more called together the principal magistrates of the city, the council of elders (Giudice de' Savj), with some few doctors and nobles, to hear their advice. They gave him no consolation; each was already thinking only of the means by which he might best secure his own position with the new power that was

sapeva haver pur troppo intelligenza col C[l] Aldobrandino, rimise ogni sua fortuna. Accettò ella allegramente l'impresa ridotta dove al principio haveva desiderato. — — Con molta comitiva, quasi trionfante, accompagnata dal marchese Bentivoglio, capo delle militie del duca, faceva il suo viaggio." [As he who abandons all hope will often commit himself rather to the guidance of his enemy than to the direction of a friend, so Cesare now went to seek the duchess of Urbino, and to her, whom he well knew to be of good intelligence with Cardinal Aldobrandini, he entrusted all his fortunes. She accepted the office gladly; having arrived at the point that she had desired from the first: with a great train, as if in triumph, and accompanied by the Marchese Bentivoglio, commandant of the duke's forces, she undertook her journey.] He considers Lucrezia "di pensieri torbidi: benche simulasse altrimente, era non di meno di lungo tempo acerrima nemica de Don Cesare" [a woman of dark and evil thoughts; she was long the most bitter enemy of Don Cesare, though she pretended the contrary.]

expected. In all quarters men were already emulating each other in eagerness to tear down the arms of the house of Este, and to drive out their officers. For the prince nothing further remained but to sign the deed of his expulsion, and depart from the inheritance of his fathers.

And thus did the house of Este lose Ferrara. The archives, museum, library, and a part of the artillery, which Alfonso I had cast with his own hand, were removed to Modena; all besides was lost. The widow of Alfonso carried away her property in fifty waggons. The sister of the latter, married in France, assumed to herself the claims of her family to that crown; but the most unexpected result was that witnessed in the case of Lucrezia. No time was allowed her for taking possession of her duchy. On the 12th of February, exactly one month after she had concluded the treaty just described, she expired. When her testament was opened, it was found that the very man who had driven her family from their ancient possessions, Cardinal Aldobrandini, was constituted heir to her wealth—universal legatee. She had even made over to him her claims, which were now to be contested with Cesare himself. It would seem that she had desired to bequeath to her ancient enemy an opponent who might embitter his whole life. There is something fiend-like in this woman, who appears to have found pleasure and satisfaction in securing the destruction of her house.

Thus then the ducal sovereignty was superseded by that of the ecclesiastical states. On the 8th of May the pope himself entered Ferrara. He desired immediately to enjoy the sight of his new conquest, and to bind it by suitable institutions to the Church.

He began with clemency and acts of grace. Ecclesiastical dignities were conferred on several among the leading men of Ferrara.[1] Cardinals' hats, bishoprics, and auditorships were liberally distributed. Among those promoted

[1] Contarini: "Al Bevilacqua, che era di molto potere, fu dato il patriarcato latino di Constantinopoli. Il Saciato fu creato auditor di rota. Ad altri si dispensarono abbatie."

was the young Bentivoglio, who was made private chamberlain to the pope. The power of the dukes had been founded on their possession of municipal privileges; the pope now resolved to restore to the citizens their ancient rights. He formed a council (conseglio) from the three classes, giving twenty-seven seats in it to the greater nobles, fifty-five to the inferior nobility and principal citizens, and eighteen to the guilds of the trades. These rights were carefully distinguished. Those of the first class were most important; but to balance this advantage came the fact, that their nomination depended for the most part on the will of the pope. To this "conseglio" Clement now entrusted the duty of providing for the due supply of the means of life to the city, the regulation of the rivers, the appointment of judges and mayors (podestas), and even the nomination to chairs in the university. All these were rights that the duke had jealously reserved to himself, and these changes were the commencement, as will be obvious, of a new order of things. Attention was also given to the welfare of the lower classes. The severity of the fiscal arrangements was materially modified and relaxed.[1]

But these advantageous measures were not applicable in all cases. Even the papal government was not wholly formed of clemency and mildness. The nobles were soon dissatisfied with the judicial administration of ecclesiastical officers. The principal "Giudice de' Savj," Montecatino, found the restrictions imposed on the rights of his office insufferable, and sent in his resignation. Universal discontent was excited by the circumstance that Pope Clement thought it requisite to secure himself in his new conquest by the erection of a fortress. The representations made by the inhabitants for the prevention of this purpose, though most earnest and imploring, were unavailing. It was precisely one of the most populous parts of the city that was selected for the citadel;[2] whole streets were removed,

[1] Frizzi, Memorie, v. p. 25.

[2] Dispaccio Delfino, 7. Giugno, 1598: "Si pensa dal papa di far una citadella della parte verso Bologna, per la poca sodisfattione, che ha la nobiltà per non esser rispettata dalli ministri della giustitia e che non li siano per esser restituite le entrate vecchie della communità—dolendosi di esser ingannati."

together with churches, oratories, hospitals, the summer residences of the duke and his court, and the beautiful Belvedere, celebrated by so many poets.

It had, perhaps, been expected, that by these devastations the memory of the ducal house would be completely obliterated; but they served, on the contrary, to restore it to life; the half-forgotten attachment to the hereditary line of princes returned. All those who had belonged to the court retired to Modena; and Ferrara, which had never been particularly animated, became more than ever desolate.

But it was not possible that all who wished to follow the court should do so. There is yet remaining a MS. chronicle by an old servant of the ducal house, in which he sets forth the proceedings of Alfonso's court with great complacency. Its pleasures, its concerts, its sermons—all are enumerated. "But now," he says in conclusion, "all this has passed by; now there is no longer a duke in Ferrara; there are no more princesses, no concerts, and no concert-givers; so passes the glory of this world; for others, the world may be rendered pleasant by changes, but not for me, who am left behind, alone, aged, frail, and poor. Nevertheless, God be praised."[1]

9. COMMOTIONS AMONG THE JESUITS

The great and fortunate results obtained by Clement VIII from acting in harmony with the policy of France were manifestly calculated to bind him more and more closely to its interests. He now found the advantage of having conducted himself with so much caution in the affairs of the League; of having opposed no obstacle to the development of events in France, and of having resolved, though it were but at the last moment, to grant the desired absolution. The war now proceeding on the frontiers of France and

[1] Cronica di Ferrara: "Sic transit gloria mundi. E per tale variare natura è bella, ma non per me, che io son restato, senza patrone, vecchio, privo di tutti i denti, e povero. Laudetur deus."

the Netherlands awakened as lively an interest in Rome as though the cause had been their own, and all were decidedly on the French side. When the Spaniards succeeded in the conquest of Calais and Amiens, a dissatisfaction was produced at the court of Rome, such as, according to Ossat, "could not be described; an extremity of sorrow, shame, and indignation."[1] Delfino tells us, that the pope and his nephews feared, lest the Spaniards should avenge on them the disappointment which Philip of Spain had endured in regard to the absolution. Fortunately, Henry IV soon retrieved his endangered reputation by the reconquest of Amiens.

Not that people at Rome had begun to feel any affection for those whom they had formerly combated. The measures taken by those chiefs of the clergy, who had been the first to attach themselves to Henry, and had founded the opposition party previously described, had never been forgotten; promotion was much more readily accorded to the adherents of the League, when they returned voluntarily -that is, when they were precisely in the same condition as the Curia itself. But there soon arose a Catholic party, even among the adherents of the king - for the opinions of men, however nearly they may approximate, yet manifest varieties of character and tendency - whose determination it was to evince the most rigid Catholicism, with a view to maintaining a good understanding with the court of Rome. To this party the pontiff especially attached himself, hoping to reconcile all the differences still existing between the French and Roman interests; he desired and endeavoured above all to accomplish the restoration of the Jesuits, who, as we have related, had been driven out of France, and thus to secure a wider field for the extension of the Romish doctrines,

[1] Ossat à Villeroy 14 mai 1500, 20 avril 1507. (I, 251. 458.) Delfino: "I i pericoli di Marsiglia feceto stare il papa in gran timore e li nepoti; la perdita di Calès e poi quella di Amiens apporto loro gran mestitia e massime che si dubitò allora per le voci che andavano attorno di peggio, temendo quelli che ogni poco che cadeva più la riputatione de' Francesi, i Spagnoli non avessero mostrato apertamente lo sdegno che hanno avuto della resolutione (absolutione?) loro e la sua mala volontà; per questa causa principalmente hanno avuto carissimo il bene della Franza."

notwithstanding the adverse disposition manifested in France, and in defiance of its influence.

In this design Clement was aided by a commotion in the Society of Jesus itself, which, though taking its rise within the order, had yet a close analogy to the change in the general tendencies of the Roman court.

So strangely are the affairs of this world sometimes complicated, that at the moment when the connection of the Jesuits with Spain was charged against them by the university of Paris, as their heaviest crime; when it was asserted and believed in France that every Jesuit was bound by a fifth vow to devote himself to Spain and to pray daily for king Philip;[1] at that very moment the society was enduring the most violent assaults in Spain itself; first from discontented members of its own body, then from the Inquisition, next from another ecclesiastical order, and finally from the king himself.

This was a turn of affairs that had its origin in more than one cause, but of which the immediate occasion was as follows.

At the first establishment of the order, the elder and already educated men, who had just entered it, were for the most part Spaniards; the members joining it from other nations were chiefly young men, whose characters had yet to be formed. It followed naturally that the government of the society was, for the first ten years, almost entirely in Spanish hands. The first general congregation was composed of twenty-five members, eighteen of whom were Spaniards.[2] The first three generals belonged to the same nation. After the death of the third, Borgia, in the year 1573, it was once more a Spaniard, Polanco, who had the best prospect of election.

It was, however, manifest, that his elevation would not have been regarded favourably, even in Spain itself. There were many new converts in the society, who were Christianized Jews. Polanco also belonged to this class, and it

[1] "Pro nostro rege Philippo."

[2] Sacchinus, vii. 99. In the second general congregation the disproportion was decreased, though not to any great extent. Of thirty-nine members, twenty-four were Spaniards.

was not thought desirable that the supreme authority in a body so powerful, and so monarchically constituted, should be confided to such hands.[1] Pope Gregory XIII, who had received certain intimations on this subject, considered a change to be expedient on other grounds also. When a deputation presented itself before him from the congregation assembled to elect their general, Gregory inquired how many votes were possessed by each nation; the reply showed that Spain held more than all the others put together. He then asked from which nation the generals of the order had hitherto been taken. He was told that there had been three, all Spaniards. "It will be just, then," replied Gregory, "that for once you should choose one from among the other nations." He even proposed a candidate for their election.

The Jesuits opposed themselves for a moment to this suggestion, as a violation of their privileges, but concluded by electing the very man proposed by the pontiff. This was Eberhard Mercurianus.

A material change was at once perceived, as the consequence of this choice. Mercurianus, a weak and irresolute man, resigned the government of affairs, first indeed to a Spaniard again, but afterwards to a Frenchman, his official admonitor; factions were formed, one expelling the other from the offices of importance, and the ruling powers of the order now began to meet occasional resistance from its subordinate members.

But a circumstance of a much higher moment was, that on the next vacancy—in the year 1581—this office was conferred on Claudio Acquaviva, a Neapolitan, belonging to a house previously attached to the French party, a man of great energy, and only thirty-eight years old.

The Spaniards then thought they perceived that their nation, by which the society had been founded and guided on its early path, was now to be for ever excluded from the generalship. Thereupon they became discontented and

[1] Sacchinus, Historia Societatis Jesu, pars iv.: sive Everardus, lib. i.: "Horum origo motuum duplex fuit, studia nationum et neophytorum in Hispania odium." See Appendix, No. 93.

refractory,[1] and conceived the design of making themselves less dependent on Rome, either by the appointment of a commissary-general for the Spanish provinces, or by whatever other expedient might secure the desired result. Acquaviva, on the other hand, was not disposed to concede the smallest portion of the authority accorded to him by the letter of the constitution. For the purpose of restraining the disaffected, he set over them superiors on whose devotion to himself he could rely;—young men, whose opinions as well as age were more in harmony with his own,[2] and also, perhaps, as was affirmed, certain members of inferior merit—coadjutors, who were not invested with all the privileges of the order, and who therefore depended, one and all, on the protection of the general,—they were, besides, Neapolitans[3] and his countrymen.

The aged, learned, and experienced fathers thus saw themselves excluded, not from the supreme dignity only, but also from the official appointments of the provinces. Acquaviva declared that their own defects were to blame for this; one was choleric, another melancholy. Naturally, says Mariana, distinguished men are like others—liable to be afflicted with some defect. But the true cause was, that Acquaviva feared these fathers, and desired more pliant tools

[1] Mariana: Discurso de las Enfermedades de la Compañia, c. xii.: "La nacion española esta persuadida queda para sempre excluida del generalato. Esta persuasion, sea vedadera sea falsa, no puede dexar de causar disgustos y disunion, tanto mas que esta nacion fundò la compañia, la honrò, la enseñò y aun sustentò largo tiempo con su substancia."

[2] Mariana, c. xii.: "Ponen en los gobiernos homes mozos . . . porque son mas entremetidos saben lamer a sus tiempos." [They place mere boys in the government, because they are more enterprising, and are more easily bent to the necessities of the times.]

[3] We have here, in addition to Mariana, the memorials presented to Clement VIII, which are also of moment. They are printed in the Tuba magnum clangens sonum ad Clementem XI, p. 583: "Videmus cum magno detrimento religionis nostrae et scandalo mundi quod generalis nulla habita ratione nec antiquitatis nec laborum nec meritorum facit quos vult superiores et ut plurimum juvenes et novicios, qui sine ullis meritis et sine ulla experientia cum maxima arrogantia praesunt senioribus: . . . et denique generalis, quia homo est, habet etiam suos affectus particulares, . . . et quia est Neapolitanus, melioris conditionis sunt Neapolitani."

for the execution of his commands. Men have generally a particular satisfaction in the active part accorded to them in public affairs, and will at least not quietly suffer themselves to be forcibly expelled from their possession. Jealousies and disputes arose in all the colleges: the new superiors were received with silent animosity; they could carry out no measure of essential importance, and were but too happy when they could make their way without troubles and commotions. They had, nevertheless, the power of avenging themselves, and they in their turn conferred the subordinate offices exclusively on their personal adherents (for they could not long fail to secure adherents, the monarchical constitution of the order, and the ambition of its members considered). Of the more unmanageable among their opponents they freed themselves by transferring them to other provinces; and this they took care to do, precisely when some deliberation of importance was impending. Thus a system of personal offences and retaliations was established; every member had the right of pointing out whatever defects he perceived in another, nay, it was imposed on him as a duty to do so,—a regulation that might not be without some utility in the comparative innocence of a small association, but which had now become a system of the most abominable espionage and talebearing. It was made the instrument of concealed ambition, and of hatred wearing the appearance of friendship. "Were any one to search the archives in Rome," says Mariana, "he would perhaps not find a single upright man, at least among us who are at a distance." Universal distrust prevailed: there was none that would have uttered his thoughts without reserve, even to his own brother.

These disorders were increased by the fact that Acquaviva could not be induced to leave Rome for the purpose of visiting the provinces, as Lainez and Borgia had done. This was excused by the declaration, that it was advantageous to have the statement of affairs in writing, and in an unbroken series, without the interruption proceeding from the contingencies of a journey. But the immediate consequence certainly was, that the provincials, through whose hands passed the whole of the correspondence, acquired a still further increase of independence. It was useless to complain

of them, since they could easily foresee and provide against all complaints in such a manner as to render them nugatory, and this the more certainly, because Acquaviva was always disposed to favour their side. Their places might be fairly considered secured to them for life.

Under these circumstances, the older Jesuits in Spain became convinced that a state of things, which they felt to be a tyranny, would never be changed or amended by efforts confined within the limits of the society; they consequently resolved to look around for help from those beyond its influence.

They first had recourse to the national spiritual authority of their own country—the Inquisition. A great number of offences were reserved, as is well known, to the jurisdiction of the Inquisition. One of the discontented Jesuits, impelled, as he affirmed, by a scruple of conscience, accused his order of concealing, and even remitting, transgressions of the kind so reserved, when the criminal was one of their society. The Inquisition immediately caused the provincial implicated, together with his most active associates, to be arrested.[1] Other accusations being made in consequence of these arrests, the Inquisition commanded that the statutes of the order should be placed before it, and proceeded to make further seizures of parties accused. The excitement occasioned by these things among the orthodox Spaniards was all the more violent, from their being unacquainted with the cause of these arrests, and from the prevalence of an opinion, that the Jesuits were seized on account of some heresy.

The Inquisition was, however, competent to inflict a punishment on the criminal only: it could not prescribe changes in the regulations of the society. When the affair, therefore, had proceeded thus far, the discontented members applied to the king also, assailing him with long memorials, wherein they complained of the defects in their constitution. The character of this constitution had never been agreeable to Philip II; he used to say that he could see through all

[1] Sacchinus, pars v. lib. vi. n. 85: "Quidam e confessariis, seu vere seu falso, delatus ad provincialem tum Castellae, Antonium Marcenium, erat de tentata puellae per sacras confessiones pudicitia, quod crimen in Hispania sacrorum quaesitorum judicio reservabatur."

the other orders, but that the order of Jesuits he could not understand. He seemed to be startled and struck by the representations laid before him of the abuses resulting from absolute power, and the disorders attendant on secret accusations. Amidst all the demands made on his time by the great European conflict in which he was engaged, Philip yet found means to bestow attention on this affair also. He at once commanded Manrique, bishop of Carthagena, to subject the order to a visitation, with particular reference to these points.

It will be remarked that this was an attack affecting the character of the institution, and that of its chief himself; it received increased importance from the fact of its originating in the country whence the society had drawn its existence, and where it had first taken a firm position.

Acquaviva did not suffer himself to quail before it. He was a man who concealed an inflexible intrepidity of character beneath extreme gentleness and amenity of manner; of a disposition similar to that of Clement VIII, and, indeed, of many eminent men of that day; above all things deliberate, moderate, patient, and taciturn. He would never permit himself to pronounce a positive judgment; he would not even suffer one to be pronounced in his presence; least of all, when it concerned an entire nation. His secretaries were expressly commanded to avoid every offensive or bitter word. He loved piety, even in its external forms. At the altar his deportment expressed profound enjoyment of the service; yet he was averse to every thing that tended towards enthusiasm or fanaticism. He refused to allow an exposition of the Song of Solomon to be printed, because he found offence in the expressions which appeared to hover on the confines separating spiritual from material love. Even when uttering censures he won affection; rendering manifest the superiority of calmness: he reconducted the erring into the paths of right by pure reason and clear argument. Youth clung to him with enthusiastic attachment. "One must needs love him," writes Maximilian of Bavaria, from Rome, to his father, "if one do but look at him." These qualities; his unwearied activity, distinguished birth, and the constantly increasing importance of his order,

secured him a very eminent position in Rome. If his antagonists had gained over the national authorities in Spain, he had the court of Rome on his side. With that court he had been familiar from his youth up. He was chamberlain when he entered the order; and he had the power of managing it with that mastery, which is derived from native talent, and perfected by long practice.[1]

The character of Sixtus V made it comparatively easy for Acquaviva to excite the antipathies of that pontiff against the proceedings of the Spaniards. Pope Sixtus had formed the hope, as we know, of rendering Rome, more decidedly than it ever yet was, the metropolis of Christendom. Acquaviva assured him, that the object really laboured for in Spain was no other than increased independence of Rome. Pope Sixtus hated nothing so much as illegitimate birth; and Acquaviva caused him to be informed that Manrique, the bishop selected as "Visitator" of the Jesuits, was illegitimate. These were reasons sufficient to make Sixtus recall the assent he had already given to the visitation. He even summoned the case of the provincial before the tribunals of Rome. From his successor, Gregory XIV, the general succeeded in obtaining a formal confirmation of the rule of the order.

But his antagonists also were unyielding and crafty. They perceived that the general must be attacked in the court of Rome itself. They availed themselves of his momentary absence—Acquaviva had been charged with the arrangement of a difference between Mantua and Parma—to win Clement VIII to their wishes. In the summer of 1592, at the request of the Spanish Jesuits and Philip II, but without the knowledge of Acquaviva, the pontiff commanded that a general congregation should be held.

Astonished and alarmed, Acquaviva hastened back. To the generals of the Jesuits these congregations were no less inconvenient than were the Convocations of the Church to the popes; and if his predecessors were anxious to avoid them, how much more cause had Acquaviva, against whom there prevailed so active an enmity! But he was soon

[1] Sacchinus, and still more particularly Juvencius, Hist. Soc. Jesu, partis quintae tomus posterior, xi. 21, and xxv. 33–41.

convinced that the arrangement was irrevocable;[1] he therefore resumed his composure and said, "We are obedient sons; let the will of the Holy Father be done." He then hastened to take his measures.

He contrived to obtain extensive influence over the elections, and was so fortunate as to see many of his most formidable adversaries, Mariana, for example, rejected, even in Spain.

When the congregation was assembled, he did not wait to be attacked. In the very first sitting he declared that he had had the misfortune to displease some of his brethren; and, therefore, begged that his conduct might be investigated before any other business was entered on. A commission was thereupon appointed, and charges were formally made; but it was impossible to convict him of violating any positive law: he was much too prudent to expose himself to such an accusation, and was triumphantly acquitted.

Having thus secured himself personally, he joined the assembly in its investigation of the proposals regarding the general affairs of the institute.

Philip of Spain had demanded some changes, and had

[1] In a Consulta del Padre Cl. Acquaviva coi suoi Padri assistenti, MS. in the Corsini Library, n. 1055, which gives, upon the whole, a faithful relation of these internal dissensions, and is, in general, strictly in accord with Mariana, Acquaviva is represented as rendering the following account of a conversation held by himself with the pope: "S. St^tà disse che io non aveva sufficiente notizia de' soggetti della religione, che io veniva ingannato da falsi delatori, che io mi dimostrava troppo credulo." [His holiness said, that I was not sufficiently well informed on subjects of religion; that I had been deceived by false accusers, and had proved myself too credulous.] Among the causes by which a congregation was rendered necessary, the following were specified: "Perchè molti soggetti di valore che per non esser conosciuti più che tanto da' generali non hanno mai parte alcuna nel governo, venendo a Roma in occasione delle congregationi sarebbero meglio conosciuti e per conseguenza verrebbero più facilmente in parte del medesimo governo, senza che questo fosse quasi sempre ristretto a pochi." [Because many excellent and able men, being but slightly known to the generals, have never any share in the government; but, by coming to Rome, to attend the congregations, they would become better known, and might thus more easily acquire a part in the said government; so that this should not continue to be almost entirely restricted to a few persons.]

recommended others for consideration. On two things he insisted: the resignation of certain papal privileges; those of reading forbidden books, for example, and of granting absolution for the crime of heresy; and a law, by virtue of which every novice who entered the order should surrender whatever patrimonial rights he might possess, and should even resign all his benefices. These were matters in regard to which the order came into collision with the Inquisition and the civil government. After some hesitation, the demands of the king were complied with, principally through the influence of Acquaviva himself.

But the points recommended by Philip for consideration were of much higher moment. First of all came the questions, whether the authority of the superiors should not be limited to a certain period; and whether a general congregation should not be held at certain fixed intervals? The very essence and being of the institute, the rights of absolute sovereignty, were here brought into question. Acquaviva was not on this occasion disposed to comply. After an animated discussion, the congregation rejected these propositions of Philip; but the pope, also, was convinced of their necessity. What had been refused to the king was now commanded by the pope. By the plentitude of his apostolic power, he determined and ordained that the superiors and rectors should be changed every third year; and that, at the expiration of every sixth year, a general congregation should be assembled.[1]

It is, indeed, true that the execution of these ordinances did not effect so much as had been hoped from them. The congregation could be won over, and, though the rectors were changed, yet they were selected out of so narrow a circle, that the same men were soon returned to their appointments. It was, nevertheless, a very serious blow to the society, that it had been compelled, by internal revolt and interference from without, to a change in its statutes.

And there was already a new storm arising from the same quarter.

[1] Juvencius furnishes a circumstantial notice as to these things in his first book, which he calls the eleventh, "Societas domesticis motibus agitata," and it is from them that I derive the account given in the text.

At their first establishment, the Jesuits had assented to the doctrinal system of the Thomists. Ignatius himself had expressly enforced on his disciples the tenets propounded by the angelic doctor (Doctor Angelicus).

But they very soon became persuaded that with these doctrines they could not perfectly attain their end in their contest with the Protestants. They wished to be independent in their tenets as well as in their lives. It was mortifying to the Jesuits to follow in the train of the Dominicans, to whom St. Thomas had belonged, and who were regarded as the natural expositors of his opinions. After they had already given so many intimations of these views and feelings, that allusion had occasionally been made in the Inquisition to the free mode of thinking perceptible among the Jesuit fathers,[1] Acquaviva came forward in the year 1584, proclaiming them openly in his "Order of Studies." He affirmed that St. Thomas was, indeed, an author deserving the highest approbation; but that it would be an insufferable yoke to be compelled to follow his footsteps in all things, and on no point to be allowed a free opinion; that many ancient doctrines had been more firmly established by recent theologians, who had brought forward many new arguments, which served admirably in the conflict with heretics; and that in all such it was permitted to follow these doctors.

This was amply sufficient to occasion powerful excitement in Spain, where the chairs of theology were occupied, for the most part, by Dominicans. The "Order of Studies" was declared to be the boldest, most presumptuous, and dangerous book of the kind; both the king and the pope were applied to on the subject.[2]

But how greatly must the commotion have increased when the system of the Thomists was soon afterwards

[1] Lainez himself was suspected by the Spanish Inquisition.—Llorente, iii. 83.

[2] Pegna, in Serry, Historia Congregationum de auxiliis divinae gratiae, p. 8: "y dado a censurar, fue dicho por aquellos censores (Mariana and Serry speak of the Inquisition) que aquel libro era el mas peligroso, temerario y arrogante que jamas havia salido in semejante materia, y que si metia en pratica lo que contenia, causaria infinitos daños y alborotos en la republica christiana."

positively abandoned in one of the most important doctrinal works of the Jesuits!

In the whole domain of theology, Catholic and Protestant, the disputes respecting grace and merit, free-will and predestination, were still the most important and exciting; they continually occupied the minds and employed the learning and speculative powers of clergy and laity alike. On the Protestant side, the majority at that time accepted the severe doctrine of Calvin, of the particular decree of God, by which "some were predestined to eternal blessedness, and others to everlasting damnation." The Lutherans, with their milder views, were here at disadvantage, and lost ground, now in one place and now in another. A different tendency of opinions was manifested on the Catholic side. Whenever there was the slightest disposition shewn to the very mildest form of Protestant belief, or even to a more rigid construction of St. Augustine's Expositions, as, for example, in the case of Bajus at Louvain, it was instantly attacked and suppressed. On this occasion the Jesuits displayed particular zeal. The system of doctrine propounded by the Council of Trent (which indeed would never have been established but for the influence of their brethren, Lainez and Salmeron) was defended by them against every symptom of deviation towards the tenets that had then been abjured and abandoned; nor did even that system always suffice to content their polemical zeal. In the year 1588, Luis Molina of Evora came forward with a book, in which he examined these disputed points anew, and laboured to explain the difficulties still remaining, in new arguments.[1] His especial object in this work was to vindicate a yet wider sphere of action for the free-will of man than was asserted by the doctrines of St. Thomas or of Trent. At Trent the work of salvation had been declared to be chiefly founded on the inherent righteousness of Christ, which, being infused into us, calls forth or gives birth to love, conducts to all virtues and to good works, and finally

[1] "Liberi arbitrii cum gratiae donis concordia." In these controversies it has always been considered needful to distinguish carefully between the editions of Lisbon 1588, of Antwerp 1595, and of Venice, because they all differ from each other.

produces justification. Molina proceeds an important step further. He maintained that free-will, even without the help of grace, can produce morally good works; that it can resist temptation; and can elevate itself to various acts of hope, faith, love, and repentance.[1] When man has advanced to this point, then God, for the sake of Christ's merits, grants him grace,[2] and by means of this he experiences the supernatural operations of sanctification; but even in the reception of this grace, and in the furtherance of its growth, free-will is continually in action: every thing, in fact, depends on this will; it rests with us to make the help of God effectual or ineffectual. On the union of the will and of grace it is that justification depends; they are combined, as are two men who are rowing in a boat. It is obvious that Molina could not here admit the doctrine of predestination as announced by Augustine or by Thomas Aquinas. He considers it too stern—too cruel: he will not hear of any other predestination than that which is simply and purely foreknowledge. Now God, from his supreme insight into the nature of each man's will, has previous knowledge of what each will do in given cases, although he was left free to do the contrary; yet an event does not occur because God foreknew it, but God foresaw it because it would happen. This was a doctrine that certainly went into an extreme directly opposed to that of Calvin, and was also the first which attempted to rationalize this mystery, if we may so speak. It is intelligible, acute, and plausible, and therefore could not fail to produce a certain effect; it may be compared with the doctrine of the sovereignty of the people, which the Jesuits promulgated about that time.[3]

[1] The "concursus generalis Dei" is always presupposed; but in this nothing more is meant than the natural state of free-will, which certainly could not, without God, be what it is: "Deus semper praesto est per concursum generalem libero arbitrio, ut naturaliter velit aut nolit prout placuerit." It is much in the same manner that Bellarmine identifies Natural and Divine law, because God is the author of nature.

[2] This grace also he apprehends and explains very naturally. Disput. 54: "Dum homo expendit res credendas . . . per notitias concionatoris aut aliunde comparatas, influit Deus in easdem notitias influxu quodam particulari quo cognitionem illam adjuvat."

[3] This disposition towards rationalism had shewn itself in other

That these opinions should provoke opposition in their own Church was an inevitable consequence, had it been only that they departed from the Doctor Angelicus, whose "Summa" was still the principal text-book of Catholic theologians; they were even censured, and that openly, by certain members of their own society, such as Henriquez and Mariana. But the Dominicans engaged much more eagerly in the defence of their patriarch. Not content with writing and preaching against Molina, they attacked him in their lectures also. It was at length agreed that a disputation should be held between the two parties, and this took place at Valladolid on the 4th of March, 1594. The Dominicans, who believed themselves in exclusive possession of the orthodox creed, became vehement. "Are the keys of wisdom, then," exclaimed a Jesuit, "confided to your hands?" The Dominicans burst into loud outcries—they considered this to be an attack on St. Thomas himself.

Thenceforth a complete estrangement existed between these two orders; the Dominicans would have nothing more to do with the Jesuits. Of these last the greater number, if not all, took part with Molina. Acquaviva himself, with his assistants, were on his side.

But here also the Inquisition prepared to interfere. The grand inquisitor—it was that same Geronimo Manrique who had been selected as "visitator of the order"—shewed a disposition to condemn Molina; he gave him notice that his book was not likely to escape with a mere reprobation or prohibition, but would be condemned to the flames.

places also; as, for example, in the tenets maintained by Less and Hamel at Louvain, in 1585: Propositiones in Lessio et Hamelio a theologis Lovaniensibus notatae: "ut quid sit scriptura sacra, non est necessarium singula eius verba inspirata esse a spiritu sancto." From the words they proceed at once to the truths of Scripture: "non est necessarium, ut singulae veritates et sententiae sint immediate a spiritu sancto ipsi scriptori inspiratae." In these declarations we already find a part, at least, of the essential propositions of Molina. Here, too, attention is drawn to their entire disagreement with the views of the Protestants: "haec sententia . . . quam longissime a sententia Lutheri et Calvini et reliquorum haereticorum huius temporis recedit, a quorum sententia et argumentis difficile est alteram sententiam (the Augustinian and Thomist) vindicare."

Of the complaints that Molina made against the Dominicans in return, the grand inquisitor refused to take cognizance.

This was a controversy by which the whole world of Catholicism was set in commotion, as well for the doctrines themselves, as on account of their champions; it also greatly increased the violence of the enmity to the Jesuits which had arisen in Spain.

And from this state of things there resulted the extraordinary phenomenon, that while the Jesuits were driven out of France for their attachment to Spain, they were in that country made the objects of the most perilous assaults. In both countries, political and religious motives combined to produce this result; the political was in both of the same character—it was a national opposition to the privileges and immunities of the order. In France it was more impetuous and fiercer, but in Spain it was more definite and better founded. In regard to doctrine, it was by their new tenets that the Jesuits had provoked hatred and persecution. Their doctrine of the sovereignty of the people, and the opinions they held as to regicide, were the causes of their ruin in France; their tenets respecting free-will had produced the injury they suffered in Spain.

This was a moment in the history of the society which was of infinite importance to its future direction.

Against the assaults of the national authorities, the parliament and the Inquisition, Acquaviva sought aid from the central point and general referee of the whole Church—from the pontiff himself.

He availed himself of the favourable moment when the grand inquisitor Manrique had just died and his place had not yet been filled up, and prevailed on the pope to summon the dispute concerning doctrine to Rome for examination. If the decision were only deferred, it would be an important point gained, for in Rome a variety of influences were at that time readily to be found, of which, at any critical moment, good and efficient use might be made. On the 9th of October, 1596, the documents relating to the proceedings were sent to Rome, and the most learned theologians of both sides appeared

to fight out their battle under the eyes of the sovereign-pontiff.[1]

In the French affair Clement took part with the Jesuits: he considered it unjustifiable that an entire order should be condemned on account of one single person who might have deserved punishment, more especially that order by whose efforts the restoration of Catholicism had been most effectually promoted, and which was so powerful a support to the Church. Was not the order suffering for its devotion to the papal see and for the ardour with which it asserted the claims of the papacy to the highest power on earth? It was above all essential that the pope should succeed in extinguishing the opposition still continued against him in France. The more intimate his connection became with Henry IV, the more perfect their harmony in regard to politics, so much the more effectual would his representations be; and the declarations of Henry were now constantly becoming more and more conciliatory.[2]

And herein the efforts of the pope were greatly aided and facilitated by the well-considered conduct of the order.

The Jesuits carefully abstained from all evidence of irritation or aversion against the king of France, and they were also no longer inclined to plunge themselves into further danger for the lost cause of the League. When they became aware of the turn which the papal policy had taken,

[1] Pegna, "Rotae Romanae decanus, istarum rerum testis locupletissimus," as Serry calls him: "Cerniendo (Molina) lo que verisimilmente podia suceder de que su libro fuesse prohibido y quemado, porque assi se lo avia asomado el inquisitor general, luego lo avisò a Roma, donde por obra y negociacion de su general su santidad avocò a se esta causa, ordinando a la inquisicion general que no la concluyesse ni diesse sententia." [Molina, discerning what might result from his book being prohibited and burnt, as the inquisitor-general had warned him, instantly sent notice to Rome, where, by the labour of his general, his holiness summoned the cause before himself, ordering the Inquisition not to conclude on or give sentence in it.]

[2] The Jesuits wished to deny that their affairs had become connected with politics; but we see from Bentivoglio, Memorie, ii. 6, p. 395, how much regard was paid to their interests by Cardinal Aldobrandini during the negotiations at Lyons; and it was precisely then that the king declared himself in their favour. (Le Roi au Cardinal Ossat, 20 Janv. 1601.)

they at once adopted a similar course. Father Commolet, who, even after the conversion of Henry IV, had exclaimed from the pulpit that an Ehud was needed to rise against him, and who, when the king became victor, was obliged to take flight; even he changed his opinion after arriving in Rome, and declared himself for the absolution of the king. Amongst all the cardinals there was none who contributed so largely to this absolution, whether by his readiness of concession, his conciliatory measures, or his personal influence with the pope, as the Jesuit Toledo.[1] And these things the Jesuits did while the parliament was continually passing new resolutions against them; decrees of which Acquaviva complained, but without permitting himself to be hurried into violence or intemperate zeal on that account. It had not been found possible to expel all the members of the order, and those who remained in France now declared for the king, exhorting the people to be faithful to him and to love him. Many were already hastening to return to the places they had left, but Acquaviva did not approve of this, and directed them to await the permission of the king. They took care to secure that Henry should be made aware of both these circumstances, and he was highly pleased, thanking the general in special letters. The Jesuits did not neglect to use all the means they possessed to confirm him in these dispositions. Father Rocheome, who was called the French Cicero, prepared a popular apology for the order, which the king found particularly convincing.[2]

To these efforts on the part of the pope and the order combined, there were now added certain political considerations of Henry IV himself. He saw, as he says in one of his despatches, that by the persecution of an order which counted so many members remarkable for talent and learning, which had so much power, and so large a body of adherents, he would raise up implacable enemies to

[1] Du Perron à Villeroy, Ambassades, i. 23: "Seulement vous diray-je que Mr le Cl Tolet a fait des miracles et s'est monstré bon François."

[2] Grester has translated it into Latin for the convenience of those who do not understand French.—Gretseri Opera, tom. xi. p. 280.

himself, and might give occasion to conspiracies among the more rigid Catholics—a class still very numerous. He perceived that he could not expel the Jesuits from the places wherein they still maintained themselves,—the attempt might even occasion the outbreak of popular commotions.[1] Henry had, besides, made such important concessions to the Huguenots, by the edict of Nantes, that he owed some new guarantee to Catholicism. In Rome people already began to murmur, and the pope himself gave occasional intimations that he feared he had been deceived.[2] Finally, however, the king attained a position high enough to permit of his taking a more comprehensive survey of the general state of things than his parliament had done, and had no longer cause to fear the connection of the Jesuits with Spain. Father Lorenzo Maggio hastened to France, in the name of the general, to assure the king with the most solemn oaths of the order's true allegiance. "Should it prove otherwise, then might all account himself and his brethren the very blackest of traitors."[3] The king thought it more advisable to make trial of their friendship than their enmity. He saw that he could use them for his own advantage against Spain.[4]

Influenced by so many motives of external policy and internal necessity, Henry declared himself, as early as 1600, during the negotiations at Lyons, ready to admit the order again. He chose the Jesuit Cotton for his confessor, and, after many previous indications of favour, an edict was published in September, 1603, by which the Jesuits were re-established in France. Certain conditions were imposed on them; the most important being, that for the future all members of the order in France, whether superior or subordinates, must be Frenchmen.[5] Henry doubted not that

[1] Dispaccio del Re de 15 Agosto, 1603, al re Jacopo d'Inghilterra; abridged in Siri, Memorie recondite, i. p. 247.

[2] Ossat à Villeroy, i. 503.

[3] Sully, liv. xvii. p. 307.

[4] "Riconobbe chiaramente d'esserne per ritrarre servigio e contentamento in varie occorrenze a prò proprio e de' suoi amici contra gli Spagnoli stessi." (Dispaccio in Siri.)

[5] Edictum Regium, in Juvencius, p. v. lib. xii. n. 59. In Juvencius we find all that was said at the time in favour of the Jesuits; and in

he had arranged all in a manner that might justify his feeling perfect confidence.

He bestowed his favour on them without hesitation or reserve, giving them his assistance even in their own affairs, and more particularly in their contentions with the Dominicans.

In this controversy, Clement VIII shewed a lively theological interest. Sixty-five meetings and thirty-seven disputations were held in his own presence on all the points that could be brought into question as regarded the tenets under examination. He wrote much on the subject himself; and, so far as we can judge, was inclined towards the old established doctrines, and to a decision in favour of the Dominicans. Bellarmine himself said, that he did not deny the pontiff's inclination to declare himself against the Jesuits, but that he also knew of a certainty that his holiness would not do so. It would indeed have been too dangerous, at a time when the Jesuits were the most distinguished apostles of the faith throughout the world, to break with them about one article of their creed. They did, in fact, once make a show of intending to demand a council, when the pope is said to have exclaimed, "They dare everything—everything!"[1] The French also took too decided a part to be

Ludovicus Lucius, Historia Jesuitica, Basileae, 1027, lib. ii. c. ii., whatever was said against them. Neither clearly informs us of the points on which the decision turned; they are, nevertheless, to be more readily gathered from the defender than the accuser.

[1] Serry, 271. Contarini also affirms that they uttered menaces: "Portata la disputatione a Roma ventilata tra theologi, il papa e la maggior parte de' consultori inclinavano nel" opinione de Domenicani. Ma li Gesuiti, vedendosi in pericolo di cader da quel credito per il quale pretendono d'haver il primo luogo di dottrina nella chiesa cattolica, erano resoluti di mover ogni machina per non ricever il colpo." [The dispute being removed to Rome, and discussed among theologians, the pope, and the majority of those consulted, inclined to the opinion of the Dominicans; but the Jesuits, seeing themselves in danger of falling from that credit by which they pretended to hold the first place in the Catholic church, as regarded doctrine, were resolved to use every means for warding off that blow.] The tenet which they threatened to adopt, according to Contarini, was, that the pope was certainly infallible; but that it was no article of faith to hold one man or another as the true pope: "La potenza di questi e l'autorità di chi li proteggeva era tanta che ogni cosa era dissimulata, e si mostrava di non sentirlo e sopra

safely opposed. Henry IV was on the Jesuit side; either because he found their expositions convincing, which was certainly possible, or because he gave a particular support to that order which most earnestly opposed itself to Protestantism, as a means of placing his own orthodoxy beyond doubt. Cardinal du Perron took part in the congregations and supported the Jesuit disputants with well-directed zeal. He told Clement VIII that a Protestant might subscribe the creed of the Dominicans; and it is very probable that by this remark he may have produced an impression on the pontiff's mind.

The active rivalry between Spain and France, by which the whole world was set in commotion, became mingled with these disputes also. The Dominicans found as zealous a support from the Spaniards as did the Jesuits from the French.[1]

From all this it resulted that Clement VIII did not, in fact, pronounce any decision: it would have involved him in new perplexities had he offended either one or the other of those influential orders, or of those powerful sovereigns.

diffinire della controversia si andava temporeggiando, per non tirarsi adosso carica maggiore." [The power of the Jesuits and the authority of those who protected them, were so great, that all this was looked over, and a show made of not perceiving it: thus, instead of deciding on the controverted questions, they ended by temporizing, that they might not bring worse consequences on their shoulders.]

[1] Principal passage in Du Perron: Ambassades et Negociations, liv. iii. tom. ii. p. 839. Lettre du 23 Janvier, 1606: "Les Espagnols font profession ouvertement de protéger les Jacobins (Dominicans), en haine, comme je croy, de l'affection que le père général des Jesuites et presque tous ceux de son ordre, excepté ceux qui dépendent des pères Mendozze et Personius comme particulièrement les Jesuites Anglois, ont monstré de porter à vostre Majesté: et semble que d'une dispute de religion ils en veuillent faire une querelle d'estat." It is manifest from this that the Jesuits, a small fraction excepted, were now accounted to be on the French side. Serry tells us, p. 440, that the Dominicans were at that time excluded from the French court: "Praedicatores tum temporis in Gallia minus accepti et a publicis curiae muneribus nuper amoti."

10. POLITICAL SITUATION OF CLEMENT VIII

It was now generally made one of the most essential objects of the papal see, to estrange from itself neither one nor the other of those two powers, with whom the balance of the Catholic world then rested. The pope now sought to appease their mutual animosities; or, at least, to prevent them from breaking out into open war, and to maintain the Roman influence over both.

The papacy here appears to us in its most praiseworthy vocation, mediating and making peace.

It was to Clement VIII that the world was principally indebted for the peace concluded at Vervins on the 2nd of May, 1598. He seized the favourable moment when the king of France was compelled by the disordered state of his finances, and the king of Spain by the increasing feebleness of his advanced age, to think of some accommodation. He took the initiative, and it was from him that the first overtures proceeded. The general of the Franciscans, Fra Bonaventura Calatagirona, whom he had happily selected and sent to France for this affair, removed the first and greatest difficulties. The Spaniards held a large number of fortresses in France, and were prepared to restore them all with the exception of Calais, but the French insisted on the restitution of Calais also; and it was by Fra Calatagirona that the Spaniards were prevailed on to resign it.

This being accomplished, the negotiations at Vervins were formally opened; a legate and a nuncio presided over them. The general of the Franciscans continued to mediate with the utmost ability: his secretary, Soto, also gained no slight credit in these affairs. The most important result was, that the king of France resolved to separate himself from his allies—England and Holland. This was instantly considered to be an advantage to Catholicism; because the secession of Henry from the Protestant system appeared hereby to be completed. Henry consented after long hesitations, and the Spaniards then made an effectual restitution

of all their conquests; the right of possessorship was restored to its condition of the year 1559. The legate declared that his holiness would have more pleasure in this consummation than in the acquisition of Ferrara; that a peace, comprehending and tranquillizing all Christendom, would be of much higher importance in his estimation than the mere temporal conquest.[1]

Only one point was left unsettled by this peace—the dispute between Savoy and France. The duke of Savoy had seized on Saluzzo, and would not consent to restore it. After many unavailing negotiations, Henry IV at length attacked the duke by force of arms. The management of this affair having been expressly committed to the pope at Vervins, he felt that all depended on the restoration of peace in this quarter also; he pressed for it at every opportunity and in every audience; whenever the king sent him assurances of his devotion, he required this peace as a proof thereof, and as a favour that must be granted to himself. The real difficulty consisted in the fact that the interests of Italy in general seemed to suffer injury by the restitution of Saluzzo; the Italians could not willingly see the French regain possession of a province in Italy. It was the Minorite Calatagirona—so far as I can discover—by whom it was first proposed as an expedient, that Saluzzo should be left to the duke, but that France should be indemnified by the cession of Bresse, and some adjoining districts of Savoy.[2] The merit of carrying this proposal into actual effect is due to Cardinal Aldobrandini, by whom it was accomplished at Lyons, in the year 1600. The French, also, were grateful to him for this conclusion, because Lyons thus acquired an extension of her boundaries, which had been long desired.[3]

Under these fortunate circumstances, Clement VIII

[1] At the end of the edition of the Mémoires d'Angoulême, by Didot, 1756, i. 131–363, will be found, under the title "Autres Mémoires," a detailed account of the negotiations at Vervins, which is remarkable for accuracy and impartiality: the notices given above are derived from this source; the last from p. 337.

[2] Ossat to Villeroy, 25th of March, 1599.

[3] Bentivoglio gives us these transactions circumstantially, in the most important section of the second book of his "Memorie" (c. 2–c. 6). (See App. No. 68.)

sometimes thought of directing the combined forces of the whole Catholic world, now united, under his auspices, against its old hereditary enemy. The Turkish war had again burst forth in Hungary; but even then it was thought that a continual increase of weakness had become perceptible in the Ottoman empire; the personal inefficiency of the sultans, the influence of the seraglio, and the perpetual insurrections, more especially in Asia, made it probable that something effectual might now be done against Turkey. The pope, at least, did not fail on his part. Even so early as the year 1599 the sum he had expended on this war amounted to a million and a half of scudi, and we soon afterwards find a papal army of 12,000 men on the Danube. But how much more important were the consequences that might be expected, if the powers of the West could once be united on a large scale for an eastern expedition;—above all, if Henry IV would resolve to combine his forces with those of Austria. The pope neglected nothing that might encourage him to this; and Henry did, in fact, write to the Venetians, immediately after the peace of Vervins, to the effect that he hoped shortly to embark in Venice, like the French of old times, for an expedition against Constantinople. He repeated his promise at the conclusion of the peace with Savoy;[1] but it is certain that its execution required to be preceded by a much more cordial understanding than could possibly have been attained so soon after collisions of so much violence.

But, on the other hand, the opposition and rivalry still subsisting between the two principal powers were more than once advantageous to the papal see in its own affairs. Pope Clement had, indeed, once more occasion to avail himself of them for the interests of the States of the Church.

Amidst so many brilliant undertakings, and so successful a progress in external affairs, Clement failed not to exercise a rigorous and very monarchical authority in his own court and states.

The new arrangement given by Sixtus V to the college of cardinals seemed calculated to secure it, for the first time, a

[1] Lettre du Roi, in the appendix to the second volume of Ossat's Letters, p. 11.

due and legitimate influence on public affairs. But forms do not of necessity include the substance, and the direct contrary took place. The course of business was impeded by legal technicalities, and the immobility to which a deliberative assembly is condemned, principally because of the conflict of opinion arising on every question, rendered it impossible that Clement should confide important affairs to the congregations. At the first he continued to consult them—although even then he frequently deviated from their decisions; afterwards, he communicated matters only when on the point of conclusion. The consistories were soon used rather for the publication of ordinances than for consultation; and the pope at length employed them for subordinate affairs or mere formalities only.[1]

The new direction which Clement had given to the policy of the Roman court, indubitably rendered this mode of proceeding, to a certain extent, needful; but he was also partly induced to adopt it by his personal inclination for absolute sovereignty. The country was governed in a similar spirit. The pope decreed new taxes without asking counsel of any one. The revenues of the communes were placed under special supervision; the barons were subjected to the most rigid application of the laws; and no regard was now paid either to high birth or privileges.

So long as the pope conducted all affairs in person, every thing proceeded well; or at least the cardinals, though they did not perhaps suffer all their thoughts to appear, contented themselves with the expression of admiration and submission.

But as the pontiff advanced in years, the possession and exercise of this monarchical power fell gradually into the hands of his nephew, Pietro Aldobrandini: he was a son of that Pietro Aldobrandini who had distinguished himself

[1] Delfino: "Ora li consistorj non servono per altro che per communicare in essi la collation delle chiese e per publicar le resolutioni d'ogni qualità fatte dal papa, e le congregationi, da quella dell' inquisitione in poi, che si è pur conservata in qualche decoro e si riduce ogni settimana, tutte le altre, anche quelle che sono de' regolari e de' vescovi, sono in sola apparenza; perchè se bene risolvono ad un modo, il papa eseguisce ad un altro e nelle cose più importanti, come nel dar ajuto a principi, di spedir legati, dichiarar capi."

among the brothers by his practical talent for the law. He seemed to promise little at first sight—was of mean appearance, and marked by the small-pox; he suffered from asthma, was incessantly coughing, and in youth he had not made any great progress, even in his studies. But no sooner did his uncle take him into the management of business, than he displayed an address and versatility of talent that no one had ever expected from him; not only did he know how to accommodate himself to the character of the pope—to complete it, or supply its deficiencies, if we may so speak—tempering its asperities, and rendering the weaknesses that gradually appeared in it less apparent and less injurious[1]—but he also gained the confidence of foreign ambassadors, whom he satisfied so completely that they unanimously desired to see affairs in his management. Pietro was at first to have shared his avocations with his cousin Cinthio, who was indeed not without talent, more especially for literature, but he quickly dispossessed this associate. In the year 1603, we find Cardinal Pietro all-powerful in the court; "all business and negotiation," says a report of that year, "all favours and promotions, depend on him. Prelates, nobles, courtiers, and ambassadors, crowd his palace. It may be averred that all things pass through his ear, and all are dependent upon his good pleasure; that every purpose is announced by his mouth, and that all execution is committed to his hands."[2]

[1] Relatione al Cl. Este: "Dove il papa inasprisce, Aldobrandino mitiga; dove rompe, consolida; dove commanda giustitia, intercede per gratia." [Where the pope exasperates, Aldobrandini pacifies; where he destroys, the nephew restores; where Clement thinks only of justice, his kinsman intercedes for mercy.] See Appendix, No. 69.

[2] "Orbis in urbe." But with him, also, secret influences were in action: "Ha diversi servitori," the same account tells us, "ma quel che assorbe i favori di tutti, è il cav^r Clemente Sennesio, mastro di camera, salito a quel grado di privatissima fortuna, e che per ampliar maggiormente la sua autorità ha fatto salire il fratello al segretariato della consulta; così possedendo tra lor due la somma, l'uno della gratia del cardinale, l'altro della provisione d'offici e delle maggiori espeditioni." [He has many servants, but he who absorbs all favour is the Cavalier Clemente Sennesio, gentleman of the chamber, who had risen to that station from a very obscure condition, and who, for the greater increase of his own authority, has contrived to promote his brother to

Such a power—so unlimited, so all-pervading, and which was besides in nowise legitimate—aroused of necessity, and in defiance of the adherents it might attract, a secret, profound, and general opposition. It was on a trifling occasion that this unexpectedly displayed itself.

A man who had been arrested for debt found means to throw off his fetters at the critical moment and sprang into the Farnese palace, before which his captors were leading him.

The popes had long refused to hear mention of the right by which certain distinguished families claimed to grant an asylum in their houses to criminals. Cardinal Farnese, although connected with the pope by the marriage into his family of a lady belonging to the house of Aldobrandini, now asserted this right once more. He caused the sbirri, who were about to seek their prisoner in the palace, to be driven out by force, and replied to the governor, who interposed his authority, that it was not the custom of his house to give up the accused. Cardinal Aldobrandini, desiring to avoid a public discussion, presented himself in person to make an amicable arrangement, but Farnese gave him a contemptuous answer, reminding him that after the death of the pope, which might be expected soon to happen, a Farnese would be of more importance than an Aldobrandini.

He gained courage for this insolence of demeanour principally from his connection with the Spaniards. The renunciation of Saluzzo by Henry IV, which in Rome had been considered a little pusillanimous, had given rise to the conclusion, that he did not intend to occupy himself with Italian affairs. The importance of Spain had become restored in a great measure by this inference, and since the Aldobrandini displayed so decided a disposition towards France, their opponents attached themselves to Spain; the Spanish ambassador, Viglienna, gave his entire approval to the conduct of Farnese in the affair of the debtor, to which we have just alluded.[1]

be secretary of the Consulta: thus they engross all things between them; the one the cardinal's favour, the other the supply of provisions to the offices, and for the more important expeditions.]

[1] Contarini, Historia Veneta, tom. iii. lib. xiii. MS., among all the

Having the support of a foreign power, and the protection of a great family, could any thing more be required to bring the discontent of the Roman nobility to a public outburst? Cavaliers and nobles flocked to the Farnese palace; some of the cardinals joined them openly, others favoured them in secret.[1] Every one exclaimed that the pope and the church must be released from the captivity they were subjected to by Cardinal Aldobrandini. As the pope summoned a body of troops to Rome, the Spanish ambassador advised the confederates—to whom he even promised remuneration—to call in on their part certain armed bands which had just then made their appearance on the Neapolitan frontier; there was but little wanting to cause the outbreak of an open feud, after the manner of past ages, in the very midst of Rome.

But Cardinal Farnese would not permit things to go so far. He thought it enough to have proved his power, his independence, and the possibility of a resistance, and determined to withdraw to Castro, which was one of his family domains. This resolve he executed in grand style. Having secured one of the gates, he posted troops at it, and left the city with a train of ten carriages and three hundred horsemen: by this proceeding he gained all he desired;

authors of that time, is the most circumstantial and the most trustworthy, as regards these transactions: "Vigienna mandò ordine a tutti i baroni e cavalieri Romani obligati alla corona che per servitio del re fossero immediate nella casa del cardinal Farnese." [Vigienna sent orders to all the barons and Roman knights who were attached to the crown, that for the service of the king, they should instantly proceed to the house of Cardinal Farnese.]

[1] Contarini: "Diede grand' assenso al fatto la venuta de' cardinali Sfondrato e Santiquatro, che niente miravano trattandosi di Spagna al debito de' cardinali verso il papa; ed a questi, che apertamente si dichiaravano, diversi altri in occulto aderivano, tra' quali il C[l] Conti. — — Ma il popolo, le plebe senza nome, sempre avida di cangiar stato, favoriva al cardinale, e per le piazze, per le strade a gran caterve applaudevano al partito di lui." [A great sanction was given to these proceedings by the arrival of the Cardinals Sfondrato and Santiquatro, who, in a matter touching Spain, thought but little of the duty of cardinals to the pope: and to those who declared themselves openly, many were added who adhered to them secretly, among them Cl. Conti; . . . but the populace, the nameless crowd, always eager for change, favoured the cardinal, and crowding the streets and squares, they applauded the part he had taken.]

his insubordination was perfectly effectual; a formal negotiation was commenced; the whole affair was made to seem the fault of the Governor, and a reconciliation was effected between that functionary and the house of Farnese. The Cardinal then returned, with a magnificence of display equal to that of his departure; all the streets and windows were filled with spectators—every roof was covered. The Farnesi had never been so splendidly received, even when they held the government, nor had they ever before been greeted by such loud acclamations.[1]

But if Cardinal Aldobrandini suffered this to occur, it must not be attributed altogether to weakness, or a forced compliance. The Farnese were, after all, closely connected with the papal house; he would, besides, have gained nothing by shewing himself implacable: the first essential was to remove the cause of the mischief, and this was to be found in the existing political relations; no change of system could be obtained from the Spaniards, they would not even recall their untoward ambassador. The only mode in which Aldobrandini could help himself, was by inducing Henry IV to take a more lively interest in the affairs of Italy.

In December, 1604, three French cardinals, all distinguished men, arrived in Rome together, and this, we are told, by his opponents, "was as refreshing to Aldobrandini as a cool and gentle breeze on a sultry day." It then became once more possible to form a French party in Rome; the strangers were received with joy; the cardinal's sister, Signora Olimpia, declared to these new-comers a thousand times, that her house would confide itself unconditionally to the protection of France. Baronius affirmed that his researches in history had convinced him that the

[1] Contarini: "S'inviò in Roma entrando in guisa trionfante con clamori popolari che andavano al cielo, incontrato in forma di re dall' ambasciator di Cesare, di Spagna, dalli cardinali Sfondrato, Santiquatro, San Cesareo e Conti, dal general Georgio suo cognato, tutta la cavalleria e tutte le guardie del papa, confluendo li cavalieri e baroni." [He set off for Rome as though going in triumph, amidst the shouts of the people that rose to the skies; he was met, as might have been a king, by the ambassador of the Emperor, the Spanish ambassador, Cardinals Sfondrato, Santiquatro, San Cesareo, and Conti, by his brother-in-law, General Georgio, all the cavalry, the papal guard, and a great concourse of barons and cavaliers.]

papal see was indebted to no people so much as to the French; at sight of Henry's portrait, he burst forth into cries of joy. He laboured to discover whether, after the loss of Saluzzo, some other pass of the Alps might not remain in the hands of the French; and this Baronius was not merely an historian—he was also confessor to the pope, and saw him every day. The pontiff and Aldobrandini were, it is true, more guarded, and did not express themselves so freely, but since those most nearly connected with them displayed so little reserve, the effect produced seemed to be much the same; and as besides, Henry IV now resolved to confer pensions, he soon had a party presenting a counterpoise to that of Spain.

But the views of Aldobrandini extended much further: he often placed before the Venetian ambassador and the cardinals, the necessity of setting bounds to the presumption of the Spaniards. Was it to be endured that they should command in the house of another, and that in its owner's despite?[1] He knew that it was a perilous thing for a man who must soon return to private life to draw upon himself the displeasure of that power; but regard for his own honour forbade him to permit that the papacy should suffer a diminution of its repute under the rule of his uncle. In effect, he proposed to the Venetians, that a league should be formed against Spain by the Italian States, under the protection of France.

He had, besides, already entered into negotiations with the other states. He had no love for Tuscany; he was involved in perpetual disputes with Modena; and Parma was implicated in the proceedings of Cardinal Farnese; but he seemed willing to forget everything in the hope of obtaining revenge on Spain. To that object he devoted himself with passionate eagerness; he spoke of nothing but that, and appeared to think of nothing else. He proceeded to Ancona in the beginning of the year 1605, for the purpose of being nearer to the states, with which he proposed to form alliance; but he had not been able to accomplish anything before his uncle died (on the 5th of March, 1605), and his power then came to an end.

[1] Du Perron au Roi, 25 Janv. 1605.—Ambass. i. 509.

Meanwhile, the mere awakening of the thought, the assiduous renewal of French influence in Rome and Italy, was of itself a matter of great importance: it indicated a tendency in the general policy of the Aldobrandini.

We do not, I think, go too far, if we permit ourselves to be thereby reminded of the original position held by this family in Florence. It had always belonged to the French party. In the insurrection of 1527, when the Medici had been driven from the city, and the French invited, Messer Salvestro took a very active part; for this he had to pay the penalty, when his enemies, the Spaniards and the Medici, regained possession; and was compelled to leave his country. Could Pope Clement forget this? Could he ever have felt inclined towards the Spaniards and the Medici? He was by nature reserved and retiring; he but rarely unfolded his thoughts even to those in whom he most confided; but when this happened, he would give as an axiom, —"Inquire of thy forefathers, and they will shew thee thy path."[1] It is certain that he once entertained the idea of reforming, as he expressed it, the state of Florence. His inclination towards France was manifest; he found the papacy in the closest alliance with Spain, but he led it to the very point of an alliance with France against Spain. If the restoration of a national power in France was demanded by the interests of the Church, it was also a matter of inclination with the pope—a personal satisfaction. But Clement was discreet, far-sighted, and provident; he attempted nothing but what might be safely carried through. Instead of reforming Florence, he reformed, as was remarked by a Venetian, his own thoughts, perceiving that his project was not to be accomplished without universal danger.[2] To call the French arms into Italy was

[1] Delfino: "La poca inclinatione, che per natura e per heredità ha il papa a Spagnoli." [The little inclination that the pope has towards the Spaniards, both from his own nature and from inheritance.]

[2] Venier: "Vedendo le preparazioni e risolutioni di V^ra S^à et anco del granduca e che la nostra republica s'era dichiarata col mandar un ambasciatore espresso per questo negotio a S. S^à, conoscendo ella che si sarebbe acceso un gran fuoco in Italia e con pericolo di gravissimo incendio della chiesa, in luogo di tentar la riforma dello stato di Firenze riformò i suoi pensieri." (App. No. 71.)

never his intention; it was sufficient for him to restore the balance of power, to free himself from the despotism of Spain, to place the policy of the Church on a broader basis, and to effect this by peaceful means, gradually, without disturbance or outcry, but so much the more securely.

II. ELECTION AND FIRST MEASURES OF PAUL V

Even in the next conclave, the French influence made itself obvious. Aldobrandini gave in his adhesion to it, and, thus united, they were invincible. A cardinal whom the Spanish king had excluded by name, a Medici and near relative of the queen of France, was raised to the papal dignity by their influence. The letters in which Du Perron announced this unexpected event to Henry IV are full of exultation. The accession was celebrated in France with public festivities.[1] But their triumph was of short duration. Leo XI, as this pope was named, survived his election only twenty-six days. It is affirmed that the sense of his dignity, and the idea he entertained of the difficulties surrounding his office, completely extinguished his vital powers, already much weakened by age.

The tumults of an election contest were now renewed, but with increased violence, since Aldobrandini was no longer in so firm an alliance with the French. Montalto opposed him powerfully, and a conflict ensued, as at previous elections, between the creatures of the last pontiff and those of his predecessor. Each of the two parties conducted the candidate of its choice, surrounded by his adherents, to one or the other of the chapels, and there proposed him in

[1] Histoire de la vie de Messire Philippe de Mornay seigneur du Plessis p. 305. "Ce pape de la maison des Medicis, dit Léon XI, qui avoit cousté au roi 300,000 escus à faire, en le faveur duquel il faisoit grand fondement, et pour l'élection duquel, par un exemple nouveau, furent faits feux de joye et tiré le canon en France, qui vescut peu de jours et ne laissa au roy que le reproche par les Espagnols d'une largesse si mal employée et le doute de rencontrer une succession, comme il advint, plus favorable à l'Espagnol."

opposition to his antagonist. Attempts were made to elect a pope, first from one party and then another. Baronius, though resisting with all his force, was on one occasion dragged into the Pauline chapel, but the opposition displayed increased strength at each successive attempt, and neither party found it possible to carry any one of its candidates. The choice of a pontiff, like many other promotions, was gradually made to depend on who had the fewest enemies, rather than on who possessed superiority of merit.

Aldobrandini at length cast his eyes on a man among those elevated by his uncle, who had found means to conciliate general favour, and to avoid all dangerous enmities: this was Cardinal Borghese; for him he succeeded in securing the favour of the French, by whom an approach to reconciliation between Montalto and Aldobrandini had already been effected. Montalto, therefore, gave his vote to Borghese, who was elected (assuming the name of Paul V) before the Spaniards had heard that he was proposed.[1] This election took place on the 16th of May, 1605.

We find, then, that on this occasion, as on many preceding, the nephew of the last pope determined the election of the new one. The Borghese family was, besides, in a similar position to that of Aldobrandini. As the latter had quitted Florence to avoid submission to the rule of the Medici, so had the former left Siena for the same cause. There hence appeared a further probability that the new government would be a direct continuation of the preceding.

But immediately after his election, Paul V evinced a peculiarly rugged disposition.

He had risen from the condition of an advocate, through all the degrees of ecclesiastical dignity.[2] He had been vice-

[1] The truth may, nevertheless, be that Montalto and Aldobrandini had come to an agreement, of themselves, as to Borghese, since the Conclave di Paolo V, p. 370, says of these cardinals: "Dopo d'haver proposti molti, elessero Borghese, amico di Montalto e creatura confidente di Aldobrandino." [After having proposed many, they elected Borghese, the friend of Montalto and the confidential adherent of Aldobrandini.]

[2] Relatione di IV Ambasciatori mandati a Roma, 15 Genn. 1605, m. V. i. c. 1606: "Il padre Camillo non volendo più habitare Siena caduta dalla libertà, se ne andò a Roma. Di buono spirito, d'ingegno

legate at Bologna, auditor of the Camera, vicar of the pope, and inquisitor. He had lived in close retirement, buried in his books and law-papers, and had taken no part in political affairs; thence it was that he had made his way without awakening personal enmities. No party considered him its opponent; neither Aldobrandini nor Montalto, neither the French nor the Spaniards. This, then, was the quality which had secured him the tiara.

But he considered that event in a totally different light. His elevation to the papacy, without any effort on his own part, without the employment of any arts or devices, appeared to him the direct interposition of the Holy Spirit. He felt raised above himself by this conviction. The change in his carriage and demeanour, nay, even in his countenance and the tone of his voice, was matter of astonishment, even to the court of Rome, which was yet well accustomed to metamorphoses of every sort. But the new pontiff felt himself at the same time enchained and pledged to most important duties. With inflexibility similar to that with which he had observed the letter of the law in his previous offices, he now prepared to administer the supreme dignity.

Other popes had been accustomed to signalize their elevation to the throne by acts of mercy; Paul V, on the contrary, began his reign by passing a sentence, the remembrance of which excites horror even to the present day.

A poor author, a Cremonese by birth, named Piccinardi, impelled by some unexplained disgust, had employed himself in his solitude in composing a Life of Clement VIII, wherein he compared that pope with the Emperor Tiberius—small as was the similarity to be found between these rulers. He had not only refrained from printing this strange work, but had kept it quite to himself, and had scarcely permitted its existence to be known. A woman, who had formerly resided in his house, gave information of the book. Paul V expressed

acuto, riuscì nella professione d'avvocato. . . . Il papa non vuol esser Sanese, ma Romano." [His father Camillo, not choosing longer to remain at Siena, since the city had lost her liberty, departed, and went to Rome. He had a good spirit and an acute mind; thus he succeeded well in the profession of an advocate. . . . The pope does not wish to be called a Sienese, but a Roman.]

himself at first very mildly on the subject, and the author seemed to have little cause for anxiety, the rather as many important persons, and even ambassadors, had interceded for him. How greatly then were all astonished, when Piccinardi was one day beheaded on the bridge of St. Angelo! Whatever might be said by way of exculpation, it is certain that he had committed the crime of lèse-majesté, for which this punishment is awarded by the law. From a pope like Paul no mercy was to be expected; even the poor and trifling possessions of the unhappy man were confiscated.[1]

At court this pontiff instantly renewed the resolutions of the Council of Trent with respect to residence; he declared it to be a deadly sin for a bishop to remain absent from his dioc se and still enjoy its revenues; from this rule he did not except the cardinals, nor would he admit the holding an office in the administration as an excuse for non-residence. Many retired to their sees accordingly, others begged for some delay;[2] but there were some who would not consent to leave Rome, and yet did not wish to be accused of neglecting their duties; these, therefore, sent in the resignation of their bishoprics.

But the most serious evil of Paul's early reign was the circumstance that he had derived from his studies in canon law the most exorbitant ideas concerning the importance of the papacy. The doctrines that the pope is the sole vicegerent of Jesus Christ, that the power of the keys is intrusted to his discretion, and that he is to be reverenced in humility by all nations and princes, he desired to maintain in their most extended significance.[3] He affirmed that he had been

[1] The ambassadors alluded to in the preceding note relate this occurrence: "Si congettura," they add, "fondatamente che abbi ad esser il pontefice severo e rigorosissimo et inexorabile in fatto di giustitia." [It is conjectured that this pontiff will prove to be most inflexible and rigorous, and in matters of justice, most inexorable.] See Appendix, Nos. 76 and 78.

[2] Du Perron à Villeroy, 17 May, 1606: "Le pape ayant fait entendre ces jours passez que sa volonté estoit que tous les cardinaux qui avoient des eveschez y allassent ou bien les resignassent ou y missent des coadjuteurs, — — j'ay pensé — —"

[3] Relatione di IV Ambasciatori: "Conoscendo il pontefice presente sua grandezza spirituale, e quanto se le debba da tutti li popolo

raised to that seat, not by men, but by the Divine Spirit, and with the duty imposed on him of guarding every immunity of the Church and all the prerogatives of God; that he was bound in conscience to put forth all his strength for the deliverance of the Church from usurpation and violence: he would rather risk his life to fulfil these duties than be called to account for the neglect of them when he should appear before the throne of God.

With judicial severity he assumed the claims of the Church to be identical with her rights, and regarded it as a point of conscience to revive and carry them out in their utmost rigour.

12. DISPUTES WITH VENICE

From the time when the papal power had reinstated its authority in opposition to the efforts of Protestantism, and had given new life to those ideas which form the chief basis of the hierarchy, its canonical rights had likewise been all enforced with regard to the internal administration of Catholic states.

While the Church subdued her opponents, her authority also received extension, as it related to her own adherents.

When the bishops had been compelled to more rigid obedience, the monastic orders closely attached to the Curia, and all reforms completed in such a manner as should cause them at the same time to promote the supreme power of the pontiff, regular nunciaturas were established in all the capitals of Europe. These offices united with the authority of an embassy from an influential power certain judicial rights, which secured them an essential influence over the most important relations of private life as well as of the state.

Even where the Church had re-established itself in concert with the state—where both united had opposed

christiani attribuir di ossequio e di obedienza, non eccettuando qualsivoglia grandissimo principe."

themselves to the advancement of Protestant opinions—this circumstance soon gave rise to misunderstandings.

In those days, as in our own, the Roman court was especially careful to maintain all its rights and claims in Italy; and from this cause we find the Italian states engaged in perpetual disputes with the ecclesiastical government. The old dissensions between the Church and these States had never been set at rest, neither in general by some decisive principle, nor yet, in particular cases, by treaty and agreement. The popes themselves differed in their views of these matters. Pius V insisted most pertinaciously on all his claims, as did Gregory XIII; at least, during the first half of his pontificate. Sixtus V was much more indulgent as regarded individual cases. The states and their envoys did their best to escape from all occasions of difficulty with the least possible prejudice to themselves, and to seize on every circumstance capable of being turned to their own advantage; nor did this method altogether fail of success. The inclinations of different popes were liable to change and pass away; the interests of states were permanent, and remained; or in any case the questions to be resolved were thus rendered less the subjects of the canon law and of judicial interpretation, than of policy and of reciprocal demands and concessions.

The mode in which Pope Paul V viewed his claims was, however, essentially juridical; he held the canonical regulations of the Decretals to be the laws of God himself. If his predecessors had made concessions or overlooked failures, he ascribed this, not to the inherent necessity of the case, but to their personal negligence, and he believed himself called to the atonement of these faults. We consequently find him, soon after his accession, involved in bitter contentions with all his Italian neighbours.

In Naples, the Regent Ponte, president of the royal council, had condemned an ecclesiastical notary to the galleys, for having refused to lay the evidence, in a case respecting a marriage, before the civil court, and a bookseller who had circulated the work of Baronius against the Sicilian monarchy, in contravention of the royal ordinance, had received a similar sentence from the same person. A

remonstrance (monitorium) from Clement VIII, against these proceedings, had been disregarded; Pope Paul V pronounced a sentence of excommunication without the delay of a moment.[1]

The duke of Savoy had bestowed certain benefices, the right of nominating to which was claimed by the Roman court; Genoa had prohibited societies assembling at the Jesuit colleges, because they had sought to control the elections to public offices; Lucca had made a general rule to the effect, that no decree whatever, proceeding from the papal officers, should be executed without the previous assent of the native magistracy; and, finally, Venice had caused certain ecclesiastics, who had been guilty of heinous crimes, to be arraigned before the civil tribunals. It was precisely the universality of this opposition to the spiritual power that roused the official zeal and anger of the pope. In every case he interposed his authority with imperative commands and heavy menaces; nay, at this very moment he even extended still further the former claims of ecclesiastical supremacy. Among other things, he affirmed what had never before been heard of—that it did not belong to the temporal power to forbid the intercourse of its subjects with Protestants; this was not the business of the state, but of the Church, and belonged exclusively to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

The greater part of the Italian states considered these measures as extravagances, that, after more extended experience, would disappear of themselves. None wished to be the first to break with the pontiff. The grand duke of Tuscany declared that he had affairs on hand, by which the pope must needs be driven into a fury, but that he was trying to keep them back for a time; that Paul V was a man who judged of the world from a town of the Ecclesiastical states, where everything was arranged according to the letter of the law,[2] but that all this must soon be changed;

[1] Les Ambassades du Cardinal du Perron, ii. 683, 736.

[2] Relatione di IV Ambasciatori: "Il granduca ricordava che il pontefice non era uso a governar come principe grande, perchè aver avuto qualche governo di città della chiesa, dove si procede col rigor ecclesiastico e da prete, non basta per saper governare come capo supremo." See Appendix No. 78.

the Spaniards would find themselves entangled, and they must be set free voluntarily, or would certainly rend the net: it was advisable that some such example should be waited for. The other states thought much in the same manner, and in the first instance they submitted. Genoa repealed her edict; the duke of Savoy permitted the benefices in dispute to be made over to a nephew of the pope; and the Spaniards themselves allowed their regent to request absolution, and receive it before numerous witnesses.

The Venetians alone, usually so prudent and accommodating, disdained to adopt this policy.

It is, however, certain that Venice had more serious cause for irritation than all the rest; and her case presented an example of how offensive the encroachments of the Roman court might become, more especially towards a neighbouring state.

This vicinity proved in itself extremely inconvenient, particularly after the Church had taken possession of Ferrara. The disputes respecting boundaries, which the republic had with the dukes, were carried on with great increase of violence by the court of Rome. The Venetians were disturbed in the works they were prosecuting, at heavy cost, for regulating the waters of the Po; and in their rights of possession as regarded the fisheries; they could proceed in their operations only when their works were protected by armed vessels, and were driven to seize on certain of the papal subjects, by way of reprisals for the confiscation of their fishing-boats by the Legate of Ferrara.

Meanwhile Paul V also laid claim to the rights of sovereignty over Ceneda, which the Venetians had exercised for centuries without dispute, and attempted to remove to Rome the appeals from the episcopal court, which held jurisdiction there. On this subject the exasperation was violent on both sides: the papal nuncio proceeded to excommunications, when the Venetian senate instantly took measures to secure that no civil injury should result to those affected by them.[1]

[1] Niccolo Contarini: "Mentre si disputava, pareva che da alcuno fusse fuggita la conversatione de' censurati (officers of the republic who had opposed the removal of appeals to Rome), la qual cosa giudicando

Equally bitter were the dissensions respecting the tithes of the clergy; the Venetians affirmed that they had hitherto collected them without consulting the pope, nor would they now acknowledge the papal sanction to be required for the levying of that impost. But it was a much more serious grievance that the Roman court daily increased the exemptions from the tax. The cardinals, who held extremely rich benefices, the Knights of Malta, and the monasteries, were exempt from half the amount, while the mendicant orders, with all persons who were occupied abroad in the service of the Church, or could be included under any title in the pope's household, and finally, even those to whom the Roman court had assigned pensions payable out of the Venetian benefices, were declared exempt from the whole. It followed that the rich were not obliged to pay anything, so that the whole burden fell on the poor, who could not pay. The revenues of the Venetian clergy were computed to be eleven millions of ducats, but the tithes did not actually yield more than twelve thousand ducats.[1]

In addition to all this came innumerable subjects of dispute affecting individuals rather than the state. Of these I will adduce one instance only.

il senato apportarli offesa, primieramente fece publicare un bando contra chi li havesse a schivo, e dopo a questi tutti in vita li fu data annua provisione quale era corrispondente alla loro fortuna." [While the dispute proceeded, it appeared, that some refused to hold intercourse with those who had been censured, on which the senate, considering this likely to be injurious, first published a decree against all who should offend such persons, and afterwards granted them annuities for life, to each according to his station.]

[1] From a declaration that was presented at Rome: "Mentre s'esagera sopra la severità del magistrato, non si ritrovava fin hora essersi conseguiti più di 12 m. ducati, per li quali non si doveva far tanti richiami, e le fortune della republica per gratia di dio non erano tali che ne dovesse far conto più che tanto." [While the severity of the magistrates has been exaggerated, it is found that only twelve thousand ducats have hitherto been raised, which are not worth such outcries; the fortune of the republic, by the grace of God, not being such as to make even a larger sum of importance.] Some arrangements were then made to correct this evil, but Contarini says: "In effetto montò poco, perciocchè il foro era già fatto e l'abuso troppo confermato che distornarlo era più che malagevole." [Little good was produced, because the breach was already made, and the abuse was so firmly established, that removing it would have been more than difficult.]

The prosperous condition enjoyed by the Venetian press during the early part of the sixteenth century is well known. The republic was proud of this honourable branch of trade, but the regulations of the Curia brought it gradually to total ruin. There was no end to the prohibition of books in Rome: first, those of the Protestants; then all writings reflecting on the morals of the clergy or the immunities of the Church; every book departing, in however slight a degree, from the Roman tenets, and the entire works of any author who had once incurred censure. The trade could now be carried on in books of indisputable orthodoxy only; it was indeed somewhat revived, in a commercial point of view, by the richly-decorated missals and breviaries, for which the renewal of Catholic opinions and tastes occasioned a very fair demand. But even this portion of the trade was now diminished; alterations and improvements in these books were undertaken in Rome, where alone they were, in their new form, permitted to be published.[1] The Venetians remarked, with the angry disgust always excited when the public authority is perverted to the subservience of private interests, that some of the officials appointed by the congregation of the Index for the control of matters relating to the press, took share in the profits of the Roman printing establishments.

Under these circumstances, the relations between Rome and Venice were marked by a painful restraint or by evidences of utter hatred.

It is manifest that all this must have contributed largely to promote that opposition, both political and religious, by which Henry IV was assisted as early as 1589. This resistance was confirmed and fostered by the victory of Henry, and by the whole development of European affairs. The dissensions with the pope himself conduced still further towards the gradual investment of those who represented these opinions with the conduct of public affairs. There were none who seemed better fitted to guard the interests of the republic against the ecclesiastical power. Leonardo Donato, the leader of the party opposed to Rome, was

[1] Contarini: "Al presente s'era devenuto in Roma in questo pensiero di ristampar messali et altro, levando di poterlo far ad altri."

accordingly raised to the rank of Doge in January, 1606. All the friends by whose aid he had succeeded in the conflicts of internal parties he now admitted to a share in the management of public affairs.

Whilst a pope appeared, by whom the disputed claims of his authority were overstrained with reckless zeal, the Venetian government passed into the hands of men, with whom opposition to the dominion of Rome had grown up with all their convictions, and had become a personal feeling; by this they had risen to power, and they upheld the principle with all the more energy, because it served them at the same time as a means of repression and defence against their opponents within the republic.

It resulted as an inevitable consequence from the nature of both these powers, that the collisions between them should daily become more hostile and more widely effective.

The pope not only insisted on the surrender of the ecclesiastical malefactors; he demanded also the repeal of two laws, renewed by the Venetians a short time previously, which forbade the alienation of real property in favour of the clergy, while they made the building of new churches contingent on the approval of the secular authorities. He declared that he would not tolerate ordinances so directly opposed to the decrees of councils, the constitutions of his predecessors, and all the maxims of the canon law. The Venetians would not yield a hair's breadth; they said that these were fundamental laws of their state, handed down to them by their forefathers, who had deserved so well of Christendom, and that in the eyes of the republic they were inviolable.

The disputants did not long confine themselves to the immediate subject of contention; both parties instantly brought forward other grievances. The Church considered itself wronged by the entire constitution of Venice—a republic which forbade all recourse to Rome; which excluded, under the title of papalists, all those who by holding clerical offices were connected with the Curia, from the council of ecclesiastical affairs, and which even laid the burden of taxes on the clergy. The Venetians, on the other hand, maintained, that even these restrictions were utterly

inadequate; they demanded that their ecclesiastical benefices should be conferred on natives of Venice only; that their inquisition should be directed exclusively by themselves; that every bull should be submitted to the approval of the state; that all ecclesiastical assemblies should be presided over by a layman, and that all sending of money to Rome should be prohibited.

Nor did they stop even here; from the questions immediately in debate, they proceeded to general principles.

The Jesuits had long since deduced from their doctrine of the power of the pope, the most important consequences in support of clerical rights, and these they now failed not to repeat with their accustomed energy and promptitude.

The spirit, says Bellarmine, guides and controls the flesh, and not the contrary; neither must the secular power exalt itself over the spiritual, to guide, to command, or to punish; this would be a rebellion, a heathenish tyranny.[1] The priesthood has its princes who govern it, not in spiritual things only, but in temporal matters also. It could not possibly acknowledge any particular temporal superior. No man can serve two masters. It is for the priest to judge the emperor, not the emperor the priest; it would be absurd for the sheep to pretend to judge the shepherd.[2] Neither must the prince attempt to derive any revenue from ecclesiastical property. He may draw his tribute from the laity; the priesthood affords him the far more important aids of prayer and sacrifice. The priest is exempt from all burdens, whether on person or property: he belongs to the family of

[1] Risposta del C[l] Bellarmino ad una lettera senza nome dell' autore (a pamphlet published in 1606): "La ragione indrizza e regge e comanda alla carne e talvolta la castiga con digiuni e vigilie, ma la carne non indrizza nè regge nè comanda nè punisce la ragione: così la potestà spirituale è superiore alla secolare, e però la può e deve drizzare e reggere e comandarli e punirla quanto si porta male; ma la potestà secolare non è superiore alla spirituale nè la può drizzare nè reggere nè gli può comandare nè punirla, se non di fatto per rebellione e tirannide, come hanno fatto talvolta li principi gentili o heretici."

[2] Bellarminus de Clericis, i. c. 30: "Respondeo principem quidem ovem ac spiritualem filium pontificis esse, sed sacerdotem nullo modo filium vel ovem principis dici posse, quoniam sacerdotes et omnes clerici suum habent principem spiritualem, a quo non in spiritualibus solum sed etiam in temporalibus reguntur."

Christ. If these exemptions are not founded on any express command of holy Scripture, they are certainly based on consequences to be drawn from it, and on analogy. To the priests of the New Testament belong precisely the same rights that were conferred on the Levites in the Old Testament.[1]

This was a doctrine which secured to that spiritual republic, claiming so important an influence over the state, a no less complete independence of any reciprocal influence over itself from the state. It was a doctrine for the establishment of which, no labour was spared in Rome; innumerable arguments from Scripture were quoted; decrees of councils were brought forward; imperial and papal constitutions were cited; and it was considered to be altogether beyond dispute. Who was there in Venice that might venture to oppose himself to a Bellarmine, or a Baronius?

The Venetians, nevertheless, were provided, in the person of their consultor of state, Paolo Sarpi, with a man whom nature and circumstances had endowed with such qualifications, and conducted to such a position, that he could venture to take up arms against the spiritual power.

Paolo Sarpi was the son of a merchant, who had removed from St. Veit to Venice; his mother belonged to the house of Morelli; a Venetian family, enjoying the rights of citizenship. The father was a man of slight figure, and dark complexion; he was impetuous in character, and of a quarrelsome temper, and had ruined himself by imprudent speculations; the mother was one of those beautiful blondes, still often seen in Venice, was of majestic form, modest deportment and intelligent mind; it was to her that the son bore resemblance in external appearance.[2]

Ambrosio Morelli, the brother of this lady, was then at the head of a school, which enjoyed high reputation, and was occupied chiefly in the education of the young nobility.

[1] These maxims are to be found verbatim either in the "Risposta" quoted in a previous note, or in the book of Bellarmine de Clericis, especially in lib. i. c. 30.

[2] Sarpi was born Aug. 14, 1552. His father's name was Francesco, his mother's Elisabetta.—Fra Fulgentio, Vita di Paolo Sarpi. Griselini, Memorie di Fra Paolo Sarpi, the German edition of Lebret, p. 13.

It followed as a matter of course, that the nephew of the master should take part in the instruction; Niccolò Contarini and Andrea Morosini were among his school-fellows, and were also his intimate companions; he thus formed the most influential connections on the very threshold of his life.

He did not, however, permit himself to be prevented either by his mother, his uncle, or these companions, from indulging in a propensity to solitude; he was not more than fourteen or fifteen years old when he entered a convent of Servites.

He spoke little and was always serious; he never ate meat, and till his thirtieth year he drank no wine; he detested all levity in conversation: "There comes the maiden," his companions would say, when he appeared; "let us talk of something else." All his wishes, inclinations, and desires, were directed towards those studies for which he possessed great natural endowments.

He possessed the inestimable gift of quick and accurate perception; he never failed to recognize a person whom he had once seen, and when he entered a garden would perceive and remark everything it contained at a glance: he was furnished, that is to say, with a clear and penetrating power of sight, mentally and physically.[1] He hence applied himself, with particular success, to the natural sciences. His admirers ascribe to him the discovery of the valves in the blood-vessels, and he is said first to have observed the expansion and contraction of the pupil,[2] the inclination of the magnetic needle, and many other magnetic phenomena; it is certain that he took effective part in the labours of

[1] According to Fra Fulgentio (p. 38), he spoke himself of his "gran passibilità, perche non solo l'oggetto in lui facesse moto, ma anco ogni minima reliquia. Come un perito suonatore," continues Fra Fulgentio, "ad un sol tocco fa giudizio dell' instromento, così con far parlar le persone, con prestezza ammirabile conosceva i fini, gl' interessi etc." [extreme delicacy of perception, for he not only received impressions from objects, but even from the least traces of them. As a skilful musician judges an instrument from a single touch, so by making people speak, he judged with admirable precision of their purposes, intentions, etc.].

[2] See also Fischer, Geschichte der Physik, i. 167.

Aquapendente, and still more, both by suggestion and discovery, in those of Porta.[1] To his physical studies he added mathematical calculations, as also the observation of mental and intellectual phenomena. In the library of the Servites at Venice, a copy of Vieta's works is preserved, in which the many errors of that author are corrected by the hand of Fra Paolo; in the same place there was also a small treatise of his on the origin and decline of the opinions of men, which, to judge by the extracts from it given by Foscarini, contained a theory of the intellectual powers which assumed sensation and reflection as their basis, and had a certain resemblance to that of Locke,[2] even though it did not coincide with it so entirely as has been asserted. Fra Paolo wrote only so far as was strictly necessary; he was not endowed by nature with inclination for producing: he read incessantly; appropriated what he read or remarked; and reflected on all. His mind was temperate and comprehensive, methodical and bold, and he trod the paths of inquiry with a free and fearless step.

With these powers, Paolo Sarpi now approached the questions of theology and of ecclesiastical law.

It has been said that he was secretly a Protestant, but his Protestantism could scarcely have extended beyond the first simple propositions of the Confession of Augsburg, if he really held even those. It is certain that Fra Paolo read mass every day through his whole life. It would not be possible to specify the confession to which he was inwardly attached,—it was a mode of belief of which we often perceive traces among the men of those times, more particularly

[1] "A quo," says Porta of Fra Paolo, "aliqua didicisse non solum fateri non erubescimus, sed gloriamur, quum eo doctiorem, subtiliorem, quotquot adhuc videre contigerit, neminem cognoverimus ad encyclopaediam." Magiae Natur. lib. vii. praef. Griselini, i. § 20, 24.

[2] We have a particularly striking instance in his explanations of substance. Paolo Sarpi, according to Foscarini and Griselini, infers substance from the multiplicity of ideas, resting on a basis which we cannot perceive, and in this basis, he says, properly consists what we call substance.—Griselini, i. p. 46 of the German translation. Locke's Human Understanding, b. ii. chap. xxiii. "Not imagining how the simple ideas can subsist by themselves, we accustom ourselves to suppose some substratum, wherein they do subsist, and from which they do result, which therefore we call substance."

those who were devoted to the study of natural science, adhering to none of the established systems of doctrine, dissentient and speculative, but not yet clearly defined, nor fully worked out.

Of this much we are however certain, Fra Paolo bore a decided and implacable hatred towards the secular influence of the papacy, and this was, perhaps, the only passion he ever indulged. It has been attributed to the refusal of a bishopric, for which he had been proposed; and who shall venture positively to deny the effect that a mortifying rejection, excluding a natural ambition from its path, may produce, even on a manly spirit? But in this case the cause lay much deeper; it must be sought in a sentiment, religious and political, that was mingled and bound up with every other conviction of his mind; it had gained strength from study and experience, and was held in common with those friends and contemporaries who had formerly gathered around Andrea Morosini, and were now arrived at the helm of state. Before the keen glance of his penetrating observation, the chimerical arguments with which the Jesuits laboured to confirm their assertions, vanished utterly, and the doctrines really founded only on a devotion to the Roman see, arising from a state of society long gone by, appeared in all their nullity.

It was not without labour that Sarpi first brought conviction to the minds of the Venetian jurists. Some held the exemption of the clergy to be an ordinance of the divine law, as propounded by Cardinal Bellarmine; others maintained that it was at least in the power of the pope to command it; they appealed to the decrees of councils, in which that exemption was proclaimed, and concluded that what had been in the power of a council was much more within the competence of a pope. The first were easily refuted, and with the others, Fra Paolo's principal argument was, that the councils, whose authority they cited, were convened by temporal sovereigns, and were to be considered as assemblies of the empire, whence a multitude of political enactments had also proceeded.[1] This is an

[1] Letter from Sarpi to Leschasser, 3 Feb. 1619, in Lebret's Magazine, i. 479; an observation which is the more important for those

argument on which the doctrines brought forward by Fra Paolo and his friends were chiefly founded.

They started from the principle which had been successfully contended for in France, that the sovereign power is derived immediately from God, and can be subject to no control. The pope has not even the right to inquire whether the proceedings of a state be sinful or not. For whither would this tend? Was there any that might not be sinful, at least, as regarded its ultimate aim? The pope would have to examine everything, to interfere in all. The temporal sovereignty would, in fact, be annihilated.

To this sovereignty the clergy are subjected as well as the laity. All power, says the apostle, comes from God. From the obedience due to the established authorities no one is exempt any more than from obedience to God. The prince gives the law; he judges every man, and demands tribute from all; in all things the clergy owe him an obedience equal to that required from the laity.[1]

The pope also undoubtedly possesses jurisdiction, but one that is exclusively spiritual. Did Christ exercise a temporal jurisdiction? Neither to St. Peter, nor to his successors, could he have transferred what he did not claim for himself.

In no degree therefore can the exemption of the clergy be derived from an original divine right;[2] it depends on

times, because Mariana, for example, deduced the most extensive secular privileges for the clergy from those decrees of the Spanish councils; but it must be always observed that even at that time the spiritual and temporal claims were already either confounded together or in dispute. The old Gothic monarchy in Spain had in effect a powerful spiritual element, for old laws are generally founded on a far remote condition of things.

[1] Risposta d'un dottore in theologia ad una lettera scrittagli sopra il breve delle censure: "Sono dunque tutti gli ecclesiastici et i secolari de iure divino soggetti al principe secolare. Omnis anima potestatibus sublimioribus subdita sit. E la ragione si è, perchè siccome niuno è eccettuato dall' ubbidienza che deve a dio, così niuno è eccettuato dall' ubbidienza che deve al principe: perchè, come soggionge l'apostolo, omnis potestas a deo."

[2] Difesa di Giovanni Marsilio a favore della risposta delle otto propositioni, contra la quale ha scritto l'ill^mo. e rev^mo. S^r. C^l. Bellarmino. Venezia, 1606. This explains the meaning of its author, who has expressed himself somewhat obscurely, in the following manner; but the explanation is at least authentic, since it comes from the same side:

the will of the sovereign only. The prince has conferred property and jurisdiction on the Church; he is her protector, her general patron. On him, therefore, the nomination of the clergy depends of right; to him also belongs the publication of bulls.

The prince cannot surrender this power, even if he would. It is a trust confided to him; he is bound in conscience to deliver it unimpaired to his successor.

Thus did the claims and theory of the State oppose themselves boldly to the claims and theory of the Church. The tendencies of conflicting powers were expressed in opposite systems. The internal fusion of spiritual and temporal interest in the European states presents a wide domain of human action, wherein both meet and blend. The Church had long demanded this whole domain as its exclusive possession, and now renewed this claim; the state, on the other hand, had also at times asserted a similar claim, but never before, perhaps, had it been so boldly and systematically brought forward as on this occasion. It was impossible that these claims could ever be legally adjusted; and politically, their regulation was possible only by means of mutual concessions. When neither party would make these to the other, it must come to a trial of force. Each side had then to prove how far its strength could reach; if a conflict were commenced for the right to obedience, nothing further remained but to shew which had the power to enforce it.

On the 17th of April, 1606, the pope pronounced sentence of excommunication on the doge, senate, and government of Venice collectedly, more particularly on the consultors. This he did with all the stern forms of past

"Dice l'autore due cose, la prima si è, che le persone ecclesiastiche non siano esente dalla potestà secolare nè meno i beni di esse, intendendo in quelle cose alle quali la detta potestà si estende (that is, not to the purely spiritual); la seconda, che l'esentione ch'hanno li detti ecclesiastici non è de iure divino, ma de iure humano." [The author says two things: first, that the persons of ecclesiastics are not exempt from the secular power, nor yet their property, meaning thereby things to which the said power extends; the second is, that the exemption possessed by ecclesiastics is not by divine right, but merely by human law,] (p. 62).

ages, and with especial reference to the most omnipotent of his predecessors; as, for example, to Innocent III. He allowed the condemned only the shortest intervals for recantation—three of eight days and one of three days, namely. After the lapse of these, all churches of the Venetian territory—those of convents and private chapels not excepted—were to be prohibited from performing divine service: they were laid under interdict. It was imposed on the Venetian clergy, as a duty, to publish this letter of interdict before the assembled congregations,[1] and to have it fixed on the church doors. The whole body of the clergy, from the patriarch to the parish priest, were enjoined to execute this command, under pain of rigorous punishments from God and man.

Such was the attack; the defence did not display equal vigour.

It was proposed in the college of Venice to enter a solemn protest, as had been done in earlier times; but this proposal was rejected, on the ground that the sentence of the pope was in itself null and void, and had not even a shew of justice. In a short proclamation, occupying only a quarto page, Leonardo Donato made known to the clergy the resolution of the republic to maintain the sovereign authority, "which acknowledges no other superior in worldly things save God alone." Her faithful clergy would of themselves perceive the nullity of the "censures" issued against them, and would continue the discharge of their functions, the cure of souls and the worship of God, without interruption. No alarm was expressed, no menaces were uttered, the proclamation was a mere expression of confidence and security. It is, however, probable that something more may have been done by verbal communication.[2]

[1] "Mentre in esse si troverà adunata maggior moltitudine di popolo per sentir li divini offici," as had been done in Ferrara with such effective results.. Breve di censure et interdetto della S^ta di NS^re P. Paolo V contra li S^ri Venetiani 1606.

[2] This proclamation of the 6th of May, 1606, is printed by Rampazetto, stampator ducale. On the title-page is seen the Evangelist St. Mark with the book of the Gospels and uplifted sword. In the senate, as Priuli tells us, they discussed "le nullità molte e notorie" [the many and notorious nullities] of the papal brief.

By these proceedings, the question of claim and right became at once a question of strength and of possession. Commanded by their two superiors—the pope and the republic—to give contradictory proofs of obedience, the Venetian clergy were now called on to decide to which of the two they would render that obedience.

They did not hesitate; they obeyed the republic: not a copy of the brief was fixed up.[1] The delay appointed by the pope expired; public worship was everywhere conducted as usual. As the secular clergy had decided, so did also the monastic orders.

The only exception to this was presented by the orders newly instituted, in which the principle of ecclesiastical restoration was more particularly represented; these were the Jesuits, Theatines, and Capuchins. The Jesuits, in so far as they were themselves concerned, were not altogether decided; they first took counsel of their Provincial at Ferrara, and afterwards of their general in Rome, who referred the question to the pope himself. Paul V replied that they must either observe the interdict, or shake the dust from their feet and leave Venice. A hard decision assuredly, since they were distinctly informed that they would never be permitted to return; but the principle of their institution allowed them no choice. Embarking in their boats, they departed from the city, and took shelter in the papal dominions.[2] Their example influenced the other two orders.[3] A middle course was proposed by the Theatines, but the Venetians did not think it advisable; they would suffer no division in their land, and demanded either obedience or departure. The deserted churches were easily provided with other priests, and care was taken that none should perceive a deficiency. The festival of the Corpus Christi next succeeding, was solemnized with extraordinary

[1] P. Sarpi, Historia particolare, lib. ii. p. 55. affirms that certain persons who had attempted to fix up the bulls had been arrested by the inhabitants themselves.

[2] Juvencius, Hist. Soc. Jesu, v. ii. p. 93.

[3] V. Sandi (vi. 1110) continues to speak of "i reformati di S. Francesco," but this error, which is shared by several other writers, is due merely to the fact, that the Capuchins were, in effect, reformed Franciscans, and are so called on this occasion by A. Morosini.

pomp, and a more than commonly numerous procession.[1]

In any case, the result was a complete and open schism.

The pope was amazed; his exaggerated pretensions were confronted by the realities of things with the most unshrinking boldness. Did any means exist by which these might be overcome?

Paul V thought at times of having recourse to arms: even in the Congregations, warlike opinions had at one moment the ascendency. Cardinal Sauli exclaimed that the Venetians should be castigated. Legates were despatched, and troops fitted out; but in effect they dared not venture to attempt force. There would have been cause to apprehend that Venice would call the Protestants to her aid, and thus throw all Italy, nay the Catholic world at large, into the most perilous commotions.

They must again betake themselves, as on former occasions, to political measures, for the adjustment of questions touching the rights of the Church. The arrangement of these measures could not, however, be attempted on this occasion by the parties themselves; the animosities between them were too violent; it was confided to the mediation of the two leading powers—France and Spain. But the private interest of both would, of course, require to be considered in the matter.

There was a party in each of these two kingdoms, to which the outbreak of hostilities would have been welcome. Among the Spaniards, this was formed by the zealous Catholics (who thereby hoped to enchain the Roman see once more to the monarchy), and the governors of the Italian provinces, whose power would be increased by war. The Spanish ambassador to Rome, Viglienna, also wished for war, thinking it would afford him opportunities for advancing his family to high ecclesiastical dignities. In France, on the contrary, it was precisely the most zealous Protestants who desired a rupture. Sully and his adherents would have gladly seen an Italian war, because the Netherlands, just then hard pressed by Spinola, might by that means have gained time to breathe. Each of these parties

[1] A. Maurocenus, Historia Ven. tom. iii. p. 350.

even proceeded to demonstrations of war. The king of Spain despatched a letter to the pope, with promises of aid, at least in general terms. In France the Venetian ambassador also received offers from men in high positions; it was his opinion that he could gather an army of fifteen thousand Frenchmen in a month. This mode of thinking did not however obtain the ascendency. Lerma and Villeroy, the leading ministers of Spain and France, desired to maintain peace. The Spanish statesman placed his glory chiefly in the restoration of peace, and Villeroy belonged to the rigidly Catholic party, and would never have consented that the pope should be attacked by the French.[1] The princes agreed with their ministers; Henry IV remarked with justice, that if he drew his sword for the republic he should endanger his reputation as a good Catholic. Philip III despatched a new declaration to the pope—he would assist him, but certainly not without security for the return of the cost; and even then, it must be for good and not for evil.[2]

[1] Relatione di Pietro Priuli ritornato di Francia, 4 Sett. 1608, contains a circumstantial account of the interest taken by the French in these transactions. Villeroy declares, "esser questa opportunissima e propria occasione di guadagnare l'animo del papa — — Il re, assicurato dal suo ambasciatore presso la republica che V. Sª non metteria in mano d'altri questo negotio che della Mª S., ebbe mira di guadagnare et obligarsi con questa occasione l'animo del pontefice" [this to be a most opportune and proper occasion for gaining the goodwill of the pope; the king, assured by his ambassador to the republic, that your Signory would not put the negotiations into any other hands than his own, had the intention of employing this opportunity for gaining over the pontiff and binding him to himself.]

[2] Francesco Priuli, Relatione di Spagna, 20 Ag. 1608: "Venne il contestabile a trovarmi a casa, e mi disse constantemente che gli ordini dell' ammassar genti non erano per altro se non per non star in otio mentre tutte potenze del mondo si armavano, ma che però non s'erano proveduti di danaro: raccomandò la pace d'Italia, non potendo perder la republica nell' esser liberale di parole ossequenti, per haver in effetto quello che desiderava. — — In quel tempo che il duca di Lerma delle forze da ammassarsi parlò iperbolicamente all' ambasciator d'Inghilterra, — — scrissono al papa che S. Mª gli aveva ben promesso d' ajutarlo, ma che ciò s'intendeva al bene e non al male, — — che il cominciar le guerre stava in mano degli uomini et il finire in quelle di dio." [The constable came to seek me at my house, and told me frequently, that the order for assembling troops was given for no other purpose than to avoid being idle, when all the powers of the world were arming

All possibility of war was thus destroyed. The two powers were emulous only of contributing the most effectually to the restoration of peace, so that each might thereby the better extend and secure its own interest. For this purpose Francesco di Castro, the nephew of Lerma, proceeded to Venice on the part of Spain; as did Cardinal Joyeuse on that of France.

I have neither inclination nor material for a detailed account of these negotiations through the whole course of the proceedings; it will besides be sufficient if we obtain a clear perception of their most important characteristics.

The first difficulty was presented by the pope, who insisted, before all things, that the Venetian laws, which had given him so much offence, should be repealed; and he made the suspension of his ecclesiastical censures to depend on their repeal.

But the Venetians, also, on their part, with a certain republican self-complacency, were accustomed to declare their laws sacred and inviolable. When the papal demand was brought under discussion in January, 1607, although the college wavered, yet at last it was decidedly rejected in the senate.[1] The French, who had given their word

themselves; but that they were by no means provided with money; he recommended peace in Italy, and said the republic would lose nothing by being liberal in obsequious words, to obtain in effect all that it desired. . . . At the time when the duke of Lerma spoke in exaggerated terms to the English ambassador of the forces to be gathered, they were even then writing to the pope that his majesty had, doubtless, promised to aid him, but that this was intended to be for good and not for evil, . . . that the commencement of wars was in the hands of men, but their conclusion was in the power of God alone.]

[1] Ger. Priuli, Cronica Veneta, 20 Zener. 1606 (1607): "Dopo lunga disputa di otto giorni e varie pendentie di giudicio deliberò il senato rispondere agli ambasciatori di Francia e di Spagna che il devenir a qualsivoglia forma di sospensione non si può accomodar la republica, essendo cosa di perpetuo pregiudicio; il che fu proposto da S. Bembo et Al. Zorzi savj del consilio et A. Mula et S. Venier savj della terra ferma." Others desired to adopt a more moderate decision; nor is it improbable that they would have carried their point, had not intelligence arrived that there was nothing to fear from the Spanish arms, in consequence of the disturbances in Naples: "E fu perciò preso la total negativa di sospensione." [A positive refusal of the suspension was then determine d], by ninety-nine votes to seventy-eight, giving a majority

to the pope, succeeded in bringing the question forward once more in March, when of the four opponents in the college, one at least withdrew his objections. After the arguments on both sides had again been fully stated in the senate, there was still, it is true, no formal or express repeal of the laws, but a decision was adopted to the effect that "the republic would conduct itself with its accustomed piety." However obscure these words appear, the ambassador and the pope thought they discovered in them the fulfilment of their wishes. The pope then suspended his censures.

But there immediately arose another and very unexpected difficulty; the Venetians refused to permit the return of the Jesuits, who had been excluded, after their departure, by a solemn decree.

Could it however be supposed that the pope would suffer his faithful adherents, who had committed no other offence than that of an inviolable attachment to himself, to be left at such heavy disadvantage? He sought by every possible expedient to alter the resolution of the Venetians. The Jesuits had the French also on their side; they had secured the goodwill of Henry IV on this occasion likewise by a special embassy, and Joyeuse took particular interest in their case; the Venetians nevertheless remained immovable.[1]

A very extraordinary circumstance was, that the Spaniards declared themselves rather against the order than for it. The Dominican interest was predominant in Spain, and Lerma, who did not favour the Jesuits, considered it unadvisable, as a general principle, that a state should be compelled to permit the return of disobedient subjects. Francesco di Castro at first avoided all mention of the

of twenty-one. Yet Bembo himself withdrew his support from that proposal on the 9th of March; and, on the 14th, the more moderate decision was carried, in despite of the opposition made by Zorzi, Mula, and Venier.]

[1] Pietro Priuli, Relatione di Francia, adds to this: "Solamente l'ufficio dell' ambasciatore ritenne la dispositione che aveva S. M^tà. eccitata dall' efficaci instanze che furono fatte da un padre Barisoni Padoano mandato in Francia espressamente dalla sua congregatione col pensiero l'ottener di interessarsi acciocchè fussero di nuovo ricevuti."

Jesuits, and at length opposed himself directly to the intercession made for them by the French.[1]

This manifestation, although based, in fact, on the actual condition of things, was yet so striking, that the pope himself was startled by it, and suspecting that a deeper mystery was somewhere concealed in it, he ceased to insist that the Jesuits should be restored.[2]

But how dearly must this resolution have cost him! For the sake of a couple of insignificant laws he had shewn himself willing to permit the whole world to be embroiled; yet he now abandoned his most faithful adherents to perpetual exile from a Catholic and Italian territory.[3] On the other hand, the republic consented to deliver up the two priests who had been arrested.

But she still claimed the right of entering an assertion of her legal powers, of which the pope refused absolutely to hear one word. The expedient finally adopted was very singular.[4] The secretary of the Venetian senate conducted the prisoners to the palace of the French ambassador, "and delivered them into his hands, out of respect," he said, "for the most Christian king, and with the previous understanding that the right of the republic to judge her own clergy

[1] Francesco Priuli, Relatione di Spagna: "Sentendo (i Spagnuoli) che Franciosi insistevano nell' introduzione de' Gesuiti, scrissero a Roma et a Venezia che non trattassero di ciò, dando ragione alla republica di non voler capitolare con gente suddita che l'aveva sì gravemente offesa."

[2] Francesco Priuli: "Venuto l'avviso dell' intiero accomodamento, desisterono dal procurare che si trattasse di loro con la S^tà. V., non solo per non aver voluto parlar di loro, ma per essersi attraversati agli gagliardi ufficj di Francesi: che fece dubitare il papa di qualche recondito mistero, e non vi volse insistere con che essi non sapevano che dire."

[3] Ger. Priuli: "Peso molto a S. S^tà questa cosa de Gesuiti, non per loro, ma per la sua propria riputatione." [This affair of the Jesuits weighed heavily on the pope; it grieved him deeply, not indeed for their sakes, but on account of his own reputation.]

[4] Joyeuse speaks of this as a condition, he says: "che levandosi le censure siano consignati li due prigioni a chi li riceve in nome di S. Santità, li quali se bene S. Serenità dice di darli in gratificatione di S. M. Chr^mo, si dovessero consignare senza dir altro." [That if the censures are removed, the two prisoners shall be delivered up to those who shall receive them in the name of his holiness; and though her serenity (Venice) declares that she resigns them for the gratification of his most Christian majesty, yet they are to be given up without a word said.]

should not thereby be diminished." "So I receive them," replied the ambassador, and led them before the cardinal, who was walking up and down in a gallery (loggia). "These are the prisoners," said he, "who are to be given up to the pope;" but he did not allude to the reservation. Then the cardinal, without uttering one word, delivered them to the papal commissary, who received them with a sign of the cross.

But how far were the parties from having yet arrived at a clear understanding: a mere external appearance of reconciliation was their principal object.

Even that was, however, not to be attained until the censures had been removed and absolution granted.

The Venetians had, moreover, objections to make against this very absolution; they persisted in maintaining that the censure was in itself null and void; that it had in no way affected them, and that they were consequently in no need of absolution. Joyeuse declared to them, that he could not alter the forms of the Church. Finally they came to an agreement that the absolution should not be conferred with the usual publicity. Joyeuse appeared in the college, and pronounced it there, as it were, privately. The Venetians have always persuaded themselves that they escaped altogether without absolution.[1] It is true that absolution was not given with all the formalities, but given it certainly was.[2]

Upon the whole, it is sufficiently obvious that the points in dispute were not arranged so entirely to the advantage of the Venetians as is commonly asserted.

The laws of which the pope complained were suspended, the priests whose surrender he had required, were given up to him, the absolution itself was received; but all these concessions were made with the most extraordinary limitations. The Venetians proceeded as in an affair of honour. With anxious care for their reputation, they limited every concession by all possible restrictive clauses, and did their utmost to neutralize the effect of each. The pope, on the

[1] Daru, at the close of his 29th book, gives the letter of Joyeuse, which is, beyond all doubt, the only one of importance that he has adduced respecting this affair; but he makes certain objections to it, which appear to me entirely untenable.

[2] See Appendix, No. 79.

other hand, was at a disadvantage, since he had been compelled to resolve on a concession, manifest to all, and by no means honourable in its character, which excited the attention of the whole world.

These arrangements being made, the relations between Rome and Venice returned—at least in appearance—to their former course. Paul V exclaimed to the first ambassador from the Venetians, "Let old things be put away—let all now be new." He more than once complained that Venice would not forget what he, on his side, had forgotten; and displayed as much forbearance and mildness as any one of his predecessors.[1]

Yet all that was gained amounted only to this: that new dissensions were avoided; the essential grounds of dispute remained; a true and mutual confidence was not indeed to be easily restored.[2]

13. ISSUE OF THE AFFAIRS OF THE JESUITS

The contest between the Jesuits and Dominicans was meanwhile terminated in a similar manner; that is, very imperfectly.

Clement died, as we have seen, before he had pronounced judgment. The question was taken up by Paul V with all the zeal by which the early part of his administration was distinguished. No fewer than seventeen meetings were held in his presence, from September, 1605, to February, 1606. He was equally disposed with his predecessor towards the old system, and to the side of the Dominicans. In October and November, 1606, meetings were even held for the purpose of deciding on the form in which the Jesuit doctrines should be condemned. The Dominicans believed they held the victory already in their hands.[3]

[1] Relatione di Mocenigo, 1612. [The pope declared "che conveniva per servitio d'Italia che fosse sempre buona intelligenza fra quella sede e questa republica" [that, for the interest of Italy, there should always be a good understanding between that see and this republic.]

[2] See Appendix, No. 81.

[3] Serry, Historia Congregationum de Auxiliis, gives the documents

But it was just at this time that the Venetian affairs had been arranged in the manner we have been observing. The Jesuits had given the Roman see a proof of attachment, whereby they greatly surpassed every other order, and for this Venice was making them pay the penalty.

Under these circumstances it would have seemed cruelty in the Roman see to have visited these, its most faithful servants, with a decree of condemnation. When all was prepared for that purpose, the pope paused; for some time he suffered the affair to rest; at length, on the 29th of August, 1607, he published a declaration, by which "disputatores" and "consultores" were dismissed to their respective homes; the decision was to be made known in due time; meanwhile it was the most earnest desire of his holiness that neither party should asperse or disparage the other.[1]

By this decision the Jesuits, after all, derived an advantage from the losses they had sustained in Venice. It was a great gain for them that their contraverted doctrines, though certainly not confirmed, were yet not rejected. They even boasted of victory; and with the public prepossession in favour of their orthodoxy once again secured, they now pursued with unremitting ardour the course of doctrine to which they had before attached themselves.

The only question yet remaining was, whether they would also succeed in perfectly composing their internal disquietudes.

Violent fermentation still prevailed in the order. The changes made in its constitution proved insufficient, and the members of the Spanish opposition persisted in their efforts for securing their principal aim; namely, the removal of Acquaviva. The procurators of all the provinces at length declared a general congregation necessary, which was a circumstance that never had occurred before. In the year 1607, the members assembled, and effectual changes were to be once more brought under discussion.

respecting this matter (p. 562, and following pages): "Gratiae victrici," he says himself, "jam canebatur 'Io triumphe.'"

[1] Coronelli, secretary of the Congregation, in Serry, p. 589: "Tra tanto ha ordinato (S. S^tà.) molto seriamente che nel trattare di queste materie nessuno ardisca di qualificare e censurare l'altra parte."

We have already more than once alluded to the close alliance into which the Jesuits had entered with Henry IV, and the favour accorded to them by that sovereign. He even took part in the internal disputes of the order, and was entirely on the side of Acquaviva. In a letter written expressly for the purpose, he not only assured the General of his friendly regard, but also gave the Congregation to understand his wish that no change in the constitution of the society should be proposed.[1]

Nor did Acquaviva fail to make excellent use of so powerful a protection.

It was principally in the provincial congregations that the opposition he encountered had its seat. He now carried through a law, by virtue of which no proposition should in the first place be considered as adopted by a provincial assembly, unless supported by two-thirds of the votes; and further, even when thus adopted, such proposition should not be admitted for discussion in the general assembly, unless a majority of the latter had previously assented to it. These regulations were manifestly calculated to produce extra-ordinary diminution in the authority of the provincial congregations.

Nor was this all; a formal sentence of condemnation was also pronounced on the enemies of the general, and the superiors of provinces received express command to proceed against the so-called disturbers of the peace. Tranquillity was thus gradually restored. The Spanish members resigned themselves to submission, and ceased to contend against the new direction taken by their order. A more pliant generation gradually arose, which was educated under the predominant influences. The general, on his side, endeavoured to requite Henry IV, by redoubled devotion, for the favours received at his hands.

[1] Literae Christianissimi regis ad congregatos patres, iv. Kal. Dec. 1607, in Juvencius, v. ii. lib. ix. n. 108: "Vosque hortamur ad retinendam instituti vestri integritatem et splendorem."

CONCLUSION

Thus did all these contentions once more give promise of being allayed.

But if we reflect on their progress, and their results as a whole, we perceive that the most essential changes had been thereby produced in the centre and heart of the Catholic church.

We started from the moment when the papal power, engaged in victorious conflict, was marching forward to the plenitude of authority. In close alliance with the policy of Spain, it conceived the design of impelling all the Catholic powers in one direction, and overwhelming those who had separated from it by one great movement. Had the papacy succeeded in this purpose, it would have exalted the ecclesiastical spirit to unlimited supremacy; would have bound all Catholic states in one all-embracing unity of ideas, faith, social life, and policy; and would thus have secured to itself a paramount and irresistible influence even over their domestic affairs.

But at this precise moment the most violent dissensions arose within its own bosom.

In the matter of France, the feeling of nationality arrayed itself against the pretensions of the hierarchy. Even those who held the Catholic faith would not endure to be dependent on the ruling principles of the Church in every particular, nor to be guided on all points by the spiritual sovereign. There were other principles remaining—those of temporal policy, of national independence; all of which opposed themselves to the designs of the papacy with invincible energy. Upon the whole, we may affirm that these principles obtained the victory; the pope was compelled to acknowledge them, and the French church even effected its restoration by adopting them as its basis.

But it followed, from this circumstance, that France again plunged herself into perpetual hostilities with the Spanish monarchy; that two great powers, naturally prone to rivalry, and always disposed for battle, confronted each other in the

centre of the Catholic world,—so little was it possible to preserve unity. The circumstances of Italy were indeed of such a character, that these dissensions, and the balance of power resulting from them, produced advantages to the Roman see.

Meanwhile, new theological discords also broke out. However acute and precise the definitions of the Council of Trent might be, they were yet not equal to the prevention of disputes. Within the limits traced by these decisions there was still room for new controversies respecting the faith. The two most influential of the orders opposed each other in the lists. The two great powers even took part to a certain extent in the contest; nor had Rome the courage to pronounce a decision.

In addition to these dissensions, came those regarding the limits of the ecclesiastical and secular jurisdictions; dissensions of local origin, and with a neighbour of no very great power, but conducted in a spirit, and with an effect that raised them into universal importance.[1] Justly is the memory of Paolo Sarpi held in honour through all Catholic states. He it was by whom those ecclesiastical rights, which they enjoy in common, were contended for and won. The pope did not find himself capable of putting him down.

Conflicts thus marked between ideas and doctrines, between constitutional and absolute power, effectually impeded that ecclesiastical and secular unity which the papacy desired to establish, and even threatened to subvert it entirely.

The course of events made it nevertheless obvious that pacific and conservative ideas were once more the stronger. Internal discords were not to be prevented; but an open struggle was avoided. Peace was restored and maintained between the two great powers. Italian interests had not yet

[1] "V. Stà," exclaims P. Priuli to his government, on his return from France, "ha dichiarito, si può dire, sin a quai termini sia permesso al pontefice estendere la sua temporale e spirituale autorità." [Your serenity may be said to have declared within what limits it shall be permitted to the pontificate to extend its authority, whether spiritual or temporal.]—Relatione di Francia, 1608.

advanced to a full perception of their own strength, nor to an effectual activity in employing it; silence was imposed on the contending orders; the differences between Church and State were not carried to extremity. Venice accepted the proffered mediation.

The policy of the papacy was to assume, as far as possible, a position above that of parties, and to mediate in their dissensions; a purpose which it still possessed sufficient authority to effect.

This policy, without doubt, was reacted upon by that which was in part its effect, the continued progress, namely, of the great external movement, the advance of Catholic reformation, and the struggle with Protestantism.

To the further development of that struggle we must now return.

BOOK VII

COUNTER REFORMATION

SECOND PERIOD, 1590–1630

COUNTER REFORMATION

SECOND PERIOD, 1590–1630

I THINK I do not deceive myself, or pass beyond the province of history, in supposing that I here discover one of the universal laws of social life.

It is unquestionably true, that there are at all periods forces of the living mind by which the world is moved profoundly; gradually prepared in the long course of bygone centuries, they arise in the fulness of time, called forth by natures of intrinsic might and vigour from the unfathomed depths of the human spirit. It is of their very essence and being that they should seek to gain possession of the world, —to over-match and subdue it. But the more perfect their success, the more extended the circle of their action, so much the more certainly do they come in contact with peculiar and independent forms of social life, which they cannot wholly subdue or absorb into their own being. Hence it happens that, being, as they are, in a state of never-ceasing progress, they experience modifications in themselves. Whilst appropriating what is foreign to their own existence, they also assume a portion of its characteristics; tendencies are then developed within them; crises of existence, that are not unfrequently at variance with their ruling principle; these, however, must almost necessarily expand and increase with the general progress; the object to be then secured is, that they do not obtain the predominance; for if this were permitted, all unity, and that essential principle on which it reposes, would be utterly destroyed.

We have seen how violently internal contradictions and profound contrasts were in action during the restoration of the papacy; still the ruling idea retained the victory; the

higher unity yet preserved its ascendancy, though not perhaps with all its ancient and comprehensive power, and continually pressed forward with unremitting steps, even during periods of internal strife, from which indeed it seemed to derive increased energy for new conquests.

These enterprises now solicit our attention. How far they succeeded, the revolutions that were their consequences, and the opposition they encountered, whether from within or from without, are all questions of the utmost importance to the world in general.

CHAPTER I

PROGRESS OF THE CATHOLIC RESTORATION

1590–1617

1. ENTERPRISES OF CATHOLICISM IN POLAND AND THE NEIGHBOURING TERRITORIES

An opinion has been expressed that the Protestants, who for some time certainly had, as we have seen, the decided supremacy in Poland, would also have been in a condition to raise a king of their own faith to the throne; but that even they themselves came at length to consider a Catholic more advantageous, because in the person of the pope he had a still higher power and judge placed over him.

If this were so, they brought a very heavy punishment upon themselves for a decision so adverse to Protestantism.

For it was precisely by the agency of a Catholic king that the pope was enabled to make war on them.

Of all the foreign ambassadors in Poland, the papal nuncios alone possessed the right of demanding audience of the king without the presence of a senator. We know what these men were; they had prudence and address enough to cultivate and profit by the confidential intercourse thus placed within their reach.

In the beginning of the eightieth year of the sixteenth century, Cardinal Bolognetto was nuncio in Poland. He complained of the severity of the climate; of the cold, to which, as an Italian, he was doubly susceptible; of the close, suffocating air in the small heated rooms, and of the whole mode of life, which was utterly uncongenial to his

habits and predilections. He nevertheless accompanied King Stephen from Warsaw to Cracow, from Wilna to Lublin, —throughout the kingdom in short: at times in rather melancholy mood, but none the less indefatigable. During the campaigns, he kept up his intercourse with the king, at least by letter, and maintained an uninterrupted connection between the interests of Rome and the royal person.

We have a circumstantial relation of his official proceedings, and from this we learn the character of his undertakings, and how far he prospered in them.[1]

Above all things, he exhorted the king to appoint Catholics only to the government offices; to permit no other form of worship than that of the Catholic church in the royal towns, and to re-establish the tithes; measures which were adopted about the same time in other countries, and which promoted or indicated the renovation of Catholicism.

But the nuncio was not wholly successful in the first instance. King Stephen thought he could not go so far; he declared that he was not sufficiently powerful to venture it.

Yet this prince was not only imbued with Catholic convictions, he had besides an innate zeal for the interests of the Church, and in many other particulars his decisions were regulated by the representations of the nuncio.

It was under the immediate patronage of royalty that the Jesuit colleges in Cracow, Grodno, and Pultusk were established. The new calendar was introduced without difficulty, and the ordinances of the Council of Trent were for the most part carried into full effect. But the most important circumstance was, the king's determination that the bishoprics should, for the future, be conferred on Catholics only.[2] Protestants had previously made their way even to those ecclesiastical dignities; but the nuncio was now

[1] Spannocchi, Relatione all' Ill^mo. Rev^mo. Cardinal Rusticucci, segretario di N. S. Papa Sisto V, delle cose di Polonia intorno alla religione e delle azioni del cardinal Bolognetto in quattro anni ch'egli è stato nunzio in quella provincia. (See App. No. 61.)

[2] "Sendosi (il re) determinato che nessuno possa tenere chiese che non sia della vera fede romana."—Spannocchi.

authorized to summon them before his tribunal, and to depose them; a fact of all the more importance, inasmuch as a seat and vote in the senate were attached to the episcopal office. It was this political efficacy of the spiritual institutions that the nuncio most especially sought to turn to account. Above all, he exhorted the bishops to be unanimous, as regarded the measures to be adopted at the diet, and these measures were prescribed by himself. With the most powerful of the Polish ecclesiastics, the archbishop of Gnesen and the bishop of Cracow, Bolognetto had formed a close personal intimacy, which was of infinite utility for the promotion of his views. Thus he succeeded, not only in awakening new zeal among the clergy, but also in at once obtaining extensive influence over temporal affairs. The English were making proposals for a commercial treaty with Poland, which promised to become very advantageous, more particularly for Danzig. It was by the nuncio alone that this purpose was defeated, and principally because the English required a distinct promise that they should be allowed to trade and live in peace, without being persecuted on account of their religion.[1]

[1] Spannocchi: "Il che non prima venne agli orecchj del Bolognetto che andò a trovare S. M^tà, e con efficacissime ragioni mostrò quanto esorbitante cosa sarebbe stata che avesse concesso per publico decreto una tanto obbrobriosa setta, e come non senza nascosto inganno e speranza d'importantissime conseguenze quella scellerata donna voleva che si dichiarasse così per decreto potersi esercitar la setta Anglicana in quel regno, dove tutto il mondo pur troppo sa che si permetta il credere in materia di religione quel che piace a chi si sia: con queste ed altre efficacissime ragioni il re Stefano rimase talmente persuaso che promesse non voler mai far menzione alcuna di religione in qualunque accordo avesse fatto con quella regina o suoi mercanti." [This no sooner came to the ears of Bolognetto, than he went to seek his majesty, and with the most prevailing reasons, shewed him what an exorbitant evil it would be to make concessions by public decree to so scandalous a sect, and how it was certainly not without some hidden deception, and the hope of important consequences, that yonder pestilent woman (Elizabeth of England) desired to have the Anglican sect thus placed at liberty by public decree to exercise its worship in that kingdom, where it was but too well known to all the world, that, in matters of religion, all sorts of people might believe whatsoever they pleased. By these and other most efficacious reasons, King Stephen was so fully persuaded, that he promised never to make any mention of religion in any treaty whatsoever with that queen and her merchants.]

These things suffice to shew, that however moderate King Stephen might be, it was yet under him that Catholicism first acquired an essential reinstatement in Poland.

And this had all the more importance from the fact that the most influential party in the country, the Zamoiski faction, to which by the king's favour the most important offices were generally entrusted,[1] had also received a deep tinge of Catholicism. It was this party that on the death of Stephen determined the election in favour of his successor; and the sovereign, placed by the Zamoiski faction on the Polish throne, was that Swedish prince whom Catherine Jagellonica had borne in prison, and who, in the midst of a Protestant country, had ever remained immoveably steadfast in the Catholic faith—either from original inclination, the influence of his mother, the hope he entertained of succeeding to the crown of Poland, or, it may be, from these influences all acting together.

This was Sigismund III, a prince whose modes of thought were formed in complete accordance with those Catholic impulses by which all Europe was at that period agitated.

Pope Clement VIII says, in one of his instructions, that while yet a cardinal, and when legate in Poland, he had recommended that prince to bestow all public offices in future on Catholics only. This advice had already been frequently given before, by Paul IV, by Cardinal Hosius,[2] and again by Cardinal Bolognetto: there were now, for the first time, means for giving this counsel its full effect. What could not be obtained, either from Sigismund Augustus, or from Stephen, was very quickly resolved on by Sigismund III. He established it, in fact, as his principle of action, to confer promotion on none but Catholics, and Pope

[1] Spannocchi: "Alle dignità senatorie et all' entrate del regno dicono hoggi non ammettersi se non i dependenti da esso cancelliero, acciò che da nissuno venga impedito di far quello che ad esso ed al re più tornerà di piacere di fare."

[2] In a letter of the 14th of March, 1568, he begs the king to declare, that "nullis se deinceps vel honores vel praefecturas vel quaecunque tandem alia munera publice mandaturum, nisi qui Christum aperte confessus fuerit et omni perfidiae, sive Lutheristicae sive Calvinisticae sive anabaptistarum, nuntium remiserit."

Clement was fully justified in ascribing the progress of Catholicism in Poland more especially to this regulation.

The most essential attribute of the kingly power in Poland consisted in the right of conferring all dignities and appointments. Every office, whether spiritual or temporal, whether great or small, was in the gift of the king, and their number was said to be nearly twenty thousand. How important must have been the consequences when Sigismund proceeded to bestow, not ecclesiastical appointments only, but all offices whatever, exclusively on Catholics; when he resolved to accord *the beneficence of the state*, as the Italians once expressed it, the full right of citizenship, in the higher sense of the word, to his co-religionists only. A man's promotion was all the more certain, the more he could acquire the favour of the bishops and Jesuits; the Starost Ludwig von Mortangen became Waiwode of Pomerellia, principally because he presented his house in Thorn to the Society of Jesus. As a consequence of this system, disputes arose in the territories of Polish Prussia, between the cities and the nobles, and these soon assumed a religious character: both had originally attached themselves to Protestantism, but the nobles now recanted. The examples of the Kostka, Dzialinsky, and Konopat families, which had risen to power by passing over to Catholicism, produced a great effect on the rest. The schools of the Jesuits were frequented principally by the young nobility, and we soon find that in the towns remaining attached to Protestantism the pupils of the Jesuits had entered into conflict with the sons of the citizens. The new influences were, however, chiefly effectual among the nobles; the College of Pultusk numbered four hundred pupils—all noble.[1] The impulse originating from and pervading the spirit of the times, the teaching of the Jesuits, the newly-awakened zeal of the clerical body, and the favour of the court, all concurred to determine the Polish nobility towards a return to Catholicism. But it followed as a matter of course that further steps were soon taken, and those who would not consent to become Catholic were now made to feel the displeasure of the civil power.

In Poland the Catholic clergy set themselves eagerly to

[1] Maffei, ii. 140.

revive a claim to the ecclesiastical buildings, on the ground that having been founded by those of Catholic faith, with the co-operation of bishops, and frequently of popes, they were the inalienable property of their Church. In every place where the Catholic service had been excluded from the parish churches, the bishops instituted legal proceedings founded on that claim. The tribunals were now filled with zealous Catholics; the same proceedings were commenced against one town after another, and the same judgments were pronounced. It availed nothing that the losers appealed to the king, reminding him of that confederation by which both confessions were assured of equal rights and equal protection. The answer they received was, that equal protection consisted precisely in helping each party to obtain its rights, and that the "confederation" comprised no assurance to them of the possession of ecclesiastical buildings.[1] A few years only had elapsed before the Catholics were in possession of all the parish churches in the towns. "In the parish churches," exclaims one Polish authority, "the ancient God is worshipped:" throughout the smaller Prussian towns, the evangelical service could be now performed in a room of the town-hall only. Of the larger cities, Danzig alone retained its parish church.[2]

But during this period of successful progress, the Catholics did not confine themselves to contentions with the Protestants; they turned their attention to the Greek communities also.

On that point likewise the king and the pope combined their influence; the menace of exclusion from a seat and voice in the senate would seem to have been particularly efficacious, so far as I can discover, with the Greek bishops. It is at all events certain that in the year 1595 the Wladika of Wladimir and some other bishops of the Greek confession, resolved to unite themselves to the Roman church according to the rules laid down by the Council of Florence. Their

[1] The circumstantial letter of the Waiwode of Culm, translated by Lengnich, Polnisch-preussische Geschichte, part iv. p. 291, gives a clear explanation of these motives. See also Appendix, No. 67.

[2] Lengnich, Nachricht von der Religionsänderung in Preussen, § 27.

emissaries proceeded to Rome; papal and royal envoys appeared in the province; the ceremony of reconciliation was performed, and a Jesuit confessor to the king gave it further effect by the animated sermon he preached on the occasion; here also several churches were vacated in favour of the Catholics.

This was a remarkable progress to have been made in so few years. "A short time since," observes a papal nuncio, in the year 1598, "it might have been feared that heresy would entirely supersede Catholicism in Poland; now, Catholicism is bearing heresy to its grave."

If we inquire to what causes this change must be principally attributed, we find that it was above all else due to the personal character and modes of thought of the king, which, from his peculiar position, led him immediately to much more extensive projects.

2. ATTEMPT ON SWEDEN

In the year 1592, Sigismund became king of Sweden, by the death of John, his father.

But in this kingdom he was by no means possessed of unlimited authority as sovereign, neither was he free from obligations and engagements personal to himself; for in the year 1587, he had signed an assurance that nothing should be changed in the ceremonies of the Protestant church, and that he would promote no one who was not a Protestant. And now also he bound himself anew to maintain the privileges of the clergy as well as of the laity; promised that he would make the religion of no man a cause for either love or hatred, and would in nowise seek to prejudice or injure the national church. Notwithstanding these engagements, however, all the hopes of the Catholics were instantly awakened, as were all the fears of the Protestants.

The Catholics had now attained what had always been the object of their most earnest desires, a king of their own faith in Sweden. Sigismund departed for his hereditary

dominions in July, 1593, surrounded by a Catholic retinue, in which even a papal nuncio, Malaspina, was not wanting. His journey through the Prussian provinces was marked by the promotion of Catholic interests. In Danzig he was met by a papal envoy, Bartholomaeus Powsinsky, with a present of twenty thousand scudi, "a small contribution," as was declared in Powsinsky's instruction, "towards the expenses that might be occasioned by the restoration of Catholicism."

This "Instruction" is very remarkable. It shews us how confidently that restoration was expected and hoped for in Rome, and how anxiously it was recommended.[1]

"Powsinsky," it states, "a trusted servant of his holiness, and a vassal of his majesty, has been sent to declare to the king the interest taken by the pope in the welcome events that had lately occurred to his majesty; the delivery of his queen; the fortunate results of the last diet; but above all, the greatest happiness that could befall him, the opportunity, namely, that he now has of reinstating Catholicism in his native land." The pope did not omit to intimate certain points of view in which this work might be considered.

"It is without doubt," he says, "by God's most special providence that certain bishopries should be vacant precisely at this moment; among others, even the archiepiscopal seat of Upsala;[2] should the king delay for a moment to depose the Protestant bishops who may still remain in the land, yet he will infallibly, and at once, supply the vacant sees with bishops of the Catholic faith." The envoy was provided with a list of Swedish Catholics who seemed fitted for the purpose. The pope was convinced that these bishops would then immediately seek to procure Catholic priests and schoolmasters; but he recommends that care should be taken to provide them with the means for doing so.

"It would probably be possible," he thinks, "to establish

[1] Instruttione al S^or. Bartholommeo Powsinsky, alla M^a. del re di Polonia e Suetia (MS. Rome). (App. No. 66.)

[2] "Intendendosi restar vacante l'arcivescovato di Upsalia, che la divina providenza, per più facilitare le cose del suo servitio, non ha permesso che in due anni sia stato provveduto dal re morto, haverà S. M^tà particulare pensiere a pigliare un arcivescovo cattolico."

a Jesuits' college in Stockholm immediately; but if this were not found practicable, the king will without doubt take with him into Poland as many young Swedes as he can find suitable for the purpose, and have them educated at his court, in the Catholic faith, by some of the most zealous bishops, or in the Jesuit colleges of Poland."

The principal object here, as in all other places, was to compel the clergy once more to subordination. The nuncio had meanwhile formed another project. He suggested to the Catholics yet remaining in Sweden certain grievances for which they might bring proceedings against the Protestants. The king would then assume a position above the two parties, and to every innovation that he might attempt to carry, it might thus be possible to give the appearance of a legal decision.[1] He regretted only that Sigismund had not provided himself with a more imposing force of arms, the better to give effect to his decrees.

There is indeed no proof that the king at once adopted the views of the Roman court. To judge from his own declarations, he intended no more in the first instance than to procure immunities for the Catholics, without subverting the Protestant constitution. But would he be capable of restraining the powerful religious impulses by which those around him were actuated, and whose most zealous representatives made a part of his retinue? Can it be supposed that, having reached that point, he would have been content to stop there?

The Protestants would not abide the issue. The views and purposes entertained on the one side called forth an immediate and almost unconscious opposition from the other.

Instantly after the death of John, the Swedish councillors of state, names of high renown both before and since that period, Gyllenstiern, Bielke, Baner, Sparre, and Oxenstiern,

[1] Ragguaglio dell' andata del re di Polonia in Suetia (MS. Rome): "Erano tuttavia nel regno alcune reliquie de' cattolici; et il nuntio seguendo la forma già tenuta da C[l] Madruzzo, per fortificar l'autorità dell' imperatore, cercava di costituire il re giudice tra li cattolici e gli heretici di Suetia, inducendo quelli a querelarsi appresso il re dell' insolenza e dell' ingiurie di questi."

assembled to acknowledge the zealously Protestant Duke Charles, one of the sons of Gustavus Vasa, brother of the late king and uncle of their young sovereign, as governor of the realm; and agreed, "in the absence of his nephew, to promise him obedience in all that he should command for the maintenance of the Augsburg Confession in Sweden." With this purpose a council was held at Upsala, in March, 1593. The Confession of Augsburg was there proclaimed anew; the liturgy of King John was condemned, and all that seemed to recall the usages of Catholicism, even in the earlier ritual, received modification; the exorcism was retained, but in milder expressions only, and merely for the sake of its moral significance.[1] A declaration was drawn up, to the effect that no heresy, whether popish or Calvinistic, would be tolerated in the kingdom.[2] Appointments to public offices were made in the same spirit. Many old defenders of the liturgy now abjured it; but this renunciation did not secure the escape of all; some were dismissed from their offices notwithstanding. The bishoprics, on the vacancy of which such great designs had been founded in Rome, were given to Lutherans; the archbishopric of Upsala to M. Abraham Angermannus, the most zealous opponent of the liturgy, and by an overwhelming majority, the votes for his election amounting to two hundred and thirty-three; those for the candidate next to him to thirty-eight only. The clergy thus placed the most ardent Lutheran they could find at their head.

Under King John, a more temperate state of public feeling had been maintained to the last, a less earnest opposition to the papacy than in other countries; aided by this, Sigismund might easily have effected such a change as the

[1] For we must not believe the assertion of Messenius, that it was abolished. The only change was in the words "Faar har uth," which were changed into "Wick har ifra." Duke Charles wished it to be abolished, but was told, "retinendum esse exorcismum tanquam liberam cerimoniam propter utilem commonefactionem ad auditorium et baptismi spectatores permanantem." To this view Duke Charles assented.—Baaz, Inventarium, iv. x. 525. The documents will be found in Baaz, and are, in general, tolerably complete.

[2] "Concilium definit," it further says, "ne haereticis advenientibus detur locus publice conveniendi."

Catholics desired; but these measures had been anticipated by the other side, and Protestantism had fixed itself more firmly in possession than it had ever previously been.

On this occasion, even the royal prerogatives of Sigismund were not spared. He was already no longer regarded as altogether king of Sweden, but rather as a foreigner holding claims to the crown; as an apostate, who was menacing religion, and against whom precautions must be taken. The great majority of the nation, unanimous in their Protestant convictions, adhered to Duke Charles.

Arrived in Sweden, the king became fully sensible of the isolation of his position: he could do nothing, and sought only to evade the demands made upon him.

But while Sigismund remained silent and awaited the effect of time, the opposing parties, which had never before so directly confronted each other in that country, came into collision. The evangelical preachers inveighed against the Papists, and the Jesuits, who preached in the king's chapel, did not suffer them to remain unanswered. The Catholics of the royal suite took possession of an evangelical church on the occasion of a burial; whereupon the Protestants considered it necessary to abstain for a time from returning to their desecrated sanctuary. Acts of violence were not slow to follow: the soldiers of the guard (Heiduks) used force to obtain possession of a pulpit which was closed; the nuncio was accused of having ordered stones to be thrown from his house at some choristers who were singing in the street, and the rancour of the parties was continually increasing in bitterness.

Sigismund at length proceeded with his train to Upsala for the ceremony of his coronation. The Swedes demanded above all things that the decrees of their council should be ratified. The king resisted. He desired nothing more than toleration for Catholicism: he would have been content had they only allowed him the hope of having power to grant it at some future time, but the Swedish Protestants were immovable. It is affirmed that the king's own sister[1] assured them it was his nature to yield only after long and obstinate resistance, but that he would ultimately yield: she exhorted

[1] The Ragguaglio calls her "ostinatissima eretica."

them to keep firm only, and constantly to renew their attacks on him. They demanded peremptorily that the doctrines of the Augsburg Confession should alone be inculcated everywhere, both in churches and schools.[1] Duke Charles was at their head. The position which he thus assumed conferred on him a degree of power and independence such as he could in no other manner have hoped to attain. His personal relations with the king became more unpleasant and less friendly. The king was almost entirely without arms, as we have said, whereas the duke had raised several thousand men on the domains he held immediately around the city. The States at length declared to the king in plain terms that they would not render him homage if he refused to comply with their demands.[2]

The unfortunate prince found himself in a painful embarrassment: to grant what was required from him oppressed his conscience; to refuse it would deprive him of a crown.

In this strait he first had recourse to the nuncio, inquiring if he might not venture to yield; but Malaspina could by no means be prevailed on to sanction his doing so.

The king thereupon addressed himself to the Jesuits in his train, and what the nuncio had not dared, they took upon themselves to do. They declared that in consideration of the necessity and of the manifest danger in which the sovereign found himself, he might grant the hereties their demands without offence to God. But the king was not satisfied until he had this decision, in a written form, placed in his hands.

Then, and not before, did Sigismund comply with the demands of his subjects. He confirmed the decrees of Upsala, the exclusive use of the Augsburg Confession, pure and unchanged, without the admixture of any extraneous

[1] Messenius, vii. 10: "Absolute urgebant, ut confessio Augustana qualis sub ultimo Gustavi regimine et primo Johannis in patria viguisset, talis in posterum unica sola et ubique tam in ecclesiis quam in scholis perpetuo floreret."

[2] Supplicatio ordinum: "Quodsi cl. rex denegaverit subditis regiam approbationem horum postulatorum, inhibent nostri fratres domi remanentes publicum homagium esse S.R.M. praestandum."

doctrine, whether in church or school; and he further agreed that no one should be appointed to a public office who was not prepared to defend the Lutheran doctrines.[1] He also acknowledged the prelates who had obtained their sees in opposition to his will.

But could his Catholic heart feel tranquil under these circumstances? Could his retinue, devoted to Romanism, remain content with a result that they could not fail utterly to condemn? It was not in the nature of things that this could be reasonably expected.

And accordingly steps were taken at length for the publication of a protest, such as had before been promulgated in many places on similar occasions.

"The nuncio," says the report of this affair which was sent to Rome, and in the words of which I shall most easily elucidate these occurrences,—"the nuncio was zealously busied in seeking to remedy the irregularity that had taken place. He prevailed on the king to draw up a protestation in writing for the security of his conscience, and in this he declared that the concessions he had made were not accorded by his own free will, but that he had been compelled to make them solely and entirely by force and against his wish. The nuncio further induced his majesty to make similar concessions to the Catholics also, that so he might be equally pledged to both parties in Sweden as well as in Poland, a plan that had been adopted in the case of the German emperor. This the king was content to do."[2]

[1] These words, nevertheless, are so chosen, that they leave a possibility of evasion: "Ad officia publica nulli promovebuntur in patria, qui religionem evangelicam nolunt salvam; quin potius qui eam serio defendere volunt, publicis officiis praeficiantur." Generalis confirmatio postulatorum regis Sigismundi in Baaz, p. 537.

[2] Relatione dello stato spirituale e politico del regno di Suezia, 1598: "Mandò alcuni senatori Polacchi a darle parte dello stato delle cose in le sue circostanze e conseguenze, e detti patri dichiararono che presupposto la necessità e pericolo nel quale era costituita la M^tà S. la potesse senza offender dio concedere alli heretici ciò che ricercavano, e la M^tà S. per sua giustificatione ne volle uno scritto da detti patri. — — Hora fatta la coronatione e concessione pose ogni studio il nunzio per applicare qualche remedio al disordine seguito, onde operò per sicurezza della coscienza di S. M^tà ch' ella facesse una protesta in scritto, come ella non con la volontà sua, ma per pura forza si era

It was a singular expedient. A protest was not thought enough; and in order to be in some measure freed from an obligation entered into by oath, another oath, of a tendency directly opposite, is taken to another party. Thus an engagement being entered into with both parties, equal rights must of necessity be extended to both.

The Swedes were amazed that the king, after promises so solemn, should extend to the Catholics a protection that was but very slightly veiled. It was undoubtedly the result of this secret engagement. "Even before his departure," continues our authority, with obvious complacency, "the king bestowed offices and dignities on those of the Catholic faith; he caused four governors of towns, although they were heretics, to swear that they would protect the Catholics and their religion. In four places he re-established the exercise of the Catholic religion."

All these measures, though calculated perhaps to pacify the unquiet conscience of a bigoted prince, could not possibly fail to have a most injurious effect on the course of events.

It was indeed precisely because the Swedish estates were thus kept in continual excitement and irritation, that they threw themselves into so determined an opposition.

The clergy reformed their schools according to the most rigid tenor of the Lutheran doctrines, and appointed a day of solemn thanksgiving for the preservation of the true religion "from the designs and intrigues of the Jesuits." In the year 1595, a resolution was passed in the diet of Süderköping, that all exercise of the Catholic ritual, wheresoever the king might have established it, was again to be abolished. "We decree unanimously," declare the States, "that all sectaries, opposed to the evangelical religion, who

indotto a concedere ciò che haveva concesso, e persuase al s^r^ re che concedesse da parte agli cattolici altrettanto quanto haveva conceduto alli heretici, di modo che a guisa dell imperatore e del re di Polonia restasse la M^ta^ S. giurata utrique parti. S. M^ta^ si contentò di farlo, et immediatamente mise in esecutione le dette concessioni; perchè avanti la sua partenza diede ufficj e dignità a cattolici, e lasciò in quattro luoghi l'esercitio della religione, e fece giurare a quattro governatori, se ben erano heretici, quali lasciò nel regno, che haverebbero protetto la religione e li cattolici."

have fixed themselves in the land, shall within six weeks be removed entirely from the kingdom:"[1] and this edict was enforced with the utmost rigour. The monastery of Wadstena, which had subsisted for two hundred and eleven years, and had maintained its ground in the midst of so many convulsions, was now dissolved and destroyed. Angermannus held a visitation of the churches, of which the severity never had been equalled. Whoever neglected to attend the evangelical church was beaten with rods; the archbishop had several robust young students in his train, by whom this punishment was inflicted under his own superintendence. The altars of the saints were destroyed, their relics were dispersed, and the ceremonies, which in 1593 had been declared indifferent, were in many places entirely abolished in the year 1597.

The relative positions of Sigismund and Charles gave a character of personality to this movement.

Whatever was done, proceeded in direct opposition to the well-known desires, and even to the ordinances, of the king. In every thing Duke Charles had a predominant influence. It was in contradiction to the express command of Sigismund that the duke held the diet, and all attempts of the former to interfere in the affairs of the country were opposed by Charles. He caused a resolution to be passed, by virtue of which the rescripts of the king were effectual only after having been confirmed by the Swedish government.[2]

Charles was already monarch, and ruler in fact, and the thought had even arisen within him of becoming sovereign in name also. This is intimated by a dream that he had in 1595, as well as by other circumstances. He thought that at a banquet in Finland, a covered double dish was set before him; he raised the cover, and on the one side he perceived the insignia of royalty, on the other a death's head. Similar thoughts were prevalent in the nation. A

[1] Acta ecclesiae, in conventu Sudercop. in Baaz, 567.

[2] Ausa illustrissimi principis domini Caroli Sudermanniae ducis adversus serenissimum et potentissimum dominum Sigismundum III regem Sueciae et Poloniae suscepta, scripta et publicata ex mandato S. R. Majestatis proprio. Dantisci 1598.

story was repeated throughout the country, that in Linköping, a crowned eagle had been seen contending with one uncrowned, and that the uncrowned one had remained master of the field.

When things had proceeded so far; when the Protestant principles were enforced with so much rigour, and their champion seemed making a claim to the royal power, a party also arose in favour of the king. Certain nobles, who had sought aid from Sigismund against the duke, were banished, but their adherents remained in the land; the populace were dissatisfied at finding all ceremonies abolished, and attributed such disasters as occurred in the country to that circumstance. In Finland, the governor, Flemming, maintained the standard of the king.

This position of things made it as expedient on the one hand, as it was advisable on the other, that Sigismund should once more essay his fortune. It was perhaps the last moment in which it was possible for him to restore his authority. In the summer of 1598, he set forward, for the second time, to take possession of his hereditary kingdom.

He was now more rigidly Catholic, if possible, than at his first appearance; the good prince believed that the different misfortunes which had befallen him since his last journey, among others the death of his queen, had been inflicted on him because he had then made concessions to the heretics. With deep sorrow of heart he revealed these painful convictions to the nuncio, and declared that he would rather die than again concede anything that could stain the purity of his conscience.

But the interests here in question were immediately connected with those of Europe generally. Such was now the progress made by Catholicism, that an enterprise undertaken even in this distant portion of the world was also considered principally in the light of a factor in the general combination.

In the earlier times, and during the wars with England, the Spaniards had occasionally turned their eyes on the Swedish coasts. They had discovered that the possession of a Swedish haven would be of the utmost utility to them, and had commenced negotiations on the subject. It was

now considered certain that Sigismund, on becoming master in his own dominions, would make over to them the port of Elfsborg, in West Gothland. There it would be easy to build a fleet, to keep it in condition for service, and have it manned by Poles and Swedes. How much more readily could war be made on England from this port than from Spain; the English would be compelled to forego their attacks on the Spanish Indies. And even as regarded the maintenance of Sigismund in Sweden, an alliance with the Catholic king could not fail to be advantageous.[1]

But there was yet more. The Catholics extended their views to the establishment of their rule over Finland and the Baltic; from Finland they hoped to make a successful attack on the Russian empire, and by the possession of the Baltic they trusted to subject the duchy of Prussia to their dominion. The electoral house of Brandenburg had never yet been able to obtain the investiture of that fief, by any negotiation, and the nuncio declared that the king was resolved not to grant it, but had determined, on the contrary, that the duchy should be annexed to the crown; he used every effort to confirm Sigismund in this resolution, principally, as will be obvious, from religious considerations, for never would Brandenburg consent to the re-establishment of Catholicism in Prussia.[2]

If we consider on the one hand the vast extent of views and purposes, thus rendered dependent on Sigismund's success, which was yet by no means improbable, and the

[1] Relatione dello stato spirituale e politico. The proposal was, "che a spese del cattolico si mantenga un presidio nella fortezza che guardi il porto, sopra lo quale niuna superiorità habbia il cattolico, ma consegni lo stipendio per esso presidio al re di Polonia" [that at the expense of the Catholic king, a garrison should be maintained in the fortress commanding the port, over which garrison his Catholic majesty should have no authority, but should consign the pay for the garrison to the king of Poland.]

[2] Relatione di Polonia, 1598: "Atteso che se rimarrà il ducato nelli Brandeburgesi non si può aspettare d'introdurre la religione cattolica, si mostra S. M^tà risoluta di voler ricuperare il detto ducato." King Stephen ought already to have done this: "ma ritrovandosi con penuria di danari mentre era occupato nelle guerre, ne fu sovvenuto delli Brandeburgesi" [but, finding himself in want of money, whilst he was also engaged in wars, Brandenburg was not thought of.]

great increase of general importance that would accrue to Sweden from the victory of Protestantism on the other, we must acknowledge that this was one of those crises which affect the history of the world.

Zamoyski had recommended the king to advance at the head of a powerful army, and conquer Sweden by force of arms; but Sigismund held the opinion that this could not be needful; he would not believe that resistance would be opposed to him in his hereditary dominions, and took with him only about five thousand men; with these he landed at Calmar, without opposition, and moved forward towards Stockholm. A second division of his troops had previously reached the city and been admitted, whilst a body of Finlanders marched upon Upland.

Duke Charles also had in the meantime prepared his forces. It was manifest, that his power must have an end, together with the supremacy of the Protestant faith, should Sigismund obtain the victory. While his peasantry of Upland held the Finns in check, the duke himself, with a regular military force, opposed the march of the king, who was advancing on Stegeborg. Charles demanded that the royal army should be withdrawn, and the decision of all questions referred to the diet; that being done, he also would disband his troops. To this the king would not consent, and the hostile bodies advanced against each other.

They were not considerable in number,—insignificant masses, a few thousand men on either side; but the decision was not less important, the results not less enduring, than if large armies had been employed to secure them.

It was on the personal character of the princes that all depended. Charles was his own adviser; daring, resolute, a man, in the utmost force of the word; and what was the principal matter, he was in actual possession. Sigismund was dependent on others, yielding, good-natured, no soldier; and was now reduced to the unhappy necessity of doing battle for the kingdom that belonged to him of right, but for which he, the legitimate sovereign, must contend with the ruler in possession, and with the existing order of things.

The troops were twice engaged near Stangebro. On the first occasion they met rather by accident than design; the

king had the advantage, and is said himself to have put a stop to the slaughter of the Swedes; but in the second encounter, as the Dalecarlians had risen in favour of the duke, and his fleet had arrived, the victory was on his side. No one then put a stop to the carnage of the Poles. Sigismund suffered a total defeat, and was compelled to accede to all that was demanded from him.[1]

He was even brought to consent that the only faithful subjects he had found, should be delivered up, to be placed before a Swedish tribunal. In his own case he also promised to submit to the decision of the diet.

This was, however, only an expedient by which he sought to escape from the difficulties of the moment. Instead of attending the diet, where he could have taken only the melancholy part of the vanquished, he took ship with the first favourable wind, and returned to Danzig.

He still flattered himself with the hope that, at some other time, in some more favourable moment, he should yet become master in his hereditary dominions; but in thus departing from them, he resigned them in fact to the modes of thought prevailing there, and to the overwhelming influence of his uncle. That prince did not scruple, after a certain time, to assume the title, with the authority, of king; and he did not then wait until he should be attacked in Sweden, but carried the war into the territories of Poland, where it was conducted with varying fortunes on both sides.[2]

3. DESIGNS ON RUSSIA

After the lapse of a short time, however, it appeared probable that Catholicism might be consoled for the failure of the Swedish enterprise, by the more prosperous result of another undertaking.

It is well known that the popes had already more than

[1] Piacesii Chronicon gestorum in Europa singularium, p. 159. Extracts from the letters of the princes in Geijer, Schwedische Geschichte, ii. § 305.

[2] See Appendix, Nos. 66, 67, and 68.

once conceived hopes of winning Russia,—Adrian VI, for example, and Clement VII. The Jesuit Possevin had then tried his fortune with Iwan Wasiljowitsch, and in 1594, Clement VIII had despatched a certain Comuleo to Moscow, with more than usual confidence of success, from the fact that Comuleo was acquainted with the language. All these were, however, but vain efforts. Boris Godunow directly affirmed, that "Moscow was now the true orthodox Rome," and caused prayers to be offered up for himself as "the only Christian ruler on earth."

The prospect so unexpectedly presented by the appearance of the false Demetrius was rendered peculiarly welcome by this state of things.

Demetrius may be said to have attached himself even more to the ecclesiastical than the political interests of Poland.

It was to a Catholic confessor that he first discovered himself. Fathers of the Jesuit order were sent to examine him; nor until this had been done, did the papal nuncio Rangone adopt his cause. But, at their first interview, the latter declared to him that he had nothing to hope if he did not abjure the schismatic religion, and embrace the Catholic faith. Demetrius intimated his readiness to comply with little hesitation; he had already given a promise to that effect, and, on the following Sunday, his recantation was performed.[1] He was delighted to find that Sigismund then acknowledged him, and ascribed this with justice to the interposition of the nuncio, to whom he promised that whatever came within the compass of his utmost power should be done for the defence and extension of the Roman creed.[2]

This was a promise that soon became of the highest importance. His story had not yet obtained general belief

[1] Alessandro Cilli, Historia di Moscovia, p. 11. Cilli was present at the act of recantation. In Karamsin, x. p. 109, of the translation, there is a passage not rendered so accurately from Cilli as it may seem to be. Karamsin himself did not understand Cilli. The words put into the mouth of Demetrius are not to be found in Cilli.

[2] Cilli: "Con rinnovare insieme la promessa dell' augumento e difesa per quanto havessero potuto le sue forze e nel suo imperio e fuori di quello della santa fede cattolica."

in Poland. How greatly then were all amazed, when, immediately after his conversion, the pitiable, wretched fugitive was seen in actual possession of the palace of the Czars. The sudden death of his predecessor, which the populace considered to be a judgment from God, may probably have contributed largely to this result.

And here Demetrius now renewed his pledges; he received the nephew of the nuncio with marks of great reverence, and as his Polish consort joined him, soon afterwards, with a numerous court, not of knights and ladies only, but still more of monks, Dominicans, Franciscans, and Jesuits,[1] he seemed determined at once to commence the redemption of his word.

But it was principally to these demonstrations that he owed his ruin. That which procured him the support of the Poles deprived him of the friendly dispositions of the Russians. They observed that he did not eat and drink as they did, and that he did not honour the saints. They declared that he was a heathen, and had conducted an unbaptized heathen bride to the throne of Moscow. It was not possible that such a man should be a son of the Czars.[2]

They had been induced to acknowledge him by some inexplicable conviction, and by a similar impulse, which had taken still firmer hold on their minds, they felt themselves induced to cast him off.

But here, also, the essential principle and moving cause was religion. In Russia, as in Sweden, a power arose, which, from its very source and nature, was in direct opposition to the tendencies of Catholicism.

4. INTERNAL COMMOTIONS IN POLAND

Unsuccessful enterprises against a foreign enemy have usually the effect of awakening internal dissensions.

[1] Cilli, p. 66.

[2] Müller, Sammlung Russischer Geschichte, v. 373, remarks that letters from the pope were found on him.

Disturbances now took place in Poland, by which it was rendered doubtful whether the king would be able to continue his rule according to the system with which he had commenced. These commotions had the following causes.

King Sigismund did not always preserve a good understanding with those by whose exertions he had obtained his crown. They had called him to the throne from opposition to Austria; and he had allied himself, on the contrary, very closely with that sovereignty. He had twice chosen a consort from the line of Grätz; and at one time incurred the suspicion of desiring to secure the crown to that house.

The high chancellor Zamoyski was already much dissatisfied on that account; but he became still more embittered, when the king, to render himself independent even of his friends and adherents, not unfrequently advanced their opponents to the most important offices, and admitted them into the senate.[1]

For it was principally by the senate that Sigismund sought to govern; he filled it with men devoted to his person, and at the same time rendered it exclusively Catholic. The bishops appointed by the king, under the influence of the nuncio, formed a powerful body in that assembly, and indeed gradually became the predominant party.

But from this state of things there arose a twofold opposition of the highest importance, both for the political constitution and religious interests of Poland.

To the senate, as a political body, the provincial deputies placed themselves in direct opposition, and as the first adhered to the king, the latter attached themselves to Zamoyski,[2] for whom they felt unbounded reverence, and who derived from

[1] Cilli, Historia delle Sollevationi di Polonia, 1606–1608, Pistoia, 1627, an author the more worthy of belief, because he was long in the king's service, remarks from the beginning on the authority possessed by Zamoyski: "Zamoschi si voleva alquanto della regia autorità usurpare." [Zamoyski desired to usurp a portion of the royal authority.] But he mentions also the king's resistance: "Essendo patrone S. Mtà non solo di conferire la dignità del regno, ma anco le stesse entrate." [His majesty having power to dispose not only of the dignities of the kingdom, but of the revenues also.]

[2] Piasecius: "Zamoyscius, cujus autoritate potissimum nitebatur ordo nunciorum." From this time the provincial deputies became powerful; one party supported the other.

their devotion an authority nearly equal to that of royalty. It was a position that for an enterprising magnate must have had a powerful charm. It was accordingly seized, on the death of the high chancellor, by Zebrzydowski, palatine of Cracow.

To this party the Protestants now attached themselves, for it was, in fact, against the bishops that both complained; the one, on account of their temporal influence; the other, of their spiritual authority. The Protestants found it intolerable that in a commonwealth like that of Poland, based on a free agreement, well-earned rights should be continually violated, and that men of inferior birth should be raised to high dignities, while those of undoubted nobility were expected to obey them. In these complaints they were joined by many Catholics.[1]

There can be no question but that this religious impulse gave an especial virulence to the political dissensions.

After a frequent representation of their grievances, a refusal of the supplies and the dissolution of the diet, had all been found unavailing, the malcontents at length had recourse to a measure never adopted but in cases of extremity; they summoned the whole body of the nobles to the rokoss. The rokoss was a legal form of insurrection. The nobles thus assembled claimed the right of summoning the king and senate before their tribunal: the Protestants obtained the greater weight in this assembly, from the circumstance of their having combined with the members of the Greek church.

Meanwhile the king had also his adherents. The nuncio kept the bishops well together:[2] the bishops impressed their own views on the senate; a league was formed in defence of the king and religion, while the favourable moment was prudently seized for terminating the ancient dissensions between the clergy and laity. The king proved himself inflexibly firm

[1] Cilli: "Gli eretici, spalleggiati da cattivi cattolici, facevano gran forza per ottenere la confederatione."

[2] Cilli: "Il nuntio Rangone con sua destrezza e diligenza tenne e conservò in fede molti di principali." [The nuncio, Rangone, by his dexterity and diligence, preserved many of the principal men firm in their faith.]

in the moment of danger; he thought his cause just, and placed his reliance in God.

And he did, in fact, maintain the ascendancy. In October, 1606, he dissolved the rokoss, precisely when a large number of its members were absent. In July, 1607, an appeal was made to arms, and a regular engagement ensued. With the cry of "Jesu Maria," the royal troops attacked the enemy and completely defeated them. Zebrzydowski kept the field for some time, but was compelled to submission in the year 1608, when a general amnesty was proclaimed.

As a consequence of this success, it followed that the government could now pursue the measures it had previously resolved on for the furtherance of Catholicism.

All who were not of the Roman communion were excluded from public offices, and the effect produced by this regulation was incessantly praised and rejoiced over in Rome.[1] "A Protestant prince—a prince who should have conferred the dignities of the kingdom in equal proportion on both parties, would fill the whole country with heresies: men are altogether ruled by their private interests, and since the king is so steadfast, the nobles submit to his will."

In royal towns also restrictions were imposed on the Protestant service. "Without open force," says one of the papal instructions, "the inhabitants may yet be compelled to change their religion."[2]

[1] Instruttione a V. S^tà M^re di Torres: "Il re, benchè nato di patre e fra popoli eretici, è tanto più e tanto divoto e di santi costumi guernito, che dentro a Roma non avrebbe potuto nascere o allevarsene un migliore: imperocchè havendo esso con la longhezza del regnare mutati i senatori eretici, che, se tre ne togli, erano tutti, gli ha fatto divenire, levatine due o tre, tutti quanti cattolici." [The king, although born among heretics, and of a heretic father, is so pious, so devout, and so holy in his life, that even in Rome itself a better could neither have been born nor educated; for, in the course of his reign, he has changed the senators from heretics, which they were, three only excepted, to Catholics, as they now are, with two or three exceptions.] Their principle was, "le cose spirituali seguono il corso delle temporali," [spiritual things follow the course of temporal affairs.] See Appendix, No. 98.

[2] Instruttione a M^r Lancelotti: "La conforti (the King) grandemente a vietare che nelle città regie che da lei dipendono altro esercitio di religione che il cattolico si comporti, nè permetta che v'abbiono tempj

The nuncio was careful to see that the supreme courts of law should be administered exclusively by Catholics, and conducted "according to the words of the holy canonical maxims." The question of mixed marriages was then of great importance. The supreme tribunal would not acknowledge the validity of any such, unless they were performed in the presence of the parish priest and several witnesses; but the parish priests refused to solemnize mixed marriages, and there could be no wonder that many should conform to the Catholic ritual for the purpose of securing their children from injury. Others were induced to join the Catholics by finding that Church patronage, when held by Protestants, was subject to litigation. The state possesses a thousand means for promoting the opinion which it favours. In this case all were employed, so far as was possible, without direct compulsion; the conversions excited but little remark, yet they proceeded steadily and made continual progress.

The earnest zeal and effective ability with which the nuncios administered ecclesiastical affairs had, without doubt, a large share in producing this result. They watched carefully over the bishopries, and saw that only well-qualified men were appointed to them; they visited the monastic establishments, and would not permit disobedient and refractory members, of whom convents in other countries desired to free themselves, to be sent to Poland, as was beginning to be the practice. They gave their attention to the parochial clergy also, and sought to introduce psalmody and schools into the parishes; they likewise insisted on the establishment of episcopal seminaries.

Under their direction the Jesuits now laboured with remarkable diligence. We find them actively employed in all the provinces; among the docile people of Livonia, in Lithuania, where they had to combat the remains of the old serpent-worship; and among the Greeks, where the Jesuits were often the only Catholic priests; they had occasionally to perform the rite of baptism for youths of eighteen, and sometimes met with very old men who had never received the sacrament. But it was principally in

nè sinagoge loro; poichè si vengono per tal dolce modo senza violenza espressa a far convertire o a mutar paese." See Appendix, No. 99.

Poland Proper that they found the field of their exertions, and where, as one of the society boasts, "hundreds of learned, orthodox, and devout men of the order were zealously employed in rooting out error and implanting Catholic piety, by schools and associations, by preaching and writing."[1]

Here also they excited the accustomed enthusiasm in their followers, but it was most unhappily combined with the insolence of an impetuous young nobility. The king abstained from acts of violence, but the pupils of the Jesuits did not consider themselves bound to do so.

They not unfrequently celebrated Ascension-day by assaulting those of the evangelical persuasion; breaking into their houses, plundering and destroying their property. Woe to the Protestant whom they could seize in his house, or whom they even met in the streets on these occasions.

The evangelical church of Cracow was attacked in the year 1606, and in the following year the churchyard was furiously stormed; the dead being torn from their graves. In 1611, the church of the Protestants in Wilna was destroyed, and their ministers maltreated or murdered. In 1615 a book appeared in Posen which maintained that the Protestants had no right to dwell in that city. In the following year the pupils of the Jesuits destroyed the Bohemian church so completely, that they left not one stone remaining upon another, and the Lutheran church was burnt. The same things occurred in other places, and in some instances the Protestants were compelled by continual attacks to give up their churches. Nor did they long confine their assaults to the towns: the students of Cracow proceeded to burn the churches of the neighbouring districts. In Podlachia an aged evangelical minister, named Barkow, was walking before his carriage leaning on his staff, when a Polish nobleman approaching from the opposite direction, commanded his coachman to drive directly over him: before the old man could move out of the way, he was struck down and died from the injuries he received.[2]

[1] Argentus, de rebus Societatis Jesu in regno Poloniae, 1615; a work which might, however, have easily conveyed more information.

[2] Wengerscii Slavonia Reformata, pp. 224, 232, 230, 244, 247.

But with all these efforts Protestantism could not be suppressed. The king was bound by a promise which he had not the power to retract. The nobles remained free in their own persons, and did not all pass over immediately to Catholicism. At times also, after many judgments unfavourable to the Protestants had passed the courts, a favourable decree was rendered, and a church was restored to them. In the towns of Polish Prussia, the Protestants yet formed the majority; still less were the Greeks to be put down. The union of 1595 had awakened more disgust and horror than imitation, and the party of the dissidents formed by Protestants and Greeks was still of great importance. The richest mercantile cities and the most warlike populations (such as the Cossacks) supported and lent particular efficacy to their demands, and their opposition was all the more powerful, because it was constantly receiving increased assistance from their neighbours, Sweden and Russia, whom it had been found impossible to subdue.

5. PROGRESS OF THE COUNTER-REFORMATION IN GERMANY

The principles acted on in Germany were wholly different. There, each prince held it to be his own good right to direct the religion of his territories in accordance with his personal convictions.

The movement that had there commenced proceeded accordingly with but little interference from the imperial authority, and without attracting particular attention.

The ecclesiastical princes more particularly considered it their especial duty to lead back the people of their dominions to Catholicism.

The pupils of the Jesuits were now appearing among them. Johann Adam von Bicken, elector of Mainz from 1601 to 1604, was educated at the Collegium Germanicum in Rome. From the castle of Königstein he once heard the hymns with which the Lutheran congregation of the place was conveying its deceased pastor to the grave.

"Let them give their synagogue decent burial," exclaimed the prince. On the following Sunday a Jesuit mounted the pulpit, and from that time a Lutheran preacher was never more seen to enter it. The same things occurred in other places.[1] What Bicken left incomplete was carried zealously forward by his successor Johann Schweikhard. He was a man much addicted to the pleasures of the table, but he held the reins of government with a firm hand, and displayed remarkable talent. He succeeded in accomplishing the counter-reformation throughout his diocese, not excepting Eichsfeld. He sent a commission to Heiligenstadt, and within two years its members had recovered two hundred citizens to Catholicism, many of whom had grown grey in the Protestant faith. There were still some few remaining firm to their creed; these persons he exhorted personally "as their father and pastor from the depths of a true heart." These were his own words, and he prevailed; thus adjured they also conformed. It was with feelings of extreme satisfaction that he beheld a city return to Catholicism which had been entirely Protestant during forty years.[2]

Ernest and Ferdinand of Cologne, both Bavarian princes, proceeded in like manner, as did the Elector Lothaire, of the house of Metternich of Trier. This prince was distinguished by the soundness of his understanding and by acuteness of intellect. He possessed the talent of surmounting whatever difficulties opposed him, was prompt in the execution of justice, and vigilant in promoting the interests of his country as well as those of his family. He was affable, moreover, and not particularly rigorous, provided always the matter did not affect religion; but he would suffer no Protestant at his court.[3] With these great names must be associated that of Neithard von Thüngen, bishop of Bamberg. When he took possession of his capital, he found the whole council Protestant with the exception of two members. He had already assisted Bishop Julius in Würzburg, and now resolved to

[1] Serarius, Res Moguntinae, p. 973.

[2] Wolf, Geschichte von Heiligenstadt, S. 63. Between 1581 and 1601 four hundred and ninety-seven converts were counted, of whom the largest number, proportionately, were in 1598, namely seventy-three.

[3] Masenius, Continuatio Broweri, p. 474.

apply the measures of that prince to Bamberg. He published his edict of reformation at Christmas, 1595. This decree commanded the reception of the communion according to the Catholic forms, or departure from the diocese; and although it was opposed by the chapter, the nobles, and the landed proprietors; while the most pressing remonstrances were addressed to the bishop by his neighbours; we yet find that in every following year these edicts of reformation were issued, and were for the most part carried into effect.[1] In lower Germany, Theodor von Fürstenberg, bishop of Paderborn, proceeded in emulation of the bishop of Bamberg. In the year 1596, he threw into prison all the priests of his diocese who administered the communion in both kinds. He thus inevitably fell into disputes with his nobles, and we find the bishop and the nobility driving off each other's cattle and horses. Fürstenberg at length came to an open feud with the city also; but unhappily a turbulent demagogue here arose, who was not equal to the conspicuous part into which he had obtruded himself, and in the year 1604, Paderborn was reduced to the necessity of again doing homage to the bishop. The Jesuits' college was thereupon magnificently endowed, and soon afterwards an edict was published here also which left no alternative to the people but the mass or departure from the diocese. By these measures Bamberg and Paderborn gradually became entirely Catholic.[2]

The rapid and yet lasting change brought about in all these countries is in the highest degree remarkable. Is it to be inferred that Protestantism had never taken firm root in the body of the people, or must the change be ascribed to the methods adopted by the Jesuits? It is certain that in zeal and prudence they left nothing to be desired. From every point whereon they obtained footing, their influence was extended in ever widening circles. They possessed the power of captivating the crowd, so that their churches were always the most eagerly frequented; with the most prominent difficulties they

[1] Jäck, Geschichte von Bamberg, iii. 212, 190, for example, or indeed throughout, for the work is principally relative to the anti-reformation.

[2] Strunck, Annales Paderborn, lib. xxii. p. 720.

always grappled boldly and at once; was there a Lutheran, confident in his biblical knowledge, and to whose judgment the neighbours paid a certain deference, this was the man whom they used every effort to win, and their practised skill in controversy generally secured them from defeat. They were active in works of benevolence; they healed the sick and laboured to reconcile enemies. The converted, those with whom they had prevailed, they bound to them by the most solemn oaths; under their banners the faithful were seen repairing to every place of pilgrimage. Men, who but a short time before were zealous Protestants, might now be seen forming part of these processions.

The Jesuits had educated not only ecclesiastical, but also temporal princes. At the close of the sixteenth century, their two illustrious pupils, Ferdinand II and Maximilian I, appeared in public life.

It is affirmed that when the young Archduke Ferdinand solemnized the festival of Easter at his capital of Grätz, in the year 1596, he was the only person who received the sacrament according to the Catholic ritual, and that there were but three Catholics in the whole city.[1]

After the death of the Archduke Charles, the enterprises in favour of Catholicism had not been pursued with energy —the government during the minority of his successor displaying no great power. The Protestants had reinstated themselves in the churches of which they had been despoiled, their schools at Grätz had recovered their efficiency by the acquisition of new and able masters, while the nobles had chosen a committee for the more effectual resistance of all attempts that might be made to the disadvantage of Protestantism.

But in defiance of these discouragements, Ferdinand immediately resolved on proceeding to the continuance and ultimate completion of the counter-reformation; political and religious motives combined to produce his determination —he declared that he also would be master in his own

[1] Hansitz, Germania Sacra, ii. p. 712: "Numerus Lutheri sectatorum tantus, ut ex inquilinis Graecensibus paene cunctis invenirentur avitae fidei cultores tres non amplius." The "paene cunctis" certainly makes the matter again doubtful.

territories, as well as the elector of Saxony, or the elector palatine. When the danger was represented to him of an onslaught from the Turks, during a period of internal discord, he replied, that until the perfect conversion of the people was effected, the help of God was not to be hoped for. In the year 1597, Ferdinand proceeded by way of Loreto to Rome —to kneel at the feet of Pope Clement VIII. He then made a vow to restore Catholicism in his hereditary dominions, even at the peril of his life; the pope confirmed him in this resolve, and he at once returned home to commence the work. In September, 1598, his decrees were issued, and by these he commanded all Lutheran preachers to depart from Grätz, within fourteen days.[1]

Grätz was the centre of Protestant doctrine and power. No means were neglected that might dissuade the archduke from his purpose. Neither prayers nor warnings were left untried, nor were even menaces spared—but the young prince, according to the words of an historian of Carniola, was "firm as a block of marble."[2] In October an edict of similar character was published for Carniola, and in December one was issued for Carinthia.

And now the States became exceedingly intractable — even in their provincial meetings; for the General Assembly, Ferdinand would no longer permit to be convened. They refused the subsidies, and the troops on the frontier betrayed symptoms of disorder; but the archduke declared he would rather lose all that had been conferred on him by the grace of God, than yield one step; the danger menacing from Turkey, whose troops had already taken Canischa, and were daily advancing, compelled the States, at length, to vote the supplies, although they had not obtained a single concession.

These being secured, the archduke now restrained himself no longer. In October, 1599, the Protestant church of Grätz was closed, and the evangelical service was prohibited under pain of corporal punishment, torture or death. A commission

[1] Khevenhiller, Annales Ferdinandei, iv. 1718.

[2] Valvassor, Ehre des Herzogthums Krain, th. ii. buch vii. p. 464: doubtless the most valuable relation of this occurrence: "Such a petition, mingled with warnings, found only a block of marble, which their pens could neither penetrate nor soften."

was formed, which passed through the country, accompanied by an armed force. Styria was first reformed, then Carinthia, and finally Carniola. From place to place the cry rang forth, "the reformation is coming," the churches were torn down, the preachers were exiled or imprisoned, the inhabitants were compelled to adopt the Catholic creed or to leave the country. Many were yet found, who preferred banishment to apostacy; the little town of St. Veit, for example, saw fifty of its burghers abandon their native land,[1] and these exiles were compelled to pay the tenth penny, which, in their condition, was no small loss.

Such were the cruelties inflicted on the people, and in return for these oppressions, the archduke had the satisfaction of counting, in the year 1603, an increase of 40,000 communicants.

This was immediately followed by more extensive proceedings, affecting all the Austrian territories.

The Emperor Rudolf had, at first, dissuaded his young cousin from the measures he contemplated, but seeing them prove successful, he proceeded to imitate them. From 1599 to 1601, we find a commission for reforms in active operation throughout Upper Austria, and in 1602–3, these officials were at work in Lower Austria.[2] From Linz and Steyr, preachers and schoolmasters who had grown grey in the service of the gospel were driven forth without mercy; they felt the affliction to be a grievous one. "Now, bent by years," exclaimed the rector of Steyr, "I am thrust out to poverty and suffering."[3] "We are daily threatened with destruction," writes one of those who remained behind. "Our adversaries lie in wait for us, they mock us and thirst for our blood."[4]

In Bohemia the Protestants hoped they were more effectually protected by the ancient privileges of the Utraquists. In Hungary they trusted to the independence and power of the Estates. But Rudolf now seemed disposed to

[1] Hermann, St. Veit, in the Kärntnerische Zeitschrift, v. 3. 163.
[2] Raupach, Evangel. Oestreich, i. 215.
[3] "Jam senio squalens trudor in exilium." Valentia Pruenhueber, Annales Styrenses, p. 326.
[4] Hofmarius ad Lyserum, Raupach, iv. 151.

respect neither the one nor the other, he had been persuaded that the old Utraquists were entirely extinct, and that the Protestants were not entitled to the enjoyment of the privileges that had been accorded to them. In the year 1602 he put forth an edict forbidding the meetings of the Moravian brethren, and commanding that their churches should be closed.[1] All other Protestants felt that they were in danger of similar treatment, nor were they long left in doubt as to what they might expect. Open violence was already resorted to in Hungary. Basta and Belgiojoso, who commanded the imperial forces in that country, took the churches of Caschau and Clausenburg from the Lutherans, and with the aid of these troops the archbishop of Colocsa sought to force the thirteen towns of Zips to return to Catholicism. To the complaints of the Hungarians, the emperor replied by the following resolution :—His majesty, who profoundly believes in the holy Roman faith, is desirous of extending it throughout his empire, and especially in Hungary. He hereby confirms and ratifies all decrees that have been issued in favour of that faith, from the time of St. Stephen, the apostle of Hungary.[2]

Thus, notwithstanding his advanced age, the cautious emperor had entirely departed from his accustomed moderation. A similar policy was pursued by the whole body of the Catholic princes, so far as they could possibly make their power extend; the stream of Catholic opinion was poured ever more widely over the land. Force and argument combined to secure its progress; the constitution of the empire supplied no means whereby to oppose it. On the contrary, the Catholic adherents felt themselves so powerful that they now began to interfere with the affairs of the empire, and to endanger the still remaining rights of the Protestant communities.[3] The constitution of the supreme

[1] Schmidt, Neuere Geschichte der Deutschen, iii. 260; an extract from the additions to the apology for the Bohemians of the year 1618, which are often omitted in the later editions.

[2] Art. xxii., anno 1604, in Ribiny, Memorabilia Augustanae Confessionis, i. p. 321.

[3] Relatione del Nuntio Ferrero, 1606, enumerates the results that ensued: "Da alcuni anni in qua si è convertito alla nostra santa religione una grandissima quantità d'anime, restorate le chiese, rivocate molte

tribunals also received important changes, principally by the interposition of the papal nuncios, more particularly of Cardinal Madruzzi, by whom attention was first drawn to the subject. These alterations presented both opportunity and means for the aggressions anticipated by the Protestants.

Even the imperial court (Kammergericht) had assumed a more decided tinge of Catholicism towards the beginning of the seventeenth century, and judgments had been pronounced by it in accordance with the Catholic mode of interpreting the peace of Augsburg. Those who had suffered from these judgments had adopted the legal remedy of seeking revision, but with the visitations, these revisions also were suspended; affairs accumulated, and all remained undecided.[1]

Under these circumstances it was that the Aulic Council (Reichshrofrath) rose into activity. This at least gave some hope of termination to an affair, for the defeated party could not take refuge in a legal process which could never be executed; but the Aulic Council was not only more decidedly Catholic than the Kammergericht, it was also entirely dependent on the court. "The Aulic Council," says the Florentine envoy Alidosi, "pronounces no final decision, without having

religioni di regolari alli loro antichi monasteri, restituite in bona parte le cerimonie ecclesiastiche, moderata alquanto la licenza degli ecclesiastici, e domesticato il nome del pontefice Romano riconosciuto per capo della chiesa universale." [During the last few years, a vast number of souls have been converted to our holy religion, the churches are restored, many monks have returned to their monasteries, the greater part of the ecclesiastical ceremonies are resumed, the licentiousness of the clergy considerably moderated, and the name of the Roman pontiff received as the acknowledged head of the universal church.]

[1] Missiv und Erinnerung des Reichskammergerichts am Reichstag von 1608—in the acts of the diet at Frankfurt, which I was kindly permitted to examine. The Kammergericht declares it to be: "land- und reichskündig in wass grosser und merklicher Anzall seit Ao. 86 die Revisionen deren von gedachtem Kammergericht ergangenen und ausgesprochenen Urtell sich gehäuft, dergestalt, dass derselben nunmehr in die Einhundert allbereit beim kaiserlichen Collegio denunciirt und deren vielleicht täglich mehr zu gewarten." [Known to the country and the empire, in what great and notable numbers the revisions of the judgments pronounced by the said Kammergericht have accumulated since the year '86, to such an extent that notice was given to the imperial college of more than a hundred such, and others might probably be expected daily.]

first imparted the judgment to the emperor, and his privy council, who seldom return the decree without alterations."[1]

But what institutions of universal effect existed in the empire except those of judicial character? To these it was that the unity of the nation was attached. Yet even they were now subjected to the influence of Catholic opinions and regulated by the convenience of the court. From various quarters complaints had already arisen of partial judgments and arbitrary executions, when the affair of Donauwerth made obvious to the perception of all, the great perils by which the country was menaced from this state of things.

A Catholic abbot in a Protestant city determined to celebrate his processions more publicly and with greater solemnity than usual,[2] and the fact that he was interrupted and insulted by the populace was considered a sufficient pretext for the Aulic Council to warrant the infliction of a tedious and harassing process on the town itself. Mandates, citations and commissions followed in long succession, and the town was finally laid under the ban of the empire. The office of carrying this sentence into effect was entrusted to Maximilian of Bavaria, a neighbouring prince of rigidly Catholic opinions. Not content with taking possession of Donauwerth, he at once invited the order of Jesuits to

[1] Relatione del Sr. Rod. Alidosi 1607–1609: "E vero che il consiglio aulico a questo di meno che tutte le definitioni che hanno virtù di definitiva non le pronuntia se prima non dia parte a S. M^tà o in suo luogo al consiglio di stato, il quale alle volte o augumenta o toglie o modera l'opinione di questo consiglio, e così fatto si rimanda a detto consiglio tal deliberatione e così si publica."

[2] The report, "relating to the execution at Donauwerth," in the acts of the imperial diet of the 4th of Feb., 1608, declares (in agreement with the other relations and informations), that the abbot had "allein so vil herbracht, dass er mit nidergelegten und zusammengewickelten Fahnen ohne Gesang und Klang und zwar allein durch ein sonderes Gässlein beim Kloster hinab bis ausser der Stadt und ihrem Bezirk gangen, und die Fahnen nit eher aufrichten und fliegen oder singen und klingen lassen, er sei denn ausser deren von Donawert Grund" [all the abbot could claim by ancient custom, was the right of walking with banners lowered and furled, without song or bell, and only by a certain narrow lane under the monastery wall, till he was beyond the city and its jurisdiction, and then only was he to lift and unfurl his banners, or to suffer singing or music to begin, when he had got beyond the Donauwerth ground.] These restrictions he had now broken through.

settle in the city, permitted none but the Catholic service to be performed, and proceeded in the usual manner to effect a counter-reformation.

This affair was regarded by Maximilian himself in the light of its general import. He wrote to the pope, saying that it might be considered as a test by which the decline of the Protestant influence could be judged.

But he deceived himself if he believed that the Protestants would endure these things quietly. They saw clearly what they had to expect, if matters were permitted to proceed in that manner.

The Jesuits had already become so bold as to deny the validity of the peace of Augsburg; they maintained that it could not have been properly ratified without the consent of the pope; that in any case it was valid only to the period of the Council of Trent, and must be considered as a sort of "Interim" only.

And even those who acknowledged the validity of this treaty were yet of opinion that at least all property confiscated by Protestants since its conclusion ought to be restored. To the construction put on the words of the treaty by the Protestants they paid no attention.

But what might not be the result when these views should be adopted by the highest tribunals of the empire, and when judgments, as already began to be the case, were pronounced and carried into effect in accordance with their principles?

When the diet assembled at Ratisbon in the year 1608, the Protestants would proceed to no deliberation until they should receive a positive confirmation of the treaty of Augsburg.[1] Even Saxony, which had always before been

[1] Protocollum im Correspondenzrath, 5th of April, 1608, in the acts of the diet: "die Haupteonsultation jetziger Reichsversammlung sei bisher darumben eingestellt verbliben, dass die Stend evangelischer Religion den Religionsfriden zu confirmiren begert und der papistische Theil die Clausulam dem Abschied zu inseriren haben wollen: dass alle Guter, die sinthero a. 55 von den Evangelischen Stenden eingezogen worden, restituirt werden sollen." [The chief consultation of the present diet has been hitherto suspended, because the states of the evangelical religion desired to have the peace of Augsburg confirmed, while the Papist party wish to insert the clause, that all property confiscated by the evangelical states since the year '55 should be restored.]

disposed to the party of the emperor, now demanded that the processes instituted by the Aulic Council should be done away with, so far as they were contrary to the practice of earlier times; that the judicial system should receive amendment; and not only that the peace of Augsburg should be renewed as concluded in 1555, but that the Jesuits, by a pragmatic sanction, should be prohibited from writing against it.

But the Catholics on their side were also very zealous, and were closely united. The bishop of Ratisbon had previously issued a circular, in which he exhorted his co-religionists to impress upon their envoys the necessity for being unanimous in their defence of the Catholic religion; he admonishes all to "stand together rigid and fast as a wall;" by no means to temporise, there was now nothing to fear, since they had staunch and zealous defenders in august and illustrious princely houses. If then the Catholics shewed a disposition to confirm the treaty of Augsburg, they did so with the addition of a clause to the effect "that whatever had been done in contravention of the same should be annulled and restituted"—a clause which comprehended all that the Protestants feared and which they desired to avoid.

With so decided a disagreement on the principal question, it was not to be expected that unanimity of opinion should be obtained on any separate subject of discussion, or that the emperor should be accorded those subsidies which he desired, and greatly needed, for the war against the Turks.

This consideration would seem to have made some impression on the emperor; and the court seems to have resolved at one time on a frank and fair compliance with the Protestant demands.

Such, at least, is the inference to be drawn from a very remarkable report relating to this diet, and prepared by the papal envoy.

The emperor did not appear in person,—he was represented by the archduke Ferdinand; neither was the nuncio himself at Ratisbon, but he had sent an Augustinian monk thither in his place, Fra Felice Milensio, vicar-general of his

order, who laboured with extraordinary zeal to maintain the interests of Catholicism.

This Fra Milensio, from whom our report proceeds, declares that the emperor had in fact determined to publish an edict in conformity with the wishes of the Protestants: he ascribes this resolve to the immediate influence of Satan, and says that it had doubtless been brought about by the agency of the emperor's chamberlains, of whom one was a Jew and the other a Heretic.[1]

Let us hear from himself the report he proceeds to give: "On receiving intelligence of the edict that had arrived, and which was imparted to myself and some others, I repaired to the archduke and inquired if such a decree had really come. The archduke replied that it had. 'And does your imperial highness intend to publish it?' The archduke answered, 'The imperial privy council has so commanded, and you perceive yourself, reverend father, the situation in which we are placed.' Hereupon I replied,[2] 'Your imperial highness will not belie the piety in which you have been educated, and with which but a short time since you

[1] Ragguaglio della dieta imperiale fatta in Ratisbona 1608, nella quale in luogo dell' ecc^mo e rev^mo Mons^r Antonio Gaetano arcivescovo di Capua nuntio apostolico, rimasto in Praga appresso la M^tà Cesarea, fu residente il padre Felice Milensio maestro Agostini uno vicario generale sopra le provincie aquilonari. "È certo fu machinato dal demonio e promos-o da suoi ministri, de quali erano i due camerieri intimi di Ridolfo, heretico l'uno, Hebreo l'altro, e quei del consiglio ch'eran Hussiti o peggiori." See Appendix, No. 80.

[2] "Sovengale, Ser^mo Altezza, di quella cattolica pietà con la quale ella da che naeque fu allevata e per la quale pochi anni a dietro non temendo pericolo alcuno, anzi a rischio di perdere i suoi stati, ne bandì tutti gli heretici con ordine che fra pochi mesi o si dichiarassero cattolici o venduti gli stabili sgombrassero via dal paese; sovengale che nella tavola dipinta della chiesa dei padri Capuccini in Gratz ella sta effigiata con la lancia impugnata come un altro Michele e con Luthero sotto i piedi in atto di passarli la gola; et hora essendo ella qui in persona di Cesare, non devo credere che sia per soffrire se perdano i beni dotali della chiesa, il patrimonio di Christo, e molto meno che la diabolica setta di Luthero sia con questa moderna concessione confirmata e per peggio quella ancor di Calvino già incorporata, la quale non ricevè mai tolleranza alcuna imperiale. Questo e più disse io et ascoltò il piissimo principe. — — Priegola, dissi, a sospender questa materia fino alla risposta del sommo pontefice; e così fece differendo i decreti degli huomini per non offendere i decreti di dio."

ventured, in defiance of so many threatening dangers, to banish all heretics from your dominions. I cannot believe that your imperial highness will sanction the loss of Church property, and the confirmation of the devilish sect of Luther, or that still worse of Calvin, which must all come from this new concession.' The pious prince listened to my words. 'But what is to be done?' he asked. 'I beg your imperial highness,' I replied, 'to bring this affair before his holiness the pope, and to take no step in it until we have his reply;' and the archduke did so, for he respected the commands of God more than the decrees of men."

If all this occurred as described, we may readily perceive how important a part this nameless Augustinian friar performed in the history of the German empire. At the decisive moment he contrived to prevent the publication of a concession by which the Protestants would apparently have been contented. In place of this, Ferdinand now promulgated an edict of interposition, which still left an opening for the introduction of the objectionable clause. On the 5th of April, 1608, the Protestants assembled, and united in passing a resolution neither to receive the edict nor to yield obedience to it.[1] But since the other party would also abate no portion of their demands, and since nothing was to be obtained from the emperor or his representative that might have allayed the fears of the Protestants, they adopted the extreme measure of quitting the diet. For the first time, that assembly failed to arrive at any conclusion, much less at any agreement,—it was a movement in which the unity of the empire was in fact dissolved.

That affairs should remain in this condition was impossible. Any one of the Protestant powers would have been

[1] Vote of the Palatinate, in the Correspondenzrath: "dass die Confirmation des Religionsfriedens keineswegs einzugehn wie die Interpositionsschrift mit sich bringe: dann selbige den evangelischen Stenden undienlich, weilen der Abschied anno 66 eben die Clausulam habe, so jesst disputirt werde." [That the confirmation of the peace of Augsburg is by no means to be accepted in the form proposed by the letter of interposition; that being entirely useless to those of the evangelical faith, since the decree of the year '66 contains the very clause now in dispute.] It did not appear in the decrees of 1557, 1559. The letter of interposition referred to the year 1566 only, and was rejected, because it treated the emperor as judge in all affairs of religion.

too weak alone to maintain the position that had been taken up; and the pressure of the moment now compelled them to carry into effect an alliance that had long been desired, deliberated upon, and projected. Immediately after the diet, a meeting was held at Ahausen, between two princes of the palatinate, the Elector Frederick, and the Count Palatine of Neuburg; two princes of Brandenburg, the Margraves Joachim and Christian Ernest; the duke of Würtemberg and the margrave of Baden, by whom a league was formed, known as the "Union." They pledged themselves to support and assist each other in every way—even by force of arms, and this with especial reference to the grievances brought forward at the late diet. They immediately put themselves into a state of military preparation, and each member of the Union undertook to induce such of his neighbours as he could influence, to join the confederacy. Their determination was to obtain for themselves that security which, in the existing state of things, the imperial government did not afford them, and in fact to help themselves.

This was an innovation which involved the most comprehensive results; and the rather as an event of very similar character just then occurred in the emperor's hereditary dominions.

The Emperor Rudolf was at variance, for several causes, with his brother Matthias; and in their dissensions, the estates of Austria, oppressed both in their civil and religious liberty, perceived an opportunity for recovering and upholding both; they consequently took part with the archduke.

So early as the year 1606, the archduke, in concert with these states, had concluded a peace with Hungary without consulting the emperor; they excused themselves on the ground that the emperor neglected public affairs, and that the condition of things had compelled them to act. But as Rudolf refused to acknowledge this peace, they arose into open rebellion, in virtue of the compact they had formed.[1] The

[1] Their compact contained the following clause: "Quodsi propter vel contra tractationem Viennensem et Turcicam . . . hostis aut turbator aliquis ingrueret, tunc serenissimum archiducem et omnes status et ordines regni Hungariae archiducatus superioris et inferioris Austriae, mutuis auxiliis sibi et suppetiis non defuturos." [But if on account of

Hungarian and Austrian estates first concluded an alliance for mutual aid and protection, they next induced the Moravians to join them, principally by means of the influence possessed over them by one of the Lichtenstein family, and all agreed to peril fortune and life for the archduke. This force advanced against the emperor, under their self-elected leader, on the very day that saw the dissolution of the diet at Ratisbon, May, 1608. Rudolf was compelled to resign himself to the necessity of yielding Hungary, Austria, and Moravia to the possession of his brother.

But Matthias was now manifestly compelled to make concessions to the estates, in return for the services he had received from them. During a period of forty-eight years the emperors had evaded the nomination of a palatine in Hungary: that dignity was now conferred on a Protestant; religious freedom was secured in the most solemn manner, not only to the magnates, but to the cities, and to all conditions of men, even to the soldiers stationed on the frontiers.[1] The Austrians would not consent to do homage until the free exercise of their religion was secured to them, whether in their castles or villages, nay, even in the private houses of the cities.

What the Austrians and Hungarians had gained by direct force, the Bohemians procured by aiding in the emperor's defence; before he could oppose even a shew of resistance to his brother, Rudolf was compelled to grant large concessions, and when Hungary and Austria had obtained so great an extent of freedom by means of Matthias, the emperor could not refuse the demands of the Bohemians, whatever might be urged to the contrary by the papal nuncio or the Spanish ambassador. He conceded to them the imperial rescript, which not only renewed the privileges conferred by Maximilian II, but also permitted the establishment of a special magistracy for their protection.

or in contravention of the Viennese and Turkish treaty, enemies or disturbance should interpose, then the most serene archduke, and all the states of the kingdom of Hungary, with those of the archduchy of Upper and Lower Austria, shall not fail to support each other with mutual aid and assistance.] P. de Reva ap. Schwandtner, Script. rerum Ung. ii. 789. Kurz, Beiträge zur Geschichte des Landes Oestreich ob der Enns, vol. iv. p. 21.

[1] The article is given in Ribiny, i. 358.

The aspect of affairs in Germany and the emperor's hereditary dominions thus assumed a totally different character. The Union extended itself through Germany, and carefully watched over every aggression of Catholicism, which it instantly and forcibly repelled. In the Austrian provinces, the estates had consolidated their ancient privileges into a firmly-grounded constitutional government. The difference between the two conditions of things was not inconsiderable. In the empire, Catholicism had once more extended itself through the territories of the Catholic princes, and it was not until it proceeded beyond due limits, until it interfered with violence in the affairs of the empire and endangered the existence of the free estates, that resistance was opposed to its progress. In the hereditary dominions, on the contrary, it encountered invincible opposition, even within the territorial power of the imperial house, from the influence of Protestant landholders. There was nevertheless, upon the whole, a common feeling throughout the land. In Austria it was remarked with much significance, that one sword must be kept in its scabbard by the other.

For the opposite party had also at once assumed an attitude of aggression. On the 11th of July, 1609, an alliance was concluded between Maximilian of Bavaria and seven ecclesiastical lords, namely, the bishops of Würzburg, Constance, Augsburg, Passau, and Ratisbon, the provost of Ellwangen and the abbot of Kempten; they formed a League for mutual defence, on the model of the ancient treaty of Landsberg.[1] The duke of Bavaria obtained a great extent of power by this compact. The three ecclesiastical electors soon afterwards associated themselves with this league, but retained a certain freedom of action. The Archduke Ferdinand desired to be received into the same confederacy, Spain declared its approval, the pope gave a promise to neglect no means of promoting the objects of the compact, and without doubt, the pontiff in particular, became gradually more and more involved in its

[1] Maximilian refers to this League in his instructions to his ambassador at Mainz; see Wolf, ii. p. 470.

designs and interests, principally by means of the Spanish influence.[1]

Two hostile parties thus confronted each other, both armed, each in constant fear of being surprised and attacked, but neither strong enough to bring the question between them to a decisive issue.

It followed of necessity that in Germany, the despatch of all important public business, the solution of every difficulty affecting the common weal, had become utterly impossible. In the year 1611, there should have been proceedings for the election of a king of the Romans, but the electoral princes assembled in vain; they could come to no decision.

Even after the death of Rudolf in 1612, a long time elapsed before an election could be effected. The three temporal electors insisted, by the capitulary of election, on the establishment of an imperial council; the said council to be composed equally from both parties. This demand, the three ecclesiastical electors opposed; and it was only when Saxony, which in all these affairs had evinced great devotion to the house of Austria, had passed over to the Catholic side, that the election was at length completed.

But that which failed to pass in the council of electors, was insisted on with all the more violence by the Union of princes in the diet of 1613; where it was opposed with equal pertinacity by the Catholics. No further deliberation was attempted; the Protestants would no longer subject themselves to the yoke of the greater number.

In Jülich and Cleves, notwithstanding the vacillating weakness which characterized the government of the last native prince, effectual measures had at length been adopted for the restoration of Catholicism; principally by the influence of his wife, a princess of the house of Lorraine. It seemed for a certain time that Protestantism would, nevertheless, obtain the supremacy, the next heirs being both Protestant; but the force of religious division prevailed here also. Of the two Protestant claimants of the sovereignty, one passed over to the Catholic faith; and the two

[1] The documents relating to this subject have not been published; until further information can be obtained, we may content ourselves with the assertions of Mocenigo, the Venetian ambassador. See Appendix, No. 81.

parties placed themselves in opposition here also. As they acknowledged no supreme arbiter, they proceeded in the year 1614 to acts of open hostility; both seized on all around them, so far as their power could be made to reach; the one, with the help of Spain; the other, with that of the Netherlands; and each reformed, after its own fashion, the districts that had fallen to its share, without further ceremony.

Attempts were indeed made to effect a reconciliation; an electoral diet was proposed, but the elector palatine would not hear of this, because he had no confidence in his colleague of Saxony: the next project was a general diet of composition; but the Catholic states had innumerable objections to oppose to this plan. Others turned their thoughts towards the emperor, and recommended him to enforce his authority, by the display of a large armed force. But what could have been expected from Matthias, who belonged to both parties, by the very source and cause of his power, but was so trammelled by the chains he had imposed on himself, that he could not possibly attain to any freedom of action? Loud were the complaints of the pope against him; he declared him unfit to be invested with so high a dignity, in times of so much difficulty; he caused representations to be made to him, in the strongest terms of remonstrance; insomuch, that he was himself amazed at the emperor's long-suffering endurance. At a later period, the Catholics were not so much dissatisfied with Matthias; even the most zealous declared that he had been more useful to their church than could have been expected. In the affairs of the empire he was, however, utterly powerless. In the year 1617, he made an attempt to dissolve both the confederacies; but the Union was immediately revived with increased strength, and the League was re-established in all its pristine vigour.

6. PAPAL NUNCIATURE IN SWITZERLAND

An equal balance of parties had been maintained for a long period in Switzerland. This was now as conspicuously

and firmly established as in earlier times, but it rested on a more pacific basis.

The power of self government, possessed by each separate territory, had been long secured in Switzerland: religious matters were not even permitted to be brought into discussion among the affairs of the diet. In the beginning of the seventeenth century the Catholic party no longer cherished a single hope of being able to overpower the Protestants, who were not only richer and more powerful than themselves, but had also men of greater ability among them—men better versed in the details of public business.[1]

The nuncios, who had fixed their seat at Lucerne, did not deceive themselves on that point: it is by them, indeed, that this condition of things is pointed out. But notwithstanding the limitations thus imposed on their circle of action, the position they held among the Catholics was always one of high consideration.

One of the most important duties of their office was that of holding the bishops firmly to the exercise of their duties.[2]

[1] The Informatione mandata dal S^r Card^l d' Aquino a Mons^r Feliciano Vescovo di Foligno per il paese de' Suizzeri e Grisoni (Informationi polit. IX) adds this: "Li cantoni cattolici sino a questi tempi sono tenuti più bellicosi che i cantoni heretici, ancora che quelli siano più potenti di genti al doppio e di denari; ma hoggi li cattolici si mostrano tanto affettionati e mutati da quelli antichi Suizzeri, che se non fosse particolare gratia del Signore, humanamente parlando, poco o veruno avvantaggio haverebbero questi sopra gli avversarii heretici, e non sarebbe sicuro senza aiuto straniero il venir a rottura con essi, oltre che li medesimi protestanti hanno persone più dotte, prattiche, giudiciose e potenti in ogni affare." [The Catholic cantons, up to this time, have shewn themselves more warlike than the heretic cantons, although the latter have double their power, whether in men or money; but, now-a-days, the Catholics are so changed and degenerated from those old Switzers, that, unless by the special grace of God, they could have no advantage, humanly speaking, over the heretic adversary; nor could they, without foreign aid, go to war with them, the Protestants having, besides, men of more learning, judgment, and practice in all affairs.]

[2] Relatione della nuntiatura de' Suizzeri: "L'esperienza mi ha mostrato che per far frutto nella nuntiatura non è bene che i nuntii si ingerischino nelle cose che possono fare i vescovi e che spettano a gli ordinarii, se non in sussidio e con vera necessità; perchè mettendosi mano ad ogni cosa indifferentemente, non solo essi vescovi si sdegnano, ma si oppongono spesse volte e rendono vana ogni fatica del ministro apostolico; oltre che è contro la mente di monsignore e delli canonici

The bishops of the German nation were disposed to consider themselves princes, but the nuncios reminded them continually that they were exalted in reference to their spiritual calling only—a truth which they earnestly impressed on them. There was, in fact, much life and zeal in the Swiss church; visitations were held, synods appointed, monasteries reformed, and seminaries established. The nuncios laboured to maintain a good understanding between the ecclesiastical and temporal authorities, and by mildness and persuasion they succeeded for the most part in attaining their end; they contrived also to prevent the intrusion of Protestant publications, but they were compelled to leave the people in possession of their bibles and German prayer-books. Confraternities of the Virgin were instituted, and these comprehended both old and young; sermons and the confessional were zealously attended; pilgrimages to miraculous images again acquired popularity, and it even became requisite sometimes to mitigate the severity of the penances which zealous devotees, here and there, inflicted on themselves.[1] The nuncios were unable sufficiently to express their value for the service rendered to them by the Capuchins, more particularly by those of Italy.

As a natural consequence of all this, there next followed conversions. The nuncios received the converts into their own care, supported them, recommended them to the good offices of others, and laboured to establish funds from the contributions of the faithful, and under the superintendence of the prelates, for the benefit of those newly converted.

che si metta mano nella messe aliena, mandandoli i nuntii per ajutare e non per distruggere l'autorità degli ordinarii." [Experience has taught me, that, to make the nunciatures useful, it is desirable that the nuncios should not intrude themselves into all that may be done by the bishops, and which belong to the ordinaries, unless it be to assist, and in case of real necessity; for, by interfering in all things indifferently, the nuncios not only offend the bishops, but frequently cause them to oppose and render vain every effort of the apostolic minister; moreover, it is contrary to the wish of Monsignor and to the canons to put the hand to another man's harvest; the nuncios being sent to aid, and not to subvert, the authority of the ordinaries.] (App. No. 82.)

[1] To give an example, in the Literae Annuae Societatis Jesu, 1596, p. 187, we read: "Modus tamen rigido illi jejunio est a confessario adhibitus."

Sometimes they succeeded in recovering jurisdictions that had been given up as lost; they then restored the mass to these districts with all speed. The bishop of Basle and the abbot of St. Gall displayed extraordinary zeal in labours of this kind.

In all these affairs the nuncios were materially assisted by the circumstance of the king of Spain having formed a party of his own in Catholic Switzerland. The adherents of this Spanish party, as, for example, the Lusi in Unterwalden, the Amli in Lucerne, the Bühler in Schwyz, and others, were found to be usually the most devoted assistants of the Roman see. The nuncios did not fail to turn these dispositions to the best account, and to cherish them with the utmost regard. They were careful to shew a high sense of their value; listened patiently to the longest and most tedious discourses; did not spare titles of respect; and professed themselves to be warm admirers of the great deeds performed of old by the Swiss nation, and of the wisdom manifest in their republican institutions. They found it especially necessary to keep their friends together by feasts, given at regularly returning intervals; they were careful on their own part to repay every invitation and mark of respect shewn to themselves by some present. Presents were particularly effectual in those districts. He who was nominated Knight of the Golden Spur, and who received a gold chain or medal in addition to the honour, felt himself bound to them for ever. But they were obliged to beware of promising what they were not quite sure of performing; if, on the contrary, they were able to perform more than they had promised, that was accounted a great merit. Their domestic arrangements and private life were expected to be very strictly regulated, and to afford no opportunity for censure.

From all these causes it resulted that the Catholic interests in Switzerland also had now generally attained to a very prosperous condition and were making quiet progress.

There was only one district where the differences between Catholics and Protestants inhabiting the same territory, coinciding with an unsettled state of political relations, might occasion disorders and contests.

This was in the Grisons, where the government was essentially Protestant, while the Italian portion of their territories, more particularly the Valtelline, was steadfastly Catholic.

From this cause arose unceasing irritation. The government would tolerate no foreign priests in the valley; they had even prohibited attendance at Jesuit schools beyond the limits of the canton, and would by no means suffer the bishop of Como, to whose diocese the Valtelline belonged, to exercise his episcopal office in the district. The native inhabitants, on the other hand, beheld Protestants residing in their country with extreme dissatisfaction, and the rather, as they claimed to be lords and masters in the land; they attached themselves in secret to the Italians, particularly to the orthodox city of Milan, and their zeal was continually inflamed by the young theologians who were sent to them in succession from the Collegium Helveticum of that city, in which alone six places were apportioned to the Valtelline.[1]

But this state of things was the more dangerous because France, Spain, and Venice were all labouring with their utmost powers to establish each its own party in the Grisons; these parties not unfrequently came into violent collision, and first one then another drove its opponent from the place. In the year 1607, the Spanish faction took possession of Chur, but was soon afterwards replaced by the faction of Venice. The first broke up the Leagues, the latter restored them; the Spanish had Catholic, the Venetians Protestant sympathies, and in accordance with these the whole policy of the canton was determined. Much now depended on the side for which France would declare itself. The French had pensioners all through Switzerland, not in the Catholic cantons only, but in those of the Protestant faith also; and they possessed an influence of long standing in the Grisons. About the year 1612, they adopted the Catholic interests; the nuncio succeeded in gaining over their

[1] Relatione della nuntiatura: "Il collegio Elvetico di Milano è di gran giovamento, et è la salute in particolare della Val Telina, che quanti preti ha, sono soggetti di detto collegio, e quasi tutti dottorati in theologia." (App. No. 82.)

friends to the side of Rome: the Venetian alliance was even formally renounced.

These were party conflicts that would merit but little attention in themselves, were it not that they acquired a greater importance from the fact that it depended on them to which of the powers the Grison passes should be opened or closed. We shall see that their weight affected the balance, and had some share in determining the general relations of politics and religion.

7. REGENERATION OF CATHOLICISM IN FRANCE

The question that was now more important than any other, was the position that would be adopted by France in general as regarded religion.

The first glance shews clearly that the Protestants still maintained themselves there in great power and influence.

Henry IV had accorded them the edict of Nantes, which not only confirmed them in the possession of all the churches then in their hands, but even conferred on them a share in the institutions for public instruction, and equality with Catholics, as regarded the chambers of parliament. They also occupied numerous strong places, and altogether possessed a degree of independence, which might well have occasioned a question whether it were not incompatible with the supremacy of the state. About the year 1600, seven hundred and sixty parishes were counted in the possession of the French Protestants, and all well organized. Four thousand of the nobility belonged to that confession; it was believed that twenty-five thousand men could be brought into the field without difficulty, and they held nearly two hundred fortified places; this was a power that was certain to command respect, and could by no means be prudently offended.[1]

But close beside this power, and in direct opposition to it, there arose a second—the corporation of the Catholic clergy in France.

[1] Badoer, Relatione di Francia, 1605.

The large possessions of the French clergy secured to that body a certain degree of independence, and this was rendered more palpable to themselves, as well as more obvious to others, from their having undertaken to liquidate a portion of the public debt.[1]

For this participation was not so entirely compulsory as to preclude the necessity for a renewal of their obligations from time to time with the forms of a voluntary engagement.

Under Henry IV the assemblies which were held for that purpose assumed a more regular form; they were to be repeated every tenth year, and always in May, when the days are long, and give time for the transaction of much business; they were never to be held in Paris, that all interruptions might be avoided. Smaller meetings were to assemble every second year for the auditing of accounts.

It was not in the nature of things that these assemblies, the larger ones in particular, should confine themselves to their financial duties. The fulfilment of these gave them courage for more extended efforts. In the years 1595 and 1596, they resolved to renew the provincial councils, to oppose the interference of the civil jurisdiction in matters pertaining to the office of the clergy, and to permit no simony. It was of great importance to the force of these resolutions that the king, after some hesitation, accorded them his approval.[2] It was usual for the clergy to make general representations of matters regarding churches and

[1] In the Mémoires du Clergé de France, tom. ix.—Recueil des contrats passés par le clergé avec les rois—the documents relating to this affair will be found from the year 1561. At the assembly of Poissy in that year, for example, the clergy undertook not only the interest but the actual payment of a considerable part of the public debt. The payment was not indeed accomplished, but the clergy maintained its promise of paying the interest. The debts were principally those due to the Hôtel de Ville, and the city profited by the interest; a fixed annual sum being paid to it by the clergy. We may hence see clearly why Paris, even though it had not been so Catholic as it was, could yet never have permitted the ruin of the clergy, or the destruction of ecclesiastical property, which was its own security for the debt.

[2] Relation des principales choses qui ont esté résolues dans l'assemblée générale du clergé tenue à Paris ès années 1595 et 1596, envoyée à toutes les diocèses.—Mémoires du Clergé, tom. viii. p. 6.

church discipline; from these the king could not possibly withhold his attention, and new concessions were invariably made before the proceedings closed. At their next assembly the clergy commenced by investigating the extent to which the changes thus promised had been carried into effect.

The position of Henry IV was thus very peculiar: he stood between two corporations, both possessing a certain independence, both holding their assemblies at stated times, and then assailing him, each from its own side, with conflicting representations, while it was not easy for the king to neglect or oppose himself to either one or the other.

By the recantation of the king, the Protestants had been deprived of their head; and they had formed an organization which frequently opposed itself to him. Their strength was, however, not displeasing to Henry, in so far as it enabled him to put pressure on his zealous Catholic councillors and on the parliaments, to sanction concessions which were necessary for the safety of his former co-religionists. It had been in the face of no slight difficulties that he had given them the Edict of Nantes; peace was not yet completed with Spain, and of the powerful members of the League one was still in arms when it was granted. It was entirely his own work.[1] Pope Clement VIII was indignant at it, and even went so far as to utter threats, which, however, the king knew that he need not fear.

If we ask to which of the two parties Henry IV was the more inclined, and which he most effectually assisted, we shall find that it was obviously the Catholic, although his own elevation was attributable to the Protestants.[2]

[1] The account given in Benoist, Histoire de l'Edit de Nantes, i. 185, is corrected in many particulars by the Letters and Memoirs of Duplessis-Mornay.

[2] Niccolò Contarini: "Il re, se ben andava temporeggiando con le parti, e li suoi ministri e consiglieri fussero dell' una e l'altra religione, pur sempre piu si mostrava alienarsi dagli Ugonotti e desiderarli minori; la ragione principal era perchè tenendo essi per li editti di pace molte piazze nelle loro mani, delle quali ben trenta erano di molto momento, senza di queste li pareva non essere assolutamente re del suo regno." [Though the king temporized with both parties, and his councillors were of both religions, yet he seemed ever more and

As early as the year 1598, the king declared to the clergy that his purpose was to render the Catholic church once more as prosperous as it had been in the century preceding. He begged them only to be patient, and to confide in him; Paris was not built in a day.[1]

The rights derived from the Concordat were now exercised in a manner totally different from that of former times; benefices were no longer bestowed on women and children. When appointing to ecclesiastical offices, the king looked most carefully to the learning, mental qualifications, and moral conduct of those on whom they were conferred.

"In all external affairs," observes a Venetian, "Henry IV shews himself personally devoted to the Roman Catholic religion, and disinclined towards its opponents."

It was under the influence of these feelings that he recalled the Jesuits. He believed that their zeal must of necessity contribute to the restoration of Catholicism, and, as a consequence, to the extension of the royal authority, as he now conceived it, and desired that it should be.[2]

Yet all this would have availed but little, had not the internal regeneration of the Catholic church, which had already commenced in France, made great and rapid progress at that time: it had, in fact, assumed a new form during the first twenty years of the century. Let us cast a glance at this change, more especially as regards the renewal of monastic discipline, in which it most strikingly displays itself.

more to alienate himself from the Huguenots, and to wish their power diminished; the principal reason was, that many strong places were put into their hands by the edicts of pacification; full thirty of these were of great consequence, and the king did not feel absolute master in his kingdom without them.]

[1] Mémoires du Clergé, tom. xiv. p. 259.

[2] Contarini: "Per abbassamento del quale (del partito degli Ugonotti) s'imaginò di poter dar gran colpo col richiamar li Gesuiti, pensando anco in questa maniera di toglier la radice a molte congiure." [For the abasement of which (the party of the Huguenots) the king thought he might strike a great blow by recalling the Jesuits, thinking also by that means to destroy many conspiracies at their very roots.] He had replied to the parliaments, that if they could secure his life from machinations, the exile of the Jesuits should never cease.

The ancient orders, the Dominicans, Franciscans, and Benedictines, were all most zealously reformed.

The conventual associations of women emulated these efforts. The penances imposed on themselves by the Feuillantines were so extravagantly severe, that fourteen are reported to have once died from them in one week. The pope himself was compelled to exhort them to mitigate their austerities.[1] At Port Royal, community of possessions, silence, and night vigils, were introduced anew, and perpetual adoration took place there, without intermission, day and night.[2] The nuns of Calvary observed the rule of St. Benedict without the slightest mitigation; by ceaseless prayers at the foot of the cross they sought to perform a kind of expiation for the offences committed by Protestants against that holy symbol.[3]

In a somewhat different spirit, Saint Teresa had, at the same time, reformed the order of the Carmelite nuns in Spain; she also enjoined the most rigid seclusion; even the visits of the nearest relations, seen through a grating, she sought to restrict, and subjected the confessor himself to inspection. Yet she did not consider austerity as the end, and laboured only to produce such a disposition of the soul as might raise it to a closer communion with the Divine Spirit. Saint Teresa was convinced that no seclusion from the world, no privations, no discipline of mind, would suffice to restrain the penitent within the requisite limits, unless other means were added. Labour, the direct occupations of the household —works suited to the hands of women—this she found was the path that preserves the soul of woman from degeneracy. It is by labour that the door is most effectually closed against unprofitable and wandering thoughts. But this labour, as she further prescribed, was not to be costly nor require great skill, neither was it to be fixed for stated times, nor even to be of a nature in itself to absorb the mind. Her purpose was to promote the serenity of a soul conscious of

[1] Helyot, Histoire des Ordres Monastiques, v. p. 412.

[2] Felibien, Histoire de Paris, ii. 1339: a work extremely valuable throughout, as regards the history of this restoration, and in many places founded on original authorities.

[3] La Vie du véritable Père Josef, 1705, pp. 53–73.

being itself existent in God; "a soul that lives constantly," to use her own words, "as if ever standing before the face of God, and which has no suffering but that of not enjoying His presence." She desired to produce what she calls the prayer of love, "wherein the soul forgets itself, and hears only the voice of the heavenly Master."[1] This was an enthusiasm that was conceived, at least, by Saint Teresa herself, in a manner the most pure, most noble, and most true: it accordingly produced a very powerful impression throughout the whole Catholic world. Even in France, a conviction became felt that something more than penance was demanded. An especial delegate, Pierre Berulle, was sent to Spain, who then, though not without difficulty, succeeded in transplanting the order to France, where it afterwards took root, and bore the fairest fruits.

The institutions of St. François de Sales were also established in this milder spirit. In all his proceedings, François de Sales desired to maintain a cheerful tranquillity, free from hurry, and from all painful effort. With the aid of his fellow-labourer, Mère Chantal, he founded the order of Visitation, expressly for such persons as were prevented by the delicacy of their bodily frame from entering the more austere communities. He not only omitted from his rule all direct penances, and dispensed from all the more severe monastic duties, but even admonished his followers to refrain from excess of internal enthusiasm. He recommended that all should place themselves, without an excessive anxiety of self-investigation, in the sight of God, and not labour to enjoy more of his presence than he shall see fit to grant. Pride of spirit is sometimes concealed under the aspect of religious ecstasy, and may mislead: it is advisable that all should restrain their walk within the accustomed paths of virtue. For this cause, he prescribed to his nuns the care of the sick as their especial duty: they were to go out always two together—one a superior, the other an

[1] Diego de Yepes, Vita della gloriosa vergine S. Teresa di Giesu. fondatrice de' Carmelitani Scalzi, Roma, 1623, p. 303. Constituzioni principali, § 3, p. 208. The Exclamaciones o meditaciones de S. Teresa con algunos otros tratadillos, Brusselas, 1682, exhibit her enthusiasm in too exalted a state for our sympathies.

associate—and visit the sick poor in their own dwellings. It was the opinion of François de Sales, that we should pray by good works—by our labours of love.[1] His order diffused a beneficent influence through the whole of France.

It will be instantly perceived that, in this course of things, there was an obvious progress from austerity to moderation, from ecstasy to calmness, from secluded asceticism to the performance of social duties.

The Ursuline nuns also were now received in France: this community assumed a fourth vow, that of devoting itself to the instruction of young girls, and this duty the members performed with admirable zeal.

A similar disposition was soon seen to be actively at work among the religious communities of men also, as indeed may be readily imagined.

Jean Baptiste Romillon, who had borne arms against Catholicism up to his twenty-sixth year, but who then became its convert, established, with the aid of a friend attached to similar principles, the order of the Fathers of Christian Doctrine, by whom the foundations of elementary instruction were laid anew throughout France.

We have already mentioned Berulle, one of the most distinguished ecclesiastics of France at that time. From early youth he had evinced the earnest wish to render himself fitted for the service of the Church. To this end he had, as he says, kept daily present to his thoughts "the truest and most profound purpose of his heart," which was "to labour for the attainment of the highest perfection." It may perhaps have been the difficulties he experienced in this work that impressed him with the absolute necessity of an institution for the education of the clergy with reference to the immediate service of the altar. He took St. Philip Neri as his model, and founded an establishment of "Priests of the Oratory." He would not suffer vows; he permitted simple engagements only, possessing sufficient liberality of mind to desire that all should be at liberty to withdraw

[1] As, for example, we find in Gallitia, Leben des h. Franz von Sales, ii. 285. But it is in his own works that the character of St. Francis is most clearly and most attractively manifested, more especially in his Introduction to a Devotional Life.

from that service who did not feel the strength of purpose required to fulfil its duties. His institution was very successful; the mildness of his rule attracted pupils of rank, and Berulle soon found himself at the head of a brilliant band of able and docile young men. Episcopal seminaries and schools of a higher order were entrusted to his care. The clergy proceeding from his institution were animated by a more life-like and active spirit, and the character of pulpit oratory in France was determined by that period of its history.[1]

Nor must we here omit to mention the congregation of St. Maur. Whilst the French Benedictines adhered to those reforms of their order which had been effected in Lorraine, they added to its various obligations the duty of devoting themselves to the education of the young nobility, and to learning in general. In their earliest efforts of this kind there appeared among them a man of well-merited celebrity, Nicolas Hugo Ménard. From him it was that their studies received the direction towards ecclesiastical antiquities, to which we are indebted for so many magnificent works.[2]

The order of the Brethren of Mercy, a foundation of that indefatigable attendant of the sick, Johannes a Deo,[3] a Portuguese, on whom a Spanish bishop conferred that name in a moment of admiration, had been introduced into France by Marie de' Medici. The severity of their rule was increased in that country, but they had all the more followers from that circumstance; and in a short time we find thirty hospitals founded by this brotherhood.

But how vast is the undertaking to remodel the religious character and feelings of a whole kingdom — to lead all into one sole direction of faith and doctrine! Among the inferior classes, the peasantry, and even the clergy of remote parishes, the old abuses might still be found prevailing; but the great missionary of the people — of the *populace* — Vincent de Paul, appeared in the midst of the universal movement, and by

[1] Tabaraud, Histoire de Pierre de Berulle, Paris, 1817.

[2] Filipe le Cerf, Bibliothèque historique et critique des Auteurs de la Congrégation de S. Maur, p. 355.

[3] Approbatio Congregationis Fratrum Johannis Dei, 1572. Kal. Jan. (Bullar. Cocquel. iv. 111, 190.)

him was established that Congregation of the Mission, whose members travelling from place to place, diffused the spirit of devotion throughout the land, and penetrated to the most remote and secluded corners of France. Vincent de Paul, himself the son of a peasant, was humble, full of zeal, and endowed with practical good sense.[1] It was by him that the order of Sisters of Mercy was also founded. In this the gentler sex, while still at an age when it might claim to realize the most radiant hopes of domestic happiness or worldly distinction, devoted itself to the service of the sick, frequently of the depraved, without venturing to give more than a passing expression to those religious feelings by which its earnest toils are prompted, and whence its pious activity proceeds.

These are labours that are happily ever renewed in Christian lands, whether for the nurture of infancy, the instruction of youth, or the inculcation of learning, the teaching of the people from the pulpit, or the purposes of benevolence in general: but in no place are they effectual without the combination of manifold qualities and energies with religious enthusiasm. In other countries they are usually left to the care of each successive generation, to the promptings of present need; but here an attempt was made to fix these associations on an immutable basis, to give an invariable form to the religious impulse from which they proceed, that all may be consecrated to the immediate service of the Church, and that future generations may be trained imperceptibly but surely into the same path.

Throughout France the most important consequences were soon manifest. Even under Henry IV the Protestants already perceived themselves to be hemmed in and endangered by an activity so deeply searching and so widely extended as that now displayed by their opponents. They had for some time made no further progress, but they now began to suffer losses; and even during Henry's life they complained that desertion from their ranks had commenced.

[1] Stolberg, Leben des heiligen Vincentius von Paulus, Münster, 1818. But the good Stolberg should hardly have described his hero as "einen Mann, durch den Frankreich erneuert ward" [a man by whom France was regenerated] (p. 6, p. 399).

And yet the policy of Henry still compelled him to accord them certain marks of favour, and to reject the demands of the pope, who desired, among other things, that they should be excluded from all public employments.

But under Marie de' Medici the policy previously pursued was abandoned; a much closer connection was formed with Spain, and a decidedly Catholic disposition became predominant, both in domestic and foreign affairs. And as in the court, so also in the assembly of the estates, was this supremacy obvious.

In the two first meetings of the year 1614, not only was the publication of the Tridentine decrees expressly demanded, but the restoration of Church property in Béarn was also required.

There was at that time much life and zeal in the Protestant church and institutions also; and most fortunate it was for them that the strength of their political situation and their force in arms made it impossible that this should be suppressed. As the government had united with their opponents, so the Protestants found support and aid from those powerful malcontents, who have never been wanting in France, and will ever be numerous in that country. Thus some time yet elapsed before it was possible to venture on directly attacking them.

CHAPTER II

GENERAL WAR—VICTORIES OF CATHOLICISM

1617—1623

1. BREAKING OUT OF THE WAR

However diversified may have been the circumstances of which we have thus traced the development, they yet all concurred to the production of one great result. On all sides Catholicism had made vigorous advances; but it had also been opposed on all sides by a mighty resistance. In Poland it was not able to crush its opponents, from the fact of their having found an invincible support from the neighbouring kingdoms. In Germany a closely-compacted opposition had presented itself to the invading creed and to the returning priesthood. The king of Spain was compelled to grant a truce to the united Netherlands, involving little less than a formal recognition of independence. The French Huguenots were armed against all aggression by the fortresses they held, by troops well prepared for war, and by the efficiency of their financial arrangements. In Switzerland the balance of parties had long been firmly established, and even regenerated Catholicism had not sufficient power to disturb it.

We find Europe divided into two worlds, which at every point encompass, restrict, assail, and repel each other.

If we institute a general comparison between these powers, we perceive at once that Catholicism presents the appearance of a much more perfect unity. We know, it is

true, that this party was not without internal dissensions, but these were for the time set at rest. Above all, there existed a good and even confidential understanding between France and Spain. There was an occasional manifestation of the old animosities of Venice or Savoy, but they did not produce much effect; even such perilous attempts as the conspiracy against Venice passed over without any great convulsion. After the impressive lessons conveyed to Pope Paul V by the early events of his pontificate, he, too, displayed much calmness and moderation; he found means to maintain peace between the Catholic powers, and occasionally lent an impulse to the movements of the general policy. The Protestants, on the contrary, were not only without a common centre, but, since the death of Elizabeth and the accession of James I, they had no great leading power on their side; the last-named sovereign having observed a somewhat equivocal policy from the beginning of his reign. Lutherans and Calvinists stood opposed to each other with a mutual aversion that necessarily disposed them to opposite measures in politics. The Calvinists were further much divided among themselves. Episcopalians and Puritans, Arminians and Gomarists, assailed each other with furious hatred. In the assembly of the Huguenots, held at Saumur in the year 1611, a division arose which could never afterwards be completely healed.

It is certain that the difference existing in this last-mentioned point between Catholics and Protestants, must not be attributed to an inferior degree of activity in religious movement on the Catholic side. We have indeed perceived that the contrary was the fact. The following cause is more probably the true one. Catholicism knew nothing of that energy of exclusive doctrine by which Protestantism was governed; there were momentous controverted questions which the former left undetermined; enthusiasm, mysticism, and that deeper feeling or sentiment which scarcely attains to the clearness and distinctness of thought, and which must ever arise from time to time as results of the religious tendency, these Catholicism absorbed into itself; controlled them, subjected them to given rule, and rendered them subservient to its purposes, in the forms of monastic

asceticism. By the Protestants, on the contrary, they were repressed, rejected, and condemned. Therefore it was that these dispositions, being left to their own guidance, broke forth among the Protestants into numerous sects, and sought their own partial but uncontrolled paths.

It resulted from the same cause that literature in general had acquired a much higher degree of order and regularity on the Catholic side. We may, indeed, affirm that the modern classical forms first prevailed in Italy, under the auspices of the Church. In Spain also an approach was made to them, in as far as the genius of the nation permitted; a similar process had already commenced in France, where, at a later period, the classic form received so complete a development, and produced such brilliant results. Malherbe appeared; the first who voluntarily subjected himself to rule, and deliberately rejected all license,[1] and whose opinions, wholly favourable to monarchy and Catholicism, acquired increased effect from the epigrammatic precision and somewhat prosaic, yet, according to French ideas, easy elegance with which he expressed them. Among the Germanic nations, the classical tendency in literature could not, at that time, obtain predominance, even on the Catholic side; it first affected Latin poetry only, and even there it occasionally wears the look of a parody, despite the distinguished talent (displayed elsewhere) of the German Balde, in whose works this mannerism may be seen. Whatever was written in the German tongue, continued to be the pure expression of nature. Much less could this imitation of the antique find favour among these nations on the Protestant side. Shakspeare had placed the whole purport and spirit of romantic literature before the eyes of men, in free, spontaneous, and imperishable forms. Antiquity and history were to him but as the servants of his genius. From the workshop of a German shoemaker[2] there proceeded works —obscure—formless and unfathomable, yet possessing

[1] As regards the intellectual character of Malherbe and his manner of writing, new and remarkable additions to the poet's biography, by Racan, may be found in the Mémoires, or rather Historiettes of Tallemant des Réaux, published by Monmerqué, 1834, i. p. 195.

[2] [Hans Sachs. Trs.]

irresistible force of attraction, a German depth of feeling, and religious contemplation of the world, such as have not their equal—unfettered productions of nature.

But I will not attempt to describe the contrasts presented by these opposing worlds of intellect—to do this effectually a larger share of attention should have been devoted to the writers of the Protestant side. One portion of the subject I may be permitted to bring into more prominent notice, because this was directly influential on the events before us.

In Catholicism monarchical tendencies were, at that period, fully predominant. Ideas of popular rights, of legitimate opposition to princes, of the sovereignty of the people, and the legality of regicide, as they had been advocated thirty years previously, even by the most zealous Catholics, were no longer suited to the time. There was now no important opposition of any Catholic population against a Protestant sovereign; even James I of England was quietly tolerated, and the above-named theories no longer found application. The result was already obvious: the religious tendency became more closely attached to the dynastic principle, and that alliance was further promoted, if I do not mistake, by the fact that the princes of the Catholic side displayed a certain force and superiority of personal character. This may at least be affirmed of Germany. In that country, the aged Bishop Julius of Würzburg was still living—the first prelate who had there attempted a thorough counter-reformation. The Elector Schweikhard, of Mainz, held the office of high chancellor; that prince performed his duties with an ability enhanced by his warm and earnest interest in them, and thus restored to the office its ancient and effective influence.[1] Both the other Rhenish electors were resolute, active men; by their side stood the manly, sagacious, indefatigable Maximilian of Bavaria, an able

[1] Montorio, Relatione di Germania, 1624: "Di costumi gravi, molto intento alle cose del governo così spirituale come temporale, molto bene affetto verso il servigio di cotesta santa sede, desideroso del progresso della religione, uno de' primi prelati della Germania." [Of grave manners, deeply intent on the affairs of government as well spiritual as temporal, extremely well disposed towards the service of this Holy See, anxious for the progress of religion, one of the first prelates of Germany.] (App. No. 109.)

administrator, full of enlarged and lofty political designs; and with him the Archduke Ferdinand, invincible from the force of his faith, to which he adhered with all the fervour of a powerful spirit. Almost all were pupils of the Jesuits, who certainly possessed the faculty of awakening high impulses in the minds of their disciples; all were reformers too, in their own manner, and had indeed contributed, by earnest labours and religious enthusiasm, to bring about the state of things then existing around them.

The Protestant princes, on the contrary, were rather the heirs of other men's works than founders of their own; they were already of the second or third generation. It was only in some few of them that there could be perceived intimations—I know not whether of energy and strength of mind, but, without doubt, of ambition and love of movement.

And, in further contradiction to the tendencies of Catholicism, there now appeared among the Protestants an obvious inclination towards republicanism, or rather towards freedom for the aristocracy. In many places, in France, in Poland, and in all the Austrian territories, a powerful nobility, holding Protestant opinions, was in open conflict with the Catholic ruling authorities. The result that might be attained by such a force was clearly exemplified by the republic of the Netherlands, which was daily rising into higher prosperity. There was, without doubt, much discussion at this time in Austria, as regarded emancipation from the rule of the reigning family, and the adoption of a government similar to that of Switzerland or the Netherlands. The success of these efforts promised the only chance for the imperial cities of Germany of regaining their ancient importance, and they took a lively interest in them. The internal constitution of the Huguenots was already republican, and was indeed not unmingled with elements of democracy. These last, in the persons of the English Puritans, were already opposing themselves to a Protestant sovereign. There still exists a little treatise by an imperial ambassador, who was in Paris at that time, wherein the attention of the European princes is very forcibly directed towards the common danger menacing them from the advance of such a spirit.[1]

[1] Advis sur les causes des mouvements de l'Europe, envoyé aux

The Catholic world of this period was of one mind and faith—classical and monarchical. The Protestant was divided—romantic and republican.

In the year 1617, every thing already betokened the approach of a decisive conflict between them. The Catholic party appears to have felt itself the superior; it is at all events not to be denied that it was the first to take arms.

An edict was published in France on the 15th of June, 1617, which had been long demanded by the Catholic clergy, but had hitherto been constantly refused by the court, from consideration for the power possessed by the Huguenots, and in deference to their chiefs. By virtue of that decree, the property of the Church in Béarn was to be restored. It was obtained from Luynes; that minister, although the Protestants at first relied on his protection,[1] having gradually attached himself to the Jesuits and the papal party. Already confiding in this disposition of the supreme power, the populace had in various quarters risen against the Protestants; sometimes aroused to the attack by the sound of the tocsin. The parliaments also took part against them.

The Polish prince Wladislaus once more had recourse to arms, in the confident expectation that he should now obtain possession of the throne of Moscow. An opinion prevailed that designs against Sweden were connected with this attempt, and war was immediately resumed between Poland and Sweden.[2]

roys et princes pour la conservation de leurs royaumes et principautés, fait par Messir Al. Cunr. baron de Fridembourg, et presenté au roy très chrestien par le Comte de Furstemberg, ambassadeur de l'Empereur. Inserted in the Mercure François, tom. ix. p. 342.

[1] This appears, with other matters, from a letter of Duplessis-Mornay, dated Saumur, 26th of April, 1617, "sur ce coup de majorité," as he calls the murder of the Maréchal d'Ancre.—La Vie de Du Plessis, p. 465.

[2] Hiärn, Esth-Lyf-und Lettländische Geschichte, p. 418: "The Swedes knew that the king of Poland had sent his son with a great force into Russia, that he might surprise the fortresses which had been ceded by the Muscovites to the Swedes, so that, if his attack succeeded, he might then more easily fall upon the kingdom of Sweden; for he was promised aid in that enterprise both by the diet of the states held

But by far the most important results were those preparing in the hereditary dominions of Austria. The archdukes had been reconciled, and were now reunited. With the greatness of mind which that house has frequently displayed in moments of danger, a general resignation had been made to the Archduke Ferdinand of all claims that must devolve on them at the death of the Emperor Matthias, who had no children; that prince was in fact shortly afterwards acknowledged as successor to the throne, in Hungary and Bohemia. This was indeed only an adjustment and compromise of personal claims; it nevertheless involved results of important general interest.

From a zealot so determined as Ferdinand, nothing less was to be expected than an immediate attempt to secure the absolute supremacy for his own creed in the Austrian dominions, and, this accomplished, it was to be supposed that he would then labour to turn the collective powers of those territories towards the diffusion of the Catholic faith. This was a common danger, menacing alike to all Protestants, not only in the hereditary dominions of Ferdinand or in Germany, but in Europe generally.

It was from this cause that opposition immediately arose. The Protestants, who had set themselves in array against the encroachments of Catholicism, were not only prepared for resistance they had courage enough immediately to convert the defence into attack.

The interests of European Protestantism were concentrated in the Elector Frederick of the Palatinate; his wife was daughter of the king of England, and niece of the king of Denmark; Prince Maurice of Orange was his uncle, and the Duc de Bouillon, chief of the less pacific section of the French Huguenots, was his near relation. Frederick himself stood at the head of the German union: he was a prince of grave character, and had self-command enough to abstain from the dissolute habits then prevalent at the German courts. He devoted his best efforts to the sedulous discharge of his duties as a sovereign, and was most diligent

in Poland, and by the house of Austria: thus all his thoughts were turned upon this matter more than upon any other thing."

in attending the sittings of his privy council; he was somewhat melancholy, proud, and full of high thoughts.[1] In his father's time there were tables in the dining-hall for councillors and nobles; these he caused to be removed, and would dine with princes or persons of the highest rank only. The presentiment of a high political vocation was cherished at this court; innumerable connections, involving far-reaching results, were diligently formed, but so long a time had elapsed since any serious attempts had been made, that no very clear perception existed as to what might be attained, or what the future might present; the most daring and extravagant projects were thus admitted to discussion.

Such was the tone prevailing at the court of Heidelberg, when the Bohemians, urged forward by the consciousness of their religious dangers, broke into dissensions with the house of Austria. These disputes continually increased in violence, until the Bohemians resolved to reject Ferdinand, although he had already received their promise, and offered their crown to the elector palatine.

For a moment Frederick hesitated. It was a thing never previously known that one German prince should desire to wrest from another a crown devolving on him by legal right. But all his friends combined to urge him onward;—Maurice, who had never cordially agreed to the truce with Spain; the Duke of Bouillon; Christian of Anhalt, whose views extended over the whole arena of European

[1] Relatione di Germania, 1617: "Federico V d'età di anni 20, di mezzana statura, d'aspetto grave, di natura malinconico, di carnaggione buona, uomo di alti pensieri, e rare volte si rallegra, e coll' appoggio dell' accasamento fatto con la figliuola del re d'Inghilterra e di altri, parenti e confederati aspirarebbe a cose maggiori se segli appresentasse occasione a proposito; onde essendo ben conosciuto suo naturale per il colonnello di Scomburg già suo ajo, seppe così ben valersene, accomodandosi al suo umore, che mentre visse fu più d'ogni altro suo confidente." [Frederick V, now twenty years old, is of middle height, serious aspect, and melancholy disposition; he has a good constitution, is a man of lofty thoughts, and seldom indulges in gaiety. By his marriage with the daughter of the English king, and by other connections and associates, he might be led to aim at high things, if a convenient occasion should present itself; so that this disposition being well known to Colonel Schomberg, formerly his tutor, he profited by it with much address, accommodating himself to the prince's humour, and, while he lived, was more his confidant than any other.]

politics, who marked all their springs of action, and was persuaded that no one would have either power or courage to gainsay the arrangement when once accomplished;—all these, his most confidential advisers, pressed his acceptance; unbounded prospects opened before him, ambition, religious zeal—all tended to promote his compliance, and in the month of August, 1619, he received the Bohemian crown. Could he have maintained the position thus assumed, how vast must have been the results! The power of the house of Austria in eastern Europe would have been broken, the progress of Catholicism limited for ever.[1]

And in all quarters powerful sympathies were already at work in his favour. A general movement took place among the Huguenots in France. The people of Béarn refused obedience to the royal edict mentioned above; the assembly of Loudun espoused their cause; nothing could have been more desirable to the queen-mother than to win the support of this opposition, so well prepared for war; Rohan was already on her side, and had promised her that his associates should follow.

Amidst the perpetual agitations of the Grisons, the Spanish party had once more been dispossessed, and that of the Protestants was again in the ascendant. The government at Davos received the ambassador from the new king of Bohemia with pleasure, and promised to keep the passes of the country for ever closed against the Spaniards.

And we must not fail to remark that these movements were accompanied by the display of republican tendencies. Not only did the Bohemian estates maintain, with regard to the king they had chosen, a natural independence, but attempts were made to imitate them in all the hereditary dominions of Austria. The imperial cities of Germany conceived new hopes, and it was in fact from these last that Frederick received the most ample supplies of money for his enterprise.

But it was this very union of motives—this double point

[1] The connection of these events was felt by contemporaries, although it was no more regarded in later times.—Fürstl. Anhaltische Geh. Canzlei, Fortsetzung, p. 67.

of view of religion and policy—that now united the Catholic princes also in efforts more than ever earnest and active.

Maximilian of Bavaria formed the most intimate alliance with Ferdinand, who had the good fortune to be chosen at that moment emperor of Germany; the king of Spain prepared his arms for affording effectual aid, and Pope Paul V allowed himself to be prevailed on to contribute considerable and very welcome pecuniary supplies.

As the winds at times veer suddenly round, in the stormy seasons of the year, so did the stream of fortune and success now suddenly flow in an altered direction.

The Catholics succeeded in gaining over one of the most powerful Protestant princes to their side: this was the elector of Saxony, who, being a Lutheran, felt a cordial hatred for every movement proceeding from Calvinism.

This circumstance alone sufficed to inspire them with a certain hope of victory. A single battle—that of the White Hill, fought on the 8th of November, 1620—put an end to the power of the Palatine Frederick, and ruined all his designs.

For even the Union did not support its chief with the energy and efficiency required by the occasion. A very probable cause for this may have been, that the republican tendencies in action may have seemed perilous to the confederate princes,—they had no wish to see the Hollanders on the Rhine, feeling too much afraid of the analogies that might be suggested by their constitution to the people of Germany. The Catholics achieved an immediate predominance in Southern Germany also. The Upper Palatinate was invaded by the Bavarians, the Lower Palatinate by the Spaniards; and in April, 1621, the Union was dissolved. All who had taken arms for, or acted in favour of, Frederick, were driven from the country or utterly ruined. From a moment of the most imminent peril, the Catholic principle passed immediately to unquestioned omnipotence throughout Upper Germany and in all the Austrian provinces.

In France, also, a decisive movement was meanwhile achieved, after an important advantage gained by the royal power over the court factions opposing it, and the party of

the queen-mother, with whom it is certain that the Huguenots then stood in close connection.[1] The papal nuncio insisted that the favourable moment should be seized on for a general attack on the Protestants; he would not hear a word of delay, believing that in France what was once put off was never effected at all:[2] he forced Luynes and the king into his own views. The old factions of Beaumont and Grammont still existed in Béarn, where they had been at constant feud for centuries. Their discords afforded opportunity for the king's unopposed advance into the country, where he disbanded its military force, annulled its constitution, and restored the supremacy of the Catholic church. It is true that the Protestants in other parts of France now took measures for assisting their brethren in the faith, but in the year 1621 they were defeated in all quarters.

There was at the same time a leader in the Valtelline, Giacopo Robustelli, who had gathered about him certain Catholics, exiles from the country, with outlaws from the Milanese and Venetian territories, and who now determined to put an end to the domination of the Grisons, whose Protestant rule was felt to be particularly oppressive in those districts. A Capuchin monk brought the flames of religious fanaticism to excite still further this already bloodthirsty band; and on the night of July 19, 1620, they poured down upon Tirano. At the dawn of day they rang the church bells, and, when the Protestants rushed out of their dwellings on hearing that sound, they were fallen upon, overpowered and massacred, one and all. And as in Tirano, so these bandits proceeded throughout the whole valley. The people of the Grisons vainly descended from their high mountains in the hope of regaining their lost sovereignty; they were defeated at every attempt. In 1621, the Austrians from the Tyrol, and the Spaniards from Milan, pressed into the very centre of the Grisons. "The wild mountains resounded with the shrieks of the murdered, and were fearfully lighted up by the flames of their solitary dwellings." The passes and the whole country were occupied by the invaders.

[1] Even Benoist says, ii. 291: "Les réformés n'auroient attendu que les premiers succès pour se ranger au même parti (de la reine)."

[2] Siri, Memorie recondite, tom. v. p. 148.

By this great and vigorous advance, all the hopes of the Catholics were aroused.

The papal court represented to the Spanish sovereign that the people of the Netherlands were divided, and now without allies, so that no more favourable occasion could occur for renewing the war against these incorrigible rebels.[1] The Spaniards were convinced by these arguments. On the 25th of March, 1621, the chancellor of Brabant, Peter Peckius, appeared at the Hague, and instead of proposing a renewal of the truce, which expired at that time, he proposed the recognition of the legitimate princes.[2] The States-general declared this suggestion to be unjust and unexpected, nay, inhuman. Hostilities thereupon recommenced: and here, also, the Spaniards had at first the advantage. They took Jülich from the Netherlands—an acquisition by which their undertakings on the Rhine were successfully closed; and they occupied the whole of the left bank of the Rhine, from Emmerich to Strassburg.

These repeated victories,—concurring, as they did in time—gained on so many different points, and brought about by means so diversified,—are yet, when viewed in the light cast on them by the general state of Europe, but varied expressions of one and the same triumph. Let us now consider the point of most importance to us—the uses, namely, to which these successes were made subservient.

2. GREGORY XV

While engaged in the procession appointed for the celebration of the battle of the White Hill, Paul V was struck by apoplexy. A second stroke followed shortly afterwards, from the effects of which he died—28th January, 1621.

[1] Instruttione a M^r. Sangro: "Là onde S. M^tà non può voltare le sue forze in miglior tempo ovvero opportunità." [There, where his majesty could not direct his forces at a better time, or with more inviting opportunity.] (App. No. 97.)

[2] Literally, his proposal was for a union, "sub agnitione dominorum principumque legitimorum." Both the proposal and reply are to be found in Leonis ab Aizema, Historia Tractatuum Pacis Belgicae, pp. 2 and 4.

The new election was effected, on the whole, in the manner of those preceding. Paul V had reigned so long, that the whole College of Cardinals had been nearly renewed under his auspices; thus the greater part of the cardinals were dependants of his nephew, Cardinal Borghese. Accordingly, after some hesitation, he found a man with regard to whom all his adherents agreed,—this was Alessandro Ludovisio of Bologna, who was forthwith elected (Feb. 9, 1621), and took the name of Gregory XV.

He was a small phlegmatic man, who had previously acquired repute for his dexterity in negotiation, and for the art he possessed of proceeding silently, and by imperceptible advances, to the attainment of all his purposes.[1] He was, however, already bent with age at his accession, exceedingly feeble, and in a bad state of health.

What, then, could be expected in the contest now proceeding, and which affected the whole world, from a pontiff to whom his counsellors and servants could sometimes not venture to communicate important affairs, lest they should give the last shock to his frail existence?[2]

But there stood by the side of the dying pontiff a young man, twenty-five years old only, his nephew Ludovico Ludovisio, who at once took possession of the papal power, and displayed a talent and boldness fully commensurate to the demands of the period.

Ludovico Ludovisio was magnificent and brilliant; he did not neglect occasions for amassing wealth, for securing advantageous family alliances, and for advancing and favouring his friends; he desired to enjoy life, but he suffered others to enjoy it also; above all, he permitted nothing to interfere with his regard for the higher interests of the Church. His enemies themselves admitted the truth and extent of his talents for business, his peculiar sagacity, and power of discrimination. From the most embarrassing perplexities,

[1] Relatione di IV Ambasciatori, 1621: "di pelo che avvicinasi al biondo. La natura sua è sempre conosciuta placida e flemmatica, ontana dall' imbarraciarsi in rotture, amicissimo d'andare in negotio lestreggiando et avanzando li propri fini." (App. No. 94.)

[2] Rainier Zeno, Relatione di Roma, 1623: "aggiungendosi all' età cadente una fiacchissima complessione in un corpiccivolo stenuato e mal affetto." (App. No. 103.)

the quick discernment and ready tact of Ludovico found a satisfactory issue: he was endowed with the calm courage and cool presence of mind by which possible contingencies are descried through the dim obscurity of the future, and which enable their possessor to steer his course steadily towards the object desired.[1] Had he not been restrained by the feebleness of his uncle, which made it certain that his power could not have long duration, no considerations of expediency, or the world's opinion, would ever have been suffered to fetter his actions.

It was a fact of infinite moment, that the nephew, as well as the pope, was possessed by the idea that the salvation of the world must be sought in the extension of the Catholic faith. Cardinal Ludovisio was a pupil of the Jesuits, and their steady patron. The church of St. Ignatius in Rome was in great part erected at his cost. He laid the utmost stress on the office of protector of the Capuchins, which he held, declaring that he considered it the most important patronage in his possession. He was devoted with deep and warm predilection to the most rigid forms and order of Roman opinions.[2]

But if we wish to form a general conception of the spirit of the new government, we need only remember that it was Gregory XV in whose pontificate the Propaganda was established, and under whom the founders of the Jesuits, Ignatius and Xavier, were advanced to the calendar of saints.

The origin of the Propaganda is, however, properly to be sought in an edict of Gregory XIII, by which the direction of eastern missions was confided to a certain number of cardinals, who were commanded to promote the printing of

[1] Rainier Zeno: "E d'ingegno vivacissimo: l'ha dimostrato nel suo governo per l'abondanza dei partiti che in ogni grave trattatione gli suggerivano suoi spiriti nati per comandare, i quali se bene in molti parti aberravano dell' uopo della bona politica, nondimeno l'intrepidezza, con la quale si mostrava pronto ad abbracciare ogni ripiego appreso da lui per buono, poco curandosi di consigli di chi gli haveria potuto esser maestro, davano a credere che la sua natura sdegnava una privata conditione."

[2] Giunti, Vita e Fatti di Ludovico Ludovisi, MS. See Appendix, No. 95.

catechisms in the less known tongues.[1] But the institution was not firmly established; it was unprovided with the requisite means, and was by no means comprehensive in its views. At the time we now speak of, there flourished in Rome a great preacher, called Girolamo da Narni, who had gained universal admiration by a life that had procured him the reputation of a saint. In the pulpit he displayed a fulness of thought, a correctness of expression, and a majesty of delivery, that delighted all hearers. On coming from one of his sermons, Bellarmine once said, that he thought one of St. Augustine's three wishes had just been granted to himself —that, namely, of hearing the preaching of St. Paul. Cardinal Ludovisio also was in close intimacy with Girolamo, and defrayed the cost of printing his sermons. It was by this Capuchin that the idea was now first conceived of extending the above-named institution.[2] At his suggestion, a Congregation was established in all due form, and by this body, regular meetings were to be held for the guidance and conduct of missions in every part of the world. The members were to assemble at least once in every month, in presence of the pope himself. The first funds were advanced by Gregory; his nephew contributed from his private property; and since this institution was in fact adapted to a want, the pressure of which was then felt, it daily advanced in prosperity and splendour. Who does not know the services performed by the Propaganda for the diffusion of philological studies? And not this only;—the institution has generally laboured (in its earliest years, most successfully, perhaps) to fulfil its vocation in a liberal and noble spirit.

Similar views were prevalent in the canonization of the two Jesuits. "At the time," says the bull, "when new worlds had been discovered, and when Luther had arisen in the old world to assail the Catholic church, the soul of

[1] Cocquelines, Praefatio ad Maffei Annales Gregorii XIII, p. v.

[2] Fr. Hierothei Epitome Historica rerum Franciscanarum, &c., p. 362: "Publicis suasionibus et consiliis privatis" Fra Girolamo had prevailed upon the pope. Compare Cerri, Etat présent de l'Eglise Romaine, p. 289. There, also, a circumstantial description may be seen of this institution and of the increase of its wealth.

Ignatius Loyola was moved to establish a society, which should devote itself especially to the conversion of the heathen, and to the reclaiming of heretics; but, above all other members of that society, Francis Xavier proved himself most worthy to be called the Apostle of the newly-discovered nations. For these services, both are now received into the catalogue of saints. Churches and altars, where man presents his sacrifice to God, shall now be consecrated to them."[1]

And now, proceeding in the spirit revealed in these documents and represented by these acts, the new government took instant measures for completing the victories achieved by the Catholic arms, by labouring to secure their being followed by conversions to the Catholic faith, and for justifying as well as confirming the conquests of Catholicism, by the re-establishment of religion. "All our thoughts," says one of the earliest instructions of Gregory XV, "must be directed towards the means of deriving the utmost possible advantage from the fortunate revulsion of affairs, and the victorious condition of things:"—a purpose that was fulfilled with the most brilliant success.

UNIVERSAL EXTENSION OF CATHOLICISM

3. BOHEMIA AND THE HEREDITARY DOMINIONS OF AUSTRIA

The attention of the papal power was first directed to the rising fortunes of the Catholic faith in the provinces of Austria.

The subsidies hitherto paid to the emperor were doubled by Gregory XV, who further promised him an additional gift of no inconsiderable amount,[2]—although, as he said, he

[1] Cocquelines, Bullarium, v. 131, 137.

[2] From 20,000 gulden he raised the subsidy to 20,000 scudi: the gift was 200,000 scudi. He would have liked to have regiments

scarcely reserved to himself sufficient to live on; he exhorted him, at the same time, to lose not a moment in following up his victory, by earnest efforts for the restoration of the Catholic religion.[1] It was only by this restoration that he could fittingly return thanks to God for the victory. He assumes, as a first principle, that, by their rebellion, the nations had entailed on themselves the necessity of a vigorous control, and must be compelled by force to depart from their ungodly proceedings.

The nuncio despatched to the emperor by Gregory XV was that Carlo Caraffa so well known to German history. Two reports from this nuncio still exist, the one printed, the other in MS.; from these we are enabled to ascertain with certainty the kind of measures adopted by Caraffa for the attainment of the objects thus pressed on his attention.

In Bohemia, where his exertions were first made, his earliest care was to secure the removal of Protestant preachers and schoolmasters, "who were guilty of treasons and offences against the divine and human majesty."

He found this no easy task; the members of the imperial government in Prague considered it as yet too dangerous. It was not until the 13th of December, 1621—when Mansfeld had been driven out of the Upper Palatinate, when all peril had ceased, and when some regiments, enrolled at the nuncio's request, had entered Prague—that these measures were ventured on; but even then they spared the two Lutheran preachers, from deference to the elector of Saxony. The nuncio, representing a principle that acknowledges no respect of persons, would not hear of this; he complained that the whole nation clung to these men; that a Catholic priest could find nothing to do, and was unable

maintained with this money, and wished them to be placed under the papal authority.

[1] Instruttione al Vescovo d'Aversa, 12 Apr. 1621: "Non è tempo di indugi nè di coperti andamenti." [This is no time for delays or for covert attempts.] Bucquoi, in particular, was considered at Rome to be much too deliberate: "La prestezza apportarebbe il rimedio di tanti mali, se dal conte di Bucquoi per altro valoroso capitano ella si potesse sperare." [Prompt measures would be the remedy for so many evils, if they could be hoped for from Count Bucquoi, who is otherwise a valiant captain.] (App. No. 96.)

to procure a subsistence.[1] In October, 1622, he at length prevailed, and the Lutheran preachers also were banished. It appeared, for a moment, that the fears of the government councillors would be justified; the elector of Saxony issued a threatening letter, and on the most important questions assumed an extremely hostile attitude. The emperor himself once told the nuncio that matters had been decided much too hastily, and it would have been better to wait a more favourable opportunity.[2] The means for maintaining Ferdinand steadfast to his purpose were, nevertheless, well known and used. The old bishop of Würzburg represented to him that "a glorious emperor ought not to shrink before dangers, and it would be much better for him to fall into the power of men than into the hands of the living God." The emperor yielded, and Caraffa had the further triumph of seeing the elector of Saxony submit to the banishment of the preachers, and desist from his opposition.

In this manner the way was prepared. To the places of the Protestant preachers succeeded Dominican, Augustinian, and Carmelite friars, for as yet there was a sensible dearth of secular clergy; a whole colony of Franciscans arrived from Gnesen. The Jesuits did not suffer themselves to be vainly wished for; when directions from the Propaganda arrived, requiring them to undertake the duties of parish priests, it was found that they had already done so.[3]

And now the only question that could remain was, whether it might not be permitted that the national Utraquist

[1] Caraffa, Ragguaglio, MS.: "Conducevano in disperatione i parochi cattolici per vedersi da essi (Luterani) levarsi ogni emolumento." But the printed Commentarii present a more plausible cause of dissatisfaction: "Quamdiu illi haerebant, tamdiu adhuc sperabant sectarii S. majestatem concessurum aliquando liberam facultatem" (p. 130).

[2] Caraffa, Ragguaglio: "Sua Maestà mi si dimostrò con questo di qualche pensiere, ed uscì a dirmi che si haveva havuta troppa presta e che saria stato meglio cacciare quei predicanti in altro tempo, dopo che si fosse tenuto il convento in Ratisbona. Al che io replicai che Sua Maestà poteva havere più tosto errato nella tardanza che nella fretta circa questo fatto, poichè se il Sassone fosse venuto al convento, di che non ammettono che egli havesse avuta mai la volontà, si sapeva per ognuno che haverebbe domandato a S. M^tà, che a sua contemplazione permettesse in Praga l'esercizio Luterano che già vi era."

[3] Cordara, Historia Societatis Jesu, tom. vi. lib. vii. p. 38.

ritual should be at least partially retained in the forms assigned to it by the council of Basle. The council and the governor himself, Prince Lichtenstein, were in favour of its being retained.[1] They permitted the communion to be solemnized once more with both the elements on Holy Thursday, in the year 1623; and voices were already heard among the people, crying out that this ancient usage of their fathers should not be interrupted, and that their privileges should not be wrested from them. But by no argument could the nuncio be prevailed on to consent: he was inflexibly determined to maintain all the views of the Curia, knowing well that the emperor would at length be brought to approve his decision. And he did in fact succeed in obtaining from him a declaration that his temporal government had not the right to interfere in religious affairs. Mass was hereupon everywhere celebrated in the Roman ritual exclusively in Latin, with the use of holy water and the invocation of saints. The sacrament under both forms was no longer to be thought of; those who ventured to defend that celebration most boldly, were thrown into prison; and finally, the symbol of Utraquism, the great chalice with the sword, at that time displayed in the Teyn church, the sight of which would have kept alive old recollections, was taken down. On the 6th of July, a day which had previously always been held sacred in memory of John Huss, the churches were kept carefully closed.

To this rigorous enforcement of Romanist dogmas and usages, the government lent the aid of political measures. A large part of the landed property of the country was thrown by confiscation into the hands of Catholics, and the acquisition of land by Protestants was rendered almost impossible.[2] The council was changed in all the royal cities; no member would have been tolerated whose Catholicism

[1] According to the opinions hitherto prevailing, in Senkenberg, for example, Fortsetzung der Häberlinschen Reichshistorie, vol. xxv. p. 156, note k, we should believe the contrary of Lichtenstein; this would, nevertheless, be wrong, as is manifest from Caraffa. The nuncio, on the contrary, received support from Plateis.

[2] Caraffa: "con ordine che non si potessero inserire nelle tavole del regno, il che apportò indicibile giovamento alla riforma per tutto quel tempo."

was in the slightest degree suspected; the rebels were pardoned on the instant of their conversion; but the refractory —those who could not be persuaded, and refused to yield to the admonitions of the clergy—had soldiers quartered in their houses, "to the end," as the nuncio declares in express terms, "that their vexations might enlighten their understanding.

The effect produced by this combined application of force and exhortation was unexpected, even to the nuncio. He was amazed at the numbers attending the churches in Prague, frequently not less on Sunday mornings than from two to three thousand persons, and at their humble, devout, and to all outward appearance, Catholic deportment. He accounts for this by supposing that Catholic recollections had never been wholly extinguished in the country, as might be seen from the fact that even the consort of King Frederick had not been permitted to remove the great crucifix from the bridge; the real cause unquestionably was, that Protestant convictions never had in fact penetrated the masses of the population. The conversions proceeded unremittingly; in the year 1624, the Jesuits alone profess to have recovered sixteen thousand souls to the Catholic church.[2] In Tabor, where Protestantism seemed to have exclusive possession, fifty families passed over to the Catholic church at Easter, 1622; and all the remaining part of the population at Easter, 1624. In course of time Bohemia became entirely Catholic.

And as matters had gone in Bohemia so did they now proceed in Moravia; the end was indeed attained with more facility in the latter country, where Cardinal Dietrichstein, being at the same time bishop of Olmütz and governor of the province, brought both the spiritual and temporal powers to bear with all their forces combined on the point to be gained. There was, however, one difficulty peculiar

[1] "Acciò il travaglio desse loro senso ed intelletto." The same thing is also repeated in the printed work: "Cognitumque fuit solam vexationem posse Bohemis intellectum praebere."

[2] Caraffa: "Messovi un sacerdote cattolico di molta dottrina e poi facendosi missioni di alcuni padri Gesuiti." [A Catholic priest of great ability was placed there, and afterwards missions of the Jesuit fathers were sent thither.]

to that country to be overcome. The nobles would not permit themselves to be deprived of the Moravian Brethren, whose services, whether domestic or agricultural, were invaluable, and whose settlements were the most prosperous districts in the country.[1] They found advocates even in the emperor's privy council; the nuncio and the principle he represented were nevertheless victorious in this case also; nearly 15,000 of the Moravians were expatriated.

In the district of Glatz, the Protestant banners had once more been led to victory by the young Count Thurn, but the Poles advanced in aid of the Imperialists; the country was then overmatched, the town also was captured, and the Catholic worship restored with the usual severities. Not

[1] Caraffa, Ragguaglio: "Essendo essi tenuti huomini d'industria e d'integrità venivano impiegati nella custodia de' terreni, delle case, delle cantine e de' molini, oltre che lavorando eccellentemente in alcuni mestieri erano divenuti ricchi e contribuivano gran parte del loro guadagno a' signori de' luoghi ne' quali habitavano, sebbene da qualche tempo indietro havevano cominciato a corrompersi, essendo entrata tra di loro l'ambizione e l'avarizia con qualche parte di lusso per comodità della vita. Costoro si erano sempre andati augumentando in Moravia, perciocchè oltre a quelli che seducevano nella provincia e ne' luoghi convicini, havevano corrispondenza per tutti li luoghi della Germania, di dove ricorrevano alla loro fratellanza tutti quelli che per debito o povertà disperavano potersi sostentare, e specialmente veniva ad essi gran numero di poveri Grisoni e di Svevia, lasciandosi rapire da quel nome di fratellanza e sicurtà di havere sempre del pane, che in casa loro diffi lavano potersi col proprio sudore guadagnare; onde si sono avvanzati alle volte sino al numero di centomila." [These being considered men of industry and integrity, were employed in the care of estates, houses, wine-cellars, and mills, besides which they were excellent workmen in various handicrafts, and, becoming rich, they contributed a large part of their gains to the nobles of the places where they dwelt: although, for some time previously, they had begun to get corrupted, ambition and avarice creeping in among them, with some degree of luxury in their habits of life. These people have continually increased in Moravia; because, in addition to those whom they win over to join them in the province and places round, they maintain a correspondence with all parts of Germany, whence there flock to this brotherhood all those who despair of gaining a living for themselves; there come to them, besides, great numbers from Suabia and the Grisons, poor creatures who suffer themselves to be allured by that name of "fraternity," and by the certainty of always having bread, which they doubt of being able to gain at home and by their own labour; so that, at times, these Moravians have amounted to 100,000.]

less than sixty preachers were driven from the land; they were followed by no inconsiderable portion of their people, whose property instantly was confiscated. The mass of the population returned to Catholicism.[1] Under these circumstances, the often-repeated, and as often unsuccessful attempts to restore the Catholic faith in Austria Proper, were once more renewed, and were at length followed by decided success.[2] First, the preachers who had been accused of rebellion were banished, and then all Protestant preachers whatever. Furnished with a small sum for their journey, the unfortunate people slowly proceeded up the Danube, followed by the taunting cry of "Where now is your strong tower?"[3] The emperor declared explicitly to the estates of the country, that he "reserved to himself and his posterity the absolute and undivided disposal of all things pertaining to religion." In October, 1624, a commission appeared, by which a certain period was appointed, within which all were required to profess themselves of the Catholic faith or to depart from the land. To the nobles only was some momentary indulgence shewn.

In Hungary these violent proceedings were not possible, though that country was also conquered. A change was nevertheless brought about here also, by the force of events, the favour of government, and above all by the exertions of the Archbishop Pázmány. This prelate was gifted with extraordinary talent as a writer of the mother tongue: his

[1] Kögler's Chronik von Glatz, i. 3, 92. See also, for the forcible conversions in the rest of Silesia, Wuttke, Friedrichs II Besitzergreifung, ii. 23 ff.

[2] This had been the first thought of the emperor, even before the battle of Prague, when Maximilian first entered the territory of Upper Austria. He enforced on the latter the necessity of displacing the preachers without delay, "that the pipers might be sent away and the dance ended." His letter is in Breier's Continuation of Wolf's Maximilian, iv. 414. In the year 1624, the Jesuits got the university of Vienna completely into their hands. "Imperator societatem academiae intexuit et in unum quasi corpus conflavit, data illi amplissima potestate docendi literas humaniores, linguam latinam, graecam, hebraicam, philosophiam denique omnem ac theologiam." Monitum ad Statut. Acad. Vindob. recentiora. Kollar, Annal. ii. p. 282.

[3] ["Wo ist nun euere feste Burg?"—an allusion to Luther's hymn beginning "Ein' feste Burg ist unser Gott."—Trs.]

book, entitled "Kalauz,"[1] full of spirit and learning, was found by his countrymen to be irresistible. He was endowed with the gift of eloquence also, and is said to have persuaded no less than fifty families to abjure Protestantism by his own personal exhortations: names such as Zrinyi, Forgacz, Erdödy, Balassa, Jakusith, Homonay, and Adam Thurzo are found among them; Count Adam Zrinyi alone expelled twenty Protestant pastors, and placed Catholic priests in their stead. Under these influences the political affairs of Hungary also took an altered direction. At the diet of 1625, the Catholic and Austrian party had the majority. One of the converted nobles, an Esterhazy, whom the court desired to see appointed, was nominated palatine.

But we must here at once remark the difference existing between Hungary and other parts of the Austrian dominions. The conversions in Hungary were very much more voluntary than they had been in other portions of the empire. The magnates resigned none of their rights by conforming to Catholicism; they may rather be said to have acquired increased privileges. In the Austrian Bohemian territories, on the contrary, the entire force of the estates, their energy, and their independence, had all been thrown into the forms of Protestantism. Their conversion was compulsory, if not in each individual case, yet certainly as a whole; with the reinstatement of Catholicism, the unlimited and absolute power of the government was established there also.

4. THE EMPIRE -TRANSFER OF THE ELECTORATE

We know that the progress of Catholic restoration in Germany was much more decided than in the hereditary dominions of Austria. The recent events had, nevertheless, an immeasurable effect even there.

The counter-reformation at once received an increased impetus, and found a new field of action.

[1] Hodoegus, Igazságra vezérlö Kalauz. Presb. 1613, 1623.

When Maximilian had taken possession of the Upper Palatinate, he permitted no time to be lost before changing its religion. He divided the country into twenty stations, in which fifty Jesuits immediately commenced their labours. The churches were transferred to them by force. The exercise of the Protestant worship was universally prohibited, and in proportion as it became probable that the country would continue annexed to Bavaria, did the disposition of the inhabitants increase towards the Catholic religion.[1]

Even the Lower Palatinate was now regarded by the conquerors as entirely their own. Maximilian even presented the library of Heidelberg to the pope. Nay—to say a word in passing on this subject—the conquest had not yet been attempted, when the pope requested that gift from the duke by means of his nuncio at Cologne, Montorio; and Maximilian promised it with his usual alacrity. At the first intelligence of the capture of Heidelberg, the nuncio availed himself of the right thus obtained. He had been told that the MSS. more particularly, were of inestimable value, and forwarded an especial request to Tilly that they might be protected from injury at the plunder of the city.[2] The pope then commissioned Doctor Leone Allacci, scriptor of the Vatican, to proceed at once to Germany and take the books into his possession. Gregory XV considered this affair as a matter of very high consequence: he declared it to be one of the most fortunate events of his pontificate, and one that must needs be highly beneficial to the sciences as well as to the advantage of the Church and the honour of the Holy See. It would also be very glorious to the Bavarian name, he affirmed, that so precious a booty should be preserved as an eternal remembrance in the world's great theatre—Rome.[3]

Here also the duke displayed his indefatigable zeal for

[1] Kropff, Historia Societatis Jesu in Germania superiori, tom. iv. p. 271.

[2] Relatione di Mr. Montorio ritornato nunzio di Colonia, 1624. The passage is given in the Appendix, No. 109.

[3] "Che cosi pretioso spoglio e cosi nobil trofeo si conservi a perpetua memoria in questo teatro del mondo." Instruttione al dottore Leon Allatio per andare in Germania per la libreria del Palatino. In the Appendix we will examine its authenticity. See No. 101.

reform. He greatly exceeded even the Spaniards, who were yet most certainly not indifferent to Catholicism.[1] The nuncio was enraptured at the sight of mass performed and conversions taking place in Heidelberg, "whence the rule and guide of Calvinism, the notorious catechism, had proceeded."

The Elector Schweikhard was, meanwhile, reforming the Bergstrasse, of which he had taken possession. The Margrave Wilhelm was pursuing a similar course in Upper Baden, as he had expressly promised the nuncio, Caraffa, to do[2] in the event of its being adjudged to him, as it now was after long litigation, although his origin, far from being equal to so high a claim, was scarcely legitimate.

Even in countries not immediately affected by the political events of the period, the former efforts for the restoration of Catholicism were continued with renewed zeal. In Bamberg,[3] in Fulda, on the Eichsfeld, and in Paderborn, where Catholics had been twice appointed in succession to the episcopal see, these efforts were most successful; but more particularly so in the see of Münster, where Meppen, Vechta, Halteren, and many other districts, were rendered wholly Catholic in the year 1624. Archbishop Ferdinand established missions in nearly all the towns, and founded a Jesuits' college in Coesfeld,[4] "for the revival and recovery

[1] Montorio: Benchè nelle terre che occupano i Spagnuoli non si camini con quel fervore con quale si camina in quelle che occupa il S^r Duca di Baviera alla conversione de' popoli.

[2] Caraffa, Germania restaurata, p. 129.

[3] Particularly by Johann Georg Fuchs of Dornheim, by whom twenty-three knights' parishes were regained to Catholicism. -Jäck, Geschichte von Bamberg, ii. 120.

[4] A letter from one of his assistants, Joh. Drachter, dean of Dülmen, has a peculiarly strange sound: "ungern hab ich J. Ch. D. eine grosse Anzhall der hirnlosen Schaifen überschreiben willen, und mich uf die heutige Stunde noch lieber bearbeitet noch alle mit einander mit swebender Furcht in den rechten Schaifstall hineinzujagen, wie dann och Balthasar Bilderbeck und Caspar Karl mit zwen Füssen schon hineingestiegen." [I have been unwilling to refer to your illustrious lordship any great number of these brainless sheep, and have laboured, up to the present time, rather myself to drive the whole flock in their panic and perplexity towards the right fold, into which Balthasar Bilderbeck and Caspar Karl have already made a leap with closed feet, and have

of the most ancient Catholic religion, by many treated with indifference." Even up to Halberstadt and Magdeburg we find Jesuit missionaries. In Altona they settled themselves for a certain time to learn the language, intending then to proceed from that place to Denmark and Norway.

We see how violently the doctrines of Catholicism were poured from Upper into Lower Germany, from the south to the north. Meanwhile attempts were made to obtain a new position for interposing still more effectually in the general affairs of the empire.

Ferdinand II had promised Maximilian of Bavaria, on the conclusion of their alliance, that in the event of success he would make over the Palatine electorate to the duke.[1]

The principal consideration by which the Catholic party were influenced on this occasion, and the light in which they viewed this transfer, cannot possibly be questioned. The majority possessed by that party in the council of princes, had been hitherto counterbalanced by the equality of votes which the Protestants held in the electoral college; by the transfer of the Palatinate, this restraint would be done away with for ever.[2]

The papal court had from time immemorial been closely allied with the duchy of Bavaria, and on this occasion Pope Gregory made the interests of Maximilian most completely his own.

jumped in.] Compare generally the documents in Niesert, Münstersche Urkundensammlung, i. p. 402.

[1] Letter of the emperor to Balthasar de Zuñiga, 15 Oct. 1621, printed by Sattler, Würtemberg. Geschichte, vi. p. 162.

[2] Instruttione a M^r. Sacchetti nuntio in Spagna, describes the restoration of the Palatinate to its rightful owner, as "irreparabile perdita della reputazione di questo fatto e della chiesa cattolica, se il papa ci avesse condisceso, con indicibil danno della religione cattolica e dell' imperio, che tanti e tanti anni hanno bramato, senza poterlo sapere, non che ottenere, il quarto elettor cattolico in servitio ancora del sangue Austriaco" [an irreparable diminution of the credit of the late achievement, and loss to the Catholic church; if the pope should accede to this resolution, it would be to the unspeakable injury of the Catholic religion and the empire, which has longed for so many a year to have the fourth election also in the interest of the blood of Austria, without being able to devise any possibility of bringing it about.] (App. No. 105.)

He caused the king of Spain to be earnestly exhorted by the very first nuncio whom he sent into that country, to do his best for the destruction of the count palatine, and thus contribute towards the transference of the Palatinate to the house of Bavaria, reminding him that this transfer must secure the imperial crown to the Catholics for ever.[1] The Spaniards were not easily persuaded to enter into these views. They were engaged in the most important negotiations with the king of England, and scrupled to offend him in the person of his son-in-law, the Count Palatine Frederick, to whom the electorate so indisputably belonged. But so much the more zealous was Pope Gregory. He was not satisfied with the services of the nuncio only, and in the year 1622 we find a Capuchin of great address—a certain Brother Hyacinth, who was greatly confided in by Maximilian, despatched with a special mission from the papal court to that of Spain.[2] The subject was then entered on with extreme reluctance, and all that could be gained from the king was a remark that he would rather see the electorate in the house of Bavaria than in his own. But this sufficed to Brother Hyacinth. With this declaration he hastened to Vienna, for the purpose of using it to remove whatever scruples the emperor might entertain, in regard to the opinion of Spain. He was there assisted by the wonted influence of the nuncio, Caraffa; nay, the pope himself came to his aid by a special letter. "Behold," exclaimed the pontiff, to the emperor, in that letter, "the gates of heaven are opened; the heavenly hosts urge thee on to win so great a glory; they will fight for thee in thy camp." The emperor was besides influenced by a very singular consideration, and one which is strikingly characteristic of him. He had long thought of this transfer, and had expressed his ideas on the subject in a letter that had fallen into the hands of the Protestants, and been published by them. The emperor felt himself to be in a measure bound by this circumstance: he thought it essential to the maintenance of his imperial dignity that

[1] Instruttione a Monsr. Sangro: he is enjoined "di infervorare S. Mta, acciò non si lasci risorgere il Palatino, e si metta l'elettorato in persona cattolica, e si assicuri l'impero eternamente fra cattolici" (App. No. 97).

[2] Khevenhiller, ix. p. 1766

he should adhere to the purpose he had formed, when once its existence had become known. Suffice it to say, he determined to proceed to the transfer at the next electoral diet.[1]

The only question now remaining was, whether the princes of the empire would also agree to this arrangement. The decision mainly depended on Schweikhard, of Mainz, and that cautious prince, at least according to the nuncio Montorio, was in the first instance adverse to the measure. He is said to have declared that the war would be renewed in consequence, and rage with more violence than before; that moreover, if a change must of necessity take place, the count palatine of Neuburg had the more obvious right, and could not possibly be passed over. The nuncio does not inform us by what means he at length persuaded the prince. "In the four or five days"—these are his words—"that I passed with him at Aschaffenburg, I obtained from him the decision desired." All we can perceive in this matter is, that the most strenuous assistance was promised on the pope's part, should the war break out anew.

It is certain that this acquiescence of the electoral prince of Mainz was decisive of the matter. His two Rhenish colleagues adopted his opinion. Brandenburg and Saxony continued to oppose the measure; for though Saxony was persuaded in like manner by the archbishop of Mainz, this was not till a later period,[2] and the Spanish ambassador now declared himself adverse to it in express terms.[3] Yet, in spite of this opposition, the emperor proceeded steadily forwards; on the 25th of February, 1623, he transferred the electorate to his victorious ally. It is true that in the first instance it was declared to be a personal possession only, and that the rights of the Palatine heirs and agnates were reserved to them unimpaired for the future.

[1] Caraffa, Germania restaurata, p. 120.

[2] Montorio calls Schweikhard "unico instigatore a far voltare Sassonia a favore dell' imperatore nella translatione dell' elettorato" [the sole cause of the change in Saxony's opinion, whereby he was brought to agree with the emperor in the matter of the transfer.]

[3] See Oñate's declaration and the vehement letter of Ludovico against restoring the electorate to a blaspheming Calvinist, in Khevenhiller, x. 67, 68.

The advantage gained was, meanwhile, incalculable, even with this condition. Above all, the Romanists had secured the preponderance in the supreme council of the empire, whose assent now gave a legal sanction to every new resolution in favour of Catholicism.

Maximilian clearly saw the extent of his obligation to Pope Gregory in this affair. "Your holiness," he writes to him, "has not only forwarded the matter, but by your admonitions, your authority, and your zealous exertions, you have directly accomplished it. It is to the favour and the vigilance of your holiness that it must absolutely and entirely be attributed."

"Thy letter, O son," replied Gregory XV, "has filled our breast with a stream of delight, grateful as heavenly manna. At length may the daughter of Zion shake the ashes from her head, and clothe herself in the garments of festivity." [1]

5. FRANCE

And now, at this same moment, the great change in Protestant affairs commenced in France.

If we inquire to what cause the severe losses suffered by the Protestant faith in the year 1621 are to be attributed, we find them principally due to the dissensions existing in the

[1] Giunti, Vita di Ludovico Ludovisi, ascribes the merit principally to the nephew: "Da S. Stà. e dal Clr. furono scritte molte lettere anche di proprio pugno piene d'ardore et efficacia per disporre Cesare, et in oltre fu mandato Mor. Verospi auditore di rota e doppo il P. Fra Giacinto di Casale cappuccino." [Many letters were written by his holiness and the cardinal, even with their own hands, full of ardour, and most proper to persuade the emperor; and, besides that, Mr. Verospi, auditor of the Rota, was sent about that matter, and after him, Father Giacinto of Casale, a Capuchin.] By these persons the emperor was told "che il vicario di Christo per parte del Signore fin con le lacrime lo pregava e scongiurava e le ne prometteva felicità e sicurezza della sua salute" [that the vicar of Christ, on the part of our Lord himself, implored and conjured him, even with tears, and promised him, in return for his assent, eternal felicity and the security of his salvation.] See Appendix, No. 95.

party, and to the apostasy of the nobles. It may very possibly have happened that this last was occasioned by the republican tendencies at that time made manifest in the Protestant body, and which, referring to municipal rights as well as to theological opinions, were unfavourable to the influence of the nobility. The nobles may have found it more advantageous to attach themselves to the king and court, than to suffer themselves to be governed by preachers and burgomasters. Certain it is, that as early as the year 1621, the fortresses held by Protestants were delivered up by their governors as if in emulation one of another; each seemed to think only of how he should secure the best conditions and highest reward for himself. These things were repeated in the year 1622. La Force and Chatillon received the batons of marshals on deserting their brethren in the faith; the aged Lesdiguières became a Catholic,[1] and even commanded a division against the Protestants: this example induced many others to abjure their belief. Under these circumstances, the peace concluded in 1622 could be obtained only on the most unfavourable terms; nay, there was not even ground for hope that its conditions, hard as they were, would be fulfilled.[2] At an earlier period, and when the Protestants were powerful, the king had often disregarded and violated his treaties with them; was it probable that he would observe them more scrupulously now when they had lost their power? Accordingly, all that the peace was to secure the Protestants from suffering, was inflicted on them, in despite of its provisions and promises. The Protestant worship was in many places directly impeded. The Huguenots were forbidden to sing their psalms in the streets or in their shops. Their rights in the universities were restricted.[3] Fort Louis, which, according to the treaty of peace, should have been razed to the ground, was on the contrary maintained; an attempt was made to transfer the choice of

[1] See Mémoires de Deageant, p. 190, and many other places, for valuable remarks in respect to this conversion.

[2] Liste des gentilhommes de la religion réduits au roi, in Malingré, Histoire des derniers troubles arrivés en France (p. 789). Even Rohan came to terms; but these, as given in the Mercure françois, vii. p. 845, are, unhappily, not authentic.

[3] Benoist, ii. 419.

magistrates for Protestant cities to the king;[1] and on the 17th April, 1622, a decree was issued appointing a commissioner who should be present at all assemblies of Protestants. After these great inroads on their ancient privileges had once been endured, the government proceeded to interfere in matters purely ecclesiastical; the Huguenots were prevented by the commissioners from adopting the decrees of the Synod of Dort.

They no longer possessed a shadow of independence. They could no more oppose any steadfast or effectual resistance. Conversions proceeded throughout the whole of their territories.

All Poitou and Languedoc were filled with the missions of the Capuchins.[2] The Jésuits who had formed new establishments at Aix, Lyons, Pau, and many other places, made the most extraordinary progress both in the cities and through the country. Their Fraternities of the Virgin attracted universal notice, and gained the utmost respect and approbation by the care they bestowed on those who had been wounded in the last war.[3]

The Franciscans also distinguished themselves; as, for example, Father Villèle of Bordeaux, of whom things well-nigh incredible are related. After having brought the whole city of Foix over to his own creed, he is said to have converted a man more than a hundred years old, and the same who had received the first Protestant preacher from the hands of Calvin, and had conducted him into Foix. The Protestant church was torn down, and the triumphant fathers caused the expelled preacher to be followed by a trumpeter from town to town.[4]

The work of conversion, in short, proceeded with irresistible force; high and low were alike subjected to the prevailing influence; even the learned relinquished their creed. On these last a particular effect was produced by the argument demonstrating that the ancient church, even before the Council of Nicaea, had permitted the invocation

[1] Rohan, Mém. i. 3.
[2] Instruttione all' Arcivescovo di Damiata, MS.
[3] Cordara, Historia Societatis Jesu, vii. 95, 118.
[4] Relation catholique, inserted in the Mercure françois, viii. 489.

of saints, had offered prayers for the souls of the departed, had established a hierarchy, and was in many other respects in perfect accordance with Catholic usages.

We have still the reports of certain bishops remaining, from which we gather the relative numbers of each confession as fixed under these circumstances. In the diocese of Poitiers, half the inhabitants of some towns were Protestant; as, for example, those of Lusignan and St. Maixant. In others, as Chauvigny and Niort, a third; in Loudun a fourth; in Poitiers itself a twentieth only, and a still smaller proportion in the rural districts.[1] In all matters relating to conversions, the bishops were in direct correspondence with the papal see; they made reports of what had been done, and expressed their wishes as related to future proceedings. The nuncio was then directed to present the requests or suggestions of these prelates to the king, supporting them with all his influence. The bishops frequently entered into very minute details. The bishop of Vienne, for example, has found that the missionaries are especially impeded and restrained by a certain preacher in St. Marcellin, who has proved himself unconquerable, and the nuncio is required to press the necessity for his removal on the court. The bishop of St. Malo claims the help of the nuncio, bewailing that at a certain castle of his diocese they will endure no introduction of the Catholic worship. The bishop of Xaintes requests him to forward a clever converter who is pointed out by name. And on the part of the nuncio the bishops are sometimes enjoined to specify the causes of such impediments as they meet with, and to state explicitly what they think might be done for their removal, to the end that the nuncio may represent the matter effectually to the king.[2]

[1] Relatione del Vescovo di Poitiers, 1623, MS.

[2] Instruttione all' Arcivescovo di Damiata; a single instance may suffice: "Dalla relatione del vescovo di Candon si cava, che ha il detto vescovo la terra di Neaco, ove sono molti eretici, con una missione di Gesuiti, li quali indarno s'affaticano se con l'autorità temporale il re non da qualche buon ordine; ed ella potrà scrivere al detto vescovo che avvisi ciò che può fare sua M^tà., perchè nella relatione non lo specifica. Da quella del vescovo di S. Malo s'intende che in un castello e villa del marchese di Moussaye è solo lecito di predicare a Calvinisti; però sarebbe bene di ricordare alla M^tà. del re che levasse

The period was marked by the most intimate union of all the ecclesiastical authorities with the Propaganda (which, as we have remarked, was perhaps most efficiently active during its earliest years) and with the pope; by earnest zeal and by a vigorous activity following in the train of military successes; and by a decided sympathy on the part of the court, which saw its own political interests promoted by the religious changes. All these things account for the fact, that this was the period when the destruction of the Protestant faith in France was decisively accomplished.

6. THE UNITED NETHERLANDS

Nor were these advances of Catholicism confined to such countries as had Catholic governments; they became obvious at the same point of time under Protestant rulers also.

We are sufficiently amazed, when we read in Bentivoglio, that even in those very cities of the Netherlands, where the king of Spain had been so long and so magnanimously withstood, chiefly from religious motives, the greater part of

i predicatori, acciocchè i missionarj del vescovo potessero far frutto: il castello e villa non è nominato nella relatione, e però si potrà scrivere al vescovo per saperlo. Il vescovo di Monpellier avvisa di haver carestia d'operarj, e che da gli eretici sono sentiti volontieri i padri Cappuccini, onde se gli potrebbe procurare una missione di questi padri." [From the report of the bishop of Candon, it appears that he has established a mission of Jesuits in his district of Nerco, where there are many heretics; but they must labour in vain, unless the king send effectual orders from the temporal power; it were well you wrote to that bishop, desiring him to state the things he desires his majesty to do, for this he does not specify in his report. From the bishop of St. Malo we hear, that in a castle and hamlet belonging to the marquis of Moussaye, Calvinism only is allowed to be preached; wherefore it would be good to remind his majesty to remove the preachers, that the bishop's missionaries may labour to some purpose; the castle and hamlet are not named, and you might write to the bishop respecting this. The bishop of Montpellier suffered from a scarcity of spiritual labourers, and as the people listen willingly to the Capuchins, it would be well to procure a mission of those fathers.] See Appendix. No. 106.

the principal families had again become Catholic.[1] But our astonishment is increased, when we learn, from a very circumstantial report of the year 1622, the great progress of Catholicism under circumstances altogether unfavourable. The priests were persecuted and expelled; yet their numbers increased. In the year 1592, the first Jesuit arrived in the Netherlands; in the year 1622, the order had twenty-two members in that country. New labourers were constantly proceeding from the colleges of Cologne and Louvain; and in the year 1622, there were two hundred and twenty secular priests employed in the provinces; that number not by any means sufficing for the necessities of the time. According to the report in question, the number of Catholics in the diocese of Utrecht amounted to one hundred and fifty thousand; in the diocese of Haarlem, to which Amsterdam belonged, it was one hundred thousand; Leuwarden had fifteen thousand; Gröningen, twenty thousand; and Deventer, sixty thousand Catholics. The vicar apostolic, who was at that time despatched by the papal see to Deventer, administered confirmation to twelve thousand persons, in three towns and a few villages. The numbers may, perhaps, be much exaggerated in this report; but we see clearly, that in that pre-eminently Protestant country there was a very large proportion of Catholic elements. Even those bishops that Philip II had attempted to establish there had from that time been acknowledged by the Catholics.[2] And this was a condition of things, by which the Spaniards were very probably incited and encouraged to renew the war.

[1] Relatione delle provincie ubbidienti, parte ii. c. ii., where the state of religion in Holland is the subject of discussion.

[2] Compendium status in quo nunc est religio Catholica in Holandia et confoederatis Belgii provinciis, 2 Dec. 1622, "his non obstantibus, laus Deo, quotidie crescit Catholicorum numerus, praesertim accedente dissensione haereticorum inter se."

7. RELATIONS OF CATHOLICISM WITH ENGLAND

More peaceful prospects had, meanwhile, presented themselves in England. The son of Mary Stuart united the crowns of Great Britain in his own person, and now displayed a more decided disposition to a closer approximation with the Catholic powers.

Even before James I had ascended the English throne, Clement VIII caused it to be intimated to him, that "he prayed for him, as the son of so virtuous a mother; that he desired for him all kinds of prosperity, temporal and spiritual, and trusted yet to see him a Catholic." His accession to the throne of England was celebrated at Rome with solemn prayers and processions.

To these advances James could not have dared to make any corresponding return, had he been even disposed to do so; but he suffered Parry, his ambassador in France, to form confidential relations with Bubalis, the papal nuncio at that court. The nuncio displayed a letter from Cardinal Aldobrandini, the pope's nephew, wherein the latter exhorts the English Catholics to obey King James, as their natural lord and sovereign; nay, they were admonished even to pray for him. This was replied to, on the part of Parry, by an instruction from James I, in which that monarch promised to suffer peaceable Catholics to live quietly, and without the imposition of any burdens.[1]

The mass was, in fact, now again celebrated openly in the north of England; and the Puritans complained that fifty thousand Englishmen had, in a very short time, been allured to join the Catholics. To this James is reported to have replied, "that they might, on their part, convert an equal number of Spaniards and Italians."

These favourable results may have induced the Catholics to place their hopes too high; thus, when the king persisted in adhering to the side of their opponents; when the former acts of parliament were again carried into effect, and new persecution ensued; their exasperation became intense, in

[1] Breve Relatione di quanto si è trattato tra S. S^ta^. ed il re d'Inghilterra. (MS. Rome.)

proportion to their disappointment; until at length it found a fearful expression in the Gunpowder Plot.

From that time there was no longer any possibility of toleration on the part of the king. The most rigorous laws were instantly enacted and enforced; domiciliary visits were inflicted, with fines and imprisonment. The priests, and above all the Jesuits, were banished and persecuted. It was thought needful to restrain enemies so daring with the most extreme severity.

But, in private conversation, the king was found to be much more placable. To a prince of the house of Lorraine, from whom he once received a visit, not without the knowledge of Pope Paul V, James declared in direct terms that, after all, there was but very slight difference between the two confessions; that it was true he thought his own the best, and held it, not from policy of state, but from conviction; yet that he was perfectly willing to hear what others thought, and since it would be altogether too difficult to convene a council, he would very gladly see a convention of learned men, for the purpose of attempting a reconciliation. He added, that if the pope would make but one step in advance, he on his part would make four to meet him. He also acknowledged the authority of the fathers. Augustine had more weight in his opinion than Luther; and he valued St. Bernard more than Calvin. Nay, he saw in the Church of Rome, even as she now was, the true Church, —the mother of all others; he thought only that she required a purification. One thing he would confess to him, a friend and cousin, though he would not say so much to a papal nuncio, namely, that he too beheld in the pope the head of the Church —the supreme bishop.[1] It was, therefore, doing him great injustice to describe him as a heretic or schismatic. A heretic he certainly was not, since he believed what the pope believed; only that the latter

[1] "Che riconosce la chiesa Romana, etiandio quella d'adesso, per la vera chiesa e madre di tutte, ma ch'ella aveva bisogno d'esser purgata, e di più ch' egli sapeva che V. S^ta^. è capo di essa chiesa e primo vescovo." These are expressions that can by no means be reconciled with the principles of the English church, but they are attributed to this prince from other quarters also. (Relatione del S^r^. di Breval al Papa.)

believed some few things more than he could accede to: neither was he a schismatic, since he considered the pope to be the head of the Church.

Holding opinions such as these, and entertaining, together with them, a very consistent aversion to the puritanical side of Protestantism, it would have been infinitely more agreeable to the king to have entered on a friendly undertaking with the Catholics, than to be compelled to keep them down by force, and with continual danger to himself.

For they were still very numerous and powerful in England. In defiance of grievous reverses and defeats, or rather as a direct consequence of them, Ireland was in a state of perpetual commotion; it was of the utmost importance to the king that he should be relieved from this incessant opposition.[1]

We must not fail to remark, that both the English and Irish Catholics attached themselves to Spain. The Spanish ambassadors in London, men of great address, very prudent, and withal extremely magnificent in their mode of life, had secured an extraordinary number of adherents. Their chapel was always full; the Holy Week was solemnized there with much splendour. They extended their protection to their co-religionists in great numbers, and came to be considered, according to the report of a Venetian, almost as legates of the Apostolic See.

I think we shall not greatly err in supposing that this state of things may have largely contributed to inspire King James with the idea of marrying his heir to a Spanish princess. He hoped by this means to assure himself of the Catholics, and to conciliate to his own house the attachment they now evinced towards that of Spain. Foreign relations presented an additional motive for this proceeding, since it might be fairly expected that the house of Austria, when

[1] Relatione di D. Lazzari, 1621, attributes the king's proceedings to his timidity: "havendo io esperimentato per manifesti segni, che prevale in lui più il timore che l'ira" [for I have seen manifest proof that fear is in him more powerful than anger;] and again: "per la pratica che ho di lui (del re) lo stimo indifferente in qualsivoglia religione" [from the knowledge I have of him, I consider him altogether indifferent to every kind of religion.] (App. No. 100.)

so nearly connected with himself, would manifest more favourable dispositions towards his son-in-law, the elector palatine.

But the question next arising, was whether this marriage could be carried into effect. There was an obstacle presented by the difference of religion that in those times was indeed most difficult to overcome.

The world of reality, the rigid order of things, will always be accompanied by an element of fantasy, which finds expression in poetry and romantic narrations, and these in their turn react on the mind of youth, and thus influence the events of life. Since the negotiations that were proceeding were delayed from day to day and from month to month, the prince of Wales, with his confidential friend and companion, Buckingham, conceived the romantic idea of setting off himself to fetch his bride.[1] The Spanish ambassador, Gondomar, seems not to have been altogether free from participation in this enterprise. He had told the prince that his presence would put an end to all difficulties.

How greatly surprised was the English ambassador in Madrid, Lord Digby, who had been conducting the negotiations, when, being one day called from his chamber to speak with two cavaliers, who desired admission, he found in these cavaliers the son and the favourite of his king.

And now endeavours were indeed made, and that with the utmost diligence, to remove the great obstacle presented by the religious difference.

For this the consent of the pope was required, and James I did not recoil from entering into direct negotiation on the subject with Paul V; but that pontiff refused to make the slightest concession, except on condition that the king should grant complete liberty in religion to all the Catholics in his country. The impression made by the prince's journey on Gregory XV was on the contrary so

[1] Papers relative to the Spanish match in the Hardwicke Papers, i. p. 399. They contain a correspondence between James I and the two travellers, by which great interest is excited for the persons engaged in it. The defects of James seem at least to be those of a kindly nature. His first letter begins thus: "My sweet boys and dear ventrous knights, worthy to be put in a new romanso." "My sweet boys" is the king's usual address. They write to him as their "Dear dad and gossip."

powerful, that he felt instantly disposed to content himself with much less important concessions. In a letter to the prince he expressed the hope "that the ancient seed of Christian piety, which had of old time borne fruit in English kings, would now once more revive in him; certainly he could in no case, desiring as he did to marry a Catholic maiden, resolve on oppressing the Catholic church." The prince replied that he would never take hostile measures against the Roman church, but would rather seek to bring things to such a state, "that as we all," as he expressed it, "acknowledge one triune God and one crucified Christ, so we may all unite in one faith and one church."[1] We perceive the great advances made by either side. Olivarez declared himself to have entreated the pope most pressingly for the dispensation, assuring him that the king of England "would refuse nothing to the prince his son, that came within the power of his kingdom."[2] The English Catholics also urgently pressed the pope, representing to him that a refusal of the dispensation would draw down fresh persecutions on them.

The parties then proceeded to arrange the points to which James was to pledge himself.

Not only was the Infanta with her suite to be allowed the exercise of their religious rites in a chapel of the royal residence, but the first education of all the children of this marriage was to be directed by her; no penal law was to have any application to them, nor was their right of succession to the throne to be rendered doubtful, even were they to remain Catholic.[3] The king promised in general "not to disturb the private exercise of the Catholic religion; not

[1] Frequently printed. I follow the copy in Clarendon and the Hardwicke Papers, said to be taken from the original.

[2] In his first joy he even said, according to the relation of Buckingham (20th of March), "That if the pope would not give a dispensation for a wife, they would give the Infanta to thy son Baby as his wench."

[3] The most important article, and the source of much mischief; the words are as follow: "Quod leges contra Catholicos Romanos latae vel ferendae in Anglia et aliis regnis regi Magnae Britanniae subjectis non attingent liberos ex hoc matrimonio oriundos, et libero jure successionis in regnis et dominiis Magnae Britanniae fruantur." (Merc. Franc. ix. Appendix ii. 18.)

to require from the Catholics any oath inconsistent with their faith, and to take measures for securing that the laws against Catholics should be repealed by parliament."

In August, 1623, King James engaged solemnly, and by oath, to maintain these articles; there now seemed no doubt remaining, nor any thing to prevent the completion of the marriage.

This event was celebrated in Spain with festivities; the court received congratulations; formal intimation was given to the ambassadors, and the ladies of the Infanta and her confessor were instructed to utter no word that could affect the marriage unfavourably.

King James reminded his son, that in his joy at this happy alliance he must not forget his cousin, who had been robbed of his inheritance; nor his sister, whose life was passed in tears; and the affairs of the Palatinate were very zealously taken in hand. A proposal was made for including the imperial line, and that of the Palatinate, in the contemplated connection, by giving a daughter of the emperor to a son of the proscribed elector; and to avoid offending Bavaria, the erection of an eighth electorate was suggested. The emperor immediately opened negotiations on this subject with Maximilian of Bavaria, who was not at that time averse to the proposal, but demanded that the Palatine electorate, which had been transferred to him, should remain in his possession, and that the proposed eighth electorate should be given to the Palatinate. This did not greatly affect the interests of the Catholics. They were to enjoy religious freedom in the restored Palatinate, and in the electoral colleges they would still have held the majority of votes.[1]

Thus did that power, which in the preceding reign had formed the chief bulwark of Protestantism, now enter into the most friendly relations with those ancient enemies, towards whom it appeared to have vowed an implacable hatred, the Pope and Spain. The treatment of Catholics in England already began to evince a change; the domiciliary visits and other persecutions ceased; there were certain oaths which they were no longer required to take, Catholic

[1] Khevenhiller, x. 114.

chapels reappeared, to the vexation of the Protestants, and the zealous Puritans, who condemned the marriage, were punished. King James doubted not that, before the return of winter, he should embrace his son and the young bride as well as his favourite; all his letters express the most earnest longing for this happiness.

The advantages that would have resulted from the execution of the articles described above are manifest; but from the marriage itself, very different consequences might have been expected, results, of which it was impossible to foresee the extent. What could not be attained by force,—the possession of a direct influence over the administration of the state in England,—seemed now about to be acquired in the most peaceful and natural manner.

8. MISSIONS

Having gained this point in our consideration of the remarkable progress made by Catholicism in Europe, we may now profitably direct our attention to those more distant regions of the world, in which, by the force of kindred impulses, it also made the most important advances.

Motives of a religious character were mingled even in the first idea by which the Spaniards and Portuguese were incited to attempt their various discoveries and conquests; by these motives they were constantly accompanied and animated; they were, from the first, made clearly manifest throughout their newly founded empires, both in the East and the West.

In the beginning of the seventeenth century, we find the proud fabric of the Catholic church completely erected in South America. It possessed five archbishoprics, twenty-seven bishoprics, four hundred monasteries, with parish churches and "Doctrinas" innumerable.[1] Magnificent cathedrals had been reared, the most gorgeous of all, perhaps, being that of Los Angeles. The Jesuits taught grammar and the liberal arts; they had also a theological

[1] Herrera, Descripcion de las Indias, p. 80.

seminary attached to their college of San Ildefonso, in Mexico. In the universities of Mexico and Lima, all the branches of theology were studied. It was remarked that the Americans of European descent were distinguished by an extraordinary acuteness; but, as they complain themselves, they were too widely distant from the countenance of royal favour to receive rewards commensurate to their deserts. Christianity was, meanwhile, in course of gradual and regular diffusion throughout South America, the mendicant orders being more particularly active. The conquests had become changed into missions, and the missions were rapidly proclaiming civilization. The monastic orders taught the natives to sow and reap, plant trees and build houses, while teaching them to read and sing, and were regarded by the people thus benefited with all the more earnest veneration. When the priest visited his flock, he was received with music and the ringing of bells, flowers were scattered on his path, and the women held up their children towards him, entreating his blessing. The Indians evinced extraordinary pleasure in the externals of divine worship; they were never weary of attending mass, singing vespers, and joining in the choral service. They displayed considerable talent for music, and took an innocent delight in decorating their churches; for they seem to have been most readily impressed by whatever was most simple and innocently fanciful.[1] In their dreams they beheld the joys of paradise; to the sick the queen of heaven appeared in

[1] Compendio y descripcion de las Indias occidentales, MS: "Tienen mucha caridad con los necessitados y en particular con los sacerdotes, que los respetan y reverencian como ministros de Christo: abraçan los mas de tal suerte las cosas de nuestra santa fe, que solo el mal exemplo que los demos es causa de que no aya entre ellos grandes santos, como lo experimente el tiempo qûe estuve en aquellos reynos." [They shew great charity towards the needy, and are especially devoted to the priests, whom they revere and respect as the ministers of Christ. The greater part of them so readily embrace the practices of our holy faith, that they are prevented only by the bad example we give them, from having great saints among them, as was manifest to me when I was in those countries.] The Literae Annuae Provinciae Paraquariae, missae a Nicolao Duran, Antv. 1630, are extremely remarkable, because the missionaries always contrived to keep the Spaniards from entering that province.

all her splendour, young attendants surrounded her, and ministered refreshment to the fainting sufferer. Or she presented herself alone, and taught her worshipper a song of her crucified Son, "whose head was bowed down, even as droops the yellow ear of corn."

It was under these forms that Catholicism made its conquests in this country. The monks had but one cause of complaint, namely, that the bad examples of the Spaniards, and the violence of their proceedings, corrupted the natives, and impeded the progress of conversion.

A similar process was, at the same time, in action through the Indies, so far as the rule of the Portuguese extended. Catholicism obtained a central position of great value in Goa. Thousands were converted every year; even as early as 1565, three hundred thousand of these newly-made Christians were computed to be in and around Goa, in the mountains of Cochin, and at Cape Comorin.[1] But the state of things generally was yet entirely different. The arms, as well as doctrines of the Christians, were here opposed by a far extending, peculiarly constituted, and wholly unsubdued world. Religions of immemorial antiquity, the forms of whose worship enchained both the senses and spirit, were intimately associated with the manners and modes of thinking of the people.

It was the natural tendency of Catholicism to overcome even a world thus constituted.

This was the fundamental idea underlying the whole of the labours of Francis Xavier, who reached the Indies in the year 1542. He traversed India in its whole length and breadth, he prayed at the tomb of the Apostle Thomas at Meliapur, and preached to the people of Travancore from a tree. In the Moluccas he taught spiritual songs, which were then repeated by the boys in the market-places, and sung by the fishermen on the sea. But he was not born to complete the work he had begun; his cry was ever, "Amplius, amplius," and a kind of passion for travelling shared largely in his zeal for making proselytes. He had already reached Japan, and was on the point of exploring the home and origin of the peculiar opinions he had

[1] Maffei, Commentarius de rebus Indicis, p. 21.

encountered in those regions,—the empire of China namely; when he died.[1]

It is perfectly consistent with the nature of men, that the example of Francis Xavier, and the difficulties of the enterprise, should rather excite to imitation, than alarm and deter from the attempt. The most active and varied exertions were thus made throughout the East, in the earlier periods of the seventeenth century.

In the year 1606, we find Father Nobili in Madura; he was surprised that Christianity had made so little progress in so long a time, and thinks this fact to be explained only by the circumstance that the Portuguese had addressed themselves to the Parias, which had caused Christ to be considered merely as a god of the Parias. He proceeded in a totally different manner. Persuaded that an effectual course of conversion must begin with the upper classes, he declared on his arrival, that he was of the highest order of nobles (he was prepared with testimonies to that effect), and attached himself to the Brahmins. He adopted their dress and modes of life, undertook their penances, learnt Sanscrit, and proceeded altogether in accordance with their ideas.[2] There was an opinion prevalent among them that four roads to truth had formerly existed in India, but that one of them had been lost. Nobili affirmed, that he had come to restore to them this lost, but most direct and spiritual road to immortality. In the year 1609, he had already converted seventy Brahmins. He was scrupulously careful to avoid offending their prejudices; he tolerated their distinctions of castes, only giving them a different signification, and even separated the different castes from each other in the churches. The expressions in which the Christian doctrines had previously been taught, were changed by Nobili for others more refined,

[1] Maffei, Historiarum Indicarum, lib. xiii. et xiv.

[2] Juvencius, Historiae Societatis Jesu, pars v. tom. ii. lib. xviii. s. 9, n. 49: "Brachmanum instituta omnia caeremoniasque cognoscit; linguam vernaculam, dictam vulgo Tamulicam, quae latissime pertinet, addiscit: addit Baddagicam, qui principum et aulae sermo; denique Grandonicam sive Samuteradam, quae lingua eruditorum est, ceterum tot obsita difficultatibus, nulli ut Europaeo bene cognita fuisset ad eam diem, atque inter ipsosmet Indos plurimum scire videantur, qui hanc utcunque norint etsi aliud nihil norint."

more elegant, and of a higher literary dignity. He proceeded in all things with so much address that he soon saw himself surrounded by a host of converts. Although his modes of action gave extreme offence at first, yet they seemed to be the only means calculated to promote the object in view, and in the year 1621 they were sanctioned by the expressed approval of Gregory XV.

The labours undertaken at the same time in the court of the Emperor Akbar were no less remarkable.

It will be remembered that the ancient Mongolian Khans, the conquerors of Asia, had long occupied a peculiarly undecided position amongst the various religions by which the world was divided. The Emperor Akbar would seem to have held nearly similar views. When he summoned the Jesuit fathers to his presence, he told them that "he had done his best to acquire a knowledge of all the religions of the world, and now wished to learn something of the Christian religion also, by the help of the fathers, whom he reverenced and valued." The first who made his permanent residence at the court of Akbar, was Geronimo Xavier, nephew of Francis, who settled there in the year 1595, when the insurrections of the Mahometans contributed to dispose the emperor towards the Christians. In the year 1599, Christmas was celebrated at Lahore with the utmost solemnity. The manger and leading facts of the Nativity were represented for twenty days in succession, and numerous catechumens proceeded to the church, with palms in their hands, to receive the rite of baptism. The emperor read a life of Christ, composed in Persian, with great pleasure, and a picture of the Virgin, copied from the Madonna del Popolo, in Rome, was taken by his orders to the palace, that he might shew it to the ladies of his family. It is true that the Christians drew more favourable inferences from these things than the conclusion justified; still they really did make great progress. After the death of Akbar, three princes of the blood-royal were solemnly baptized; they rode to church on white elephants, and were received by Father Geronimo with the sound of trumpets, kettledrums, and martial music.[1] This event took place in 1610. Christianity

[1] Juvencius, i. i. n. 1–23.

seemed gradually to acquire a position of fixed character, although with certain vicissitudes, and the prevalence of varying opinions; their affairs being affected by the greater or less degree of harmony existing in the political relations between the country and the Portuguese. In 1621, a college was founded in Agra, and a station was established at Patna. In 1624, there were hopes that the emperor Jehangir would himself become a convert.

The Jesuits had made their way into China, at the same period. They sought to win over the well-informed, scientific and studious people of that empire, by the force of their acquirements and by acquainting them with the discoveries and sciences of the West. Ricci obtained his first entrance among them by the fact that he taught mathematics, and by selecting the most valuable passages from the writings of Confucius, which he committed to memory, and recited before them. He gained access to Pekin, by the present of a clock striking the hours, which he made for the emperor; but he owed the favour and esteem of that monarch to nothing so much as to a map which he constructed for him, and which greatly surpassed all attempts made by the Chinese in that department of knowledge. A fact is related that will serve as a characteristic of Ricci. When the emperor ordered ten such maps to be painted on silk and hung in his apartments, he seized the opportunity thus afforded to do something for the promotion of Christianity also, and filled the margins and vacant spaces of each map with Christian symbols and texts. His instructions, generally, were conveyed in a similar manner; he usually began with mathematics, but he managed to finish with religion. His scientific attainments procured respect for his religious doctrines. He not only succeeded in gaining to Christianity those who were immediately his pupils, but many mandarins, whose dress he had assumed, also went over to his creed. A Society of the Virgin was established in Pekin as early as the year 1605. Ricci died in 1610, exhausted, not by excess of labour only, but more still by the many visits, the long feastings, and all the other duties of Chinese society and etiquette. The advice given by Ricci was followed after his death; namely, "to carry on the work without

noise or display, and in this tempestuous ocean to keep ever near the shore." Nor was the example he left as regarded the application of science neglected. In the year 1610, an eclipse of the moon occurred; the predictions of the native astronomers and of the Jesuits differed by a whole hour, and when the truth of the Jesuit calculations was proved by the event, they derived great credit from the circumstance.[1] The rectification of the astronomical tables was now confided to them, together with certain mandarins, their pupils; nor was this all; the interests of Christianity were also greatly promoted by these successes. In 1611, the first church in Nankin was consecrated, and in 1616, Christian churches are described as existing in five different provinces of the empire. In the different assaults to which they were not unfrequently exposed, it was constantly found of the utmost advantage to them that their pupils had written works which enjoyed the approbation of the learned. They for the most part contrived to avert the threatening storms: their general habit was to conform as much as possible to the customs of the country; and in regard to various points and practices, they were empowered by the pope himself, in 1619, to make certain concessions to the opinions prevailing around them. Thus no year passed in which they did not convert thousands, while those who opposed them gradually died off. In 1624, Adam Schall appeared, and the exact description of two eclipses of the moon, which took place in that year, with a work of Lombardo, relating to earthquakes, added increased weight to their dignity and consideration.[2]

[1] Juvencius has devoted the whole of his nineteenth book to the undertakings in China, and has added a dissertation (see p. 561),—Imperii Sinici recens et uberior notitia, which is still entirely worthy of attention.

[2] Relatione della Cina dell' anno 1621: "Io stato presente di questa chiesa mi pare in universale molto simile ad una nave a cui e li venti e le nuvole minaccino di corto grave borrasca, e per ciò li marinari ammainando le vele e calando le antenne fermino il corso, e stiano aspettando che si chiarisca il cielo e cessino li contrasti de' venti; ma bene spesso avviene che tutto il male si risolve in paura e che sgombrate le furie de' venti svanisce la tempesta contenta delle sole minaccie. Così appunto pare che sia accaduto alla nave di questa chiesa. Quattro anni fa se le levò contro una gagliarda borrasca, la quale pareva che la dovesse sommergere ad un tratto; li piloti accomodandosi al

The course pursued by the Jesuits among the warlike Japanese was entirely different; the country was torn by perpetual factions, and the Jesuits attached themselves from the first to one or the other of the contending parties. In the year 1554, they were so fortunate as to have declared for that which obtained the victory; its favour was consequently secured to them, and by means of this they made extraordinary progress. In the year 1577, three hundred thousand Christians were computed to have received baptism in Japan. Father Valignano, who died in 1606, a man whose advice in regard to the East was always welcome to Philip II, was himself the founder of three hundred churches and thirty houses for Jesuits in Japan.

It was, however, by the connection of the Jesuits with Mexico and Spain, that the jealousy of the Japanese authorities was awakened; the success that the Jesuits had previously had in the earlier civil wars was, moreover, not repeated; the party to which they had attached themselves in later conflicts had sustained defeat, and after the year 1612 they were subjected to fearful persecutions.

But they maintained their ground with great steadiness. Their proselytes invoked the death of martyrs, and they established a martyrs' fraternity, the members of which mutually encouraged each other to the endurance of every possible suffering: they distinguished those years as the *Æra Martyrum*. But despite the increasing violence of

tempo raccolsero le vele delle opere loro e si ritirarono alquanto, ma in modo che potevano essere trovati da chiunque voleva l'ajuto loro per aspettare 'donec aspiret dies et inclinentur umbrae.' Sin' hora il male non è stato di altro che di timore." [The condition of this church at present appears to me extremely similar to that of a ship which the clouds and winds threaten with a heavy storm; wherefore the mariners, shortening sail and lowering the yards, lie to, and wait till the sky becomes clear and the winds cease their commotion; but it very often happens that all the mischief consists in their fears, and that the fury of the winds abating, the tempest disappears, satisfied with threatening only. Just so has it happened with the ship of this church. Four years since a fearful storm rose against it, menacing to submerge it at one blow; the pilots, accommodating themselves to the weather, took in the sails of their works and retired somewhat, but so that they could be found by those who needed their aid, to wait "till the day should break and the shadows pass away;" but since then there has been no other evil than that of fear.]

the persecutions, their historians affirm that new converts were continually added to their numbers.[1] They give the exact number of 239,339 as that of the converts to Christianity among the Japanese from 1603 to 1622.

In all these countries, we find the Jesuits evincing the same persevering industry, unbending pertinacity, and pliant conformity to circumstances, by which they have been characterized from their origin; they made progress beyond all that they could have hoped for, and succeeded in conquering, at least partially, the resistance of the national forms of religion that were paramount in the East.

And in addition to all this they had taken measures for the union of the oriental Christians with the Roman church.

Even in India the Jesuits had found the primitive Nestorian community known as the Christians of St. Thomas. And as they recognized as their supreme head and shepherd of the universal Church, not the pope of Rome, of whom they knew nothing, but the patriarch of Babylon (at Mosul), measures were immediately taken for bringing them within the pale of the Roman communion; neither force nor persuasion was spared; in the year 1601 the most important persons among them seemed won, and a Jesuit was nominated as their bishop. The Roman ritual was printed in Chaldaic; the errors of Nestorius were anathematized in a diocesan council; a Jesuits' college was founded in Cranganor, and the installation of the new bishop was effected in 1624, with the assent of those who had previously been the most inflexible in their opposition.[2]

It is self-evident that the political superiority of the

[1] The Lettere Annue del Giappone dell' anno 1622, present an example: "I gloriosi campioni che morirono quest' anno furono 121; gli adulti che per opera de' padri della compagnia a vista di così crudele persecutione hanno ricevuto il santo battesimo arrivano al numero di 2236, senza numerar quelli che per mezzo d'altri religiosi e sacerdoti Giapponesi si battezano." [The glorious champions who have died this year were 121. The adults who, by means of the fathers of the company, have received holy baptism, are 2236, without counting those who have been baptized by other fraternities and by Japanese priests.]

[2] Cordara, Historia Soc. Jesu, vi. ix. p. 535.

Spanish and Portuguese powers contributed largely to these results: this influence also made itself felt at the same time and in various forms in Abyssinia.

Many attempts had been made in the latter country at an earlier period, but all were ineffectual. It was not till the year 1603, when the Portuguese of Fremona gave essential aid to the Abyssinians in a battle with the Kaffirs, that they and their religion first attained to more respectful consideration. Just then Father Paez arrived, an able Jesuit of great address, who preached in the language of the country and procured access to the court. The victorious monarch desired to form more intimate relations with the king of Spain, principally for the purpose of securing an ally against his enemies in the interior. Paez represented to him that the only means by which this could be accomplished were his abandonment of the schismatic creed he held, and conversion to the church of Rome. His arguments produced all the more impression from the fact that amidst the internal convulsions of the Abyssinians, the Portuguese had in fact evinced the utmost fidelity and bravery. Disputations were appointed, and in these the Jesuits easily defeated the untaught monks. Sela-Christos, the bravest man in the empire, and a brother of the emperor Seltan-Segued (Socinius), became a convert, and his example was followed by a multitude of his fellow-countrymen. A connection was then readily formed with Pope Paul V and Philip III. Opposition was naturally aroused among the representatives of the established religion, and in Abyssinia as in Europe, the civil war assumed the character of a religious conflict. The abuna and his monks were always on the side of the rebels; Sela-Christos, the Portuguese, and the converts, on that of the emperor. Year after year battles were fought with varied consequences; but the emperor and his party were at length victorious: their triumph was also that of Catholicism and the Jesuits. In the year 1621, Seltan-Segued decided the ancient controversies respecting the two natures in Christ, in accordance with the views of the Roman church. He prohibited the offering of prayers for the patriarch of Alexandria; Catholic churches and chapels were erected in his towns, and in his

gardens.[1] In 1622, after having confessed to Paez, he received the sacrament according to the Catholic ritual. The papal court had been long requested to send a Latin patriarch into the country, but had avoided doing this so long as the opinions or power of the emperor remained doubtful. That sovereign had now vanquished all his enemies, and the submission he displayed could not well be more perfect. On the 19th of December, therefore, in the year 1622, Gregory XV appointed Doctor Alfonso Mendez, a Portuguese Jesuit whom King Philip had proposed, to be patriarch of Ethiopia,[2] and when this dignitary at length arrived, the emperor solemnly tendered his obedience to the pope of Rome.

Attention had meanwhile been constantly directed to the Greek Christians resident in the Turkish empire; the popes despatched mission after mission in their behalf. The Roman *professio fidei* had been introduced among the Maronites by certain Jesuits; and in 1614 we find a Nestorian archimandrite in Rome, where he abjured the tenets of Nestorius in the name of large numbers who had previously held those doctrines. A Jesuit mission was established in Constantinople, and by the influence of the French ambassador, it acquired a certain degree of credit and stability. In the year 1621, these fathers succeeded in procuring the removal, at least for a time, of the patriarch Cyrillus Lucaris, who was disposed to the opinions of the Protestants.

How comprehensive, how unbounded was this activity! labouring at one and the same moment among the Andes and through the Alps; sending its pioneers at once to Scandinavia and to Tibet; insinuating itself into the favour of the ruling powers in China and in England; yet everywhere on this illimitable theatre, undivided, ever vigorous, and indefatigable; the strong impulse at work in the centre inspiriting, perhaps with a more intense and vivid force of action, every separate labourer, even to the utmost extremity of its borders.

[1] Juvencius, p. 705; Cordara, vi. 6, p. 320. Ludolf calls the emperor Susneus.

[2] Sagripanti, Discorso della Religione dell' Etiopia, MS., from the Atti Consistoriali.

CHAPTER III

CONFLICT OF POLITICAL RELATIONS—FURTHER TRIUMPHS OF CATHOLICISM

1623—1628

It is rarely by a resistance from without that a power in rapid progress is arrested in its career; reverses are for the most part occasioned by internal dissensions, which if not the sole cause of decline, yet largely promote and accelerate it.

Had Catholicism remained of one accord, had its adherents proceeded with united forces to their aim, it is difficult to imagine how northern Germanic Europe, involved as it was to a considerable extent in the interests, and hemmed in on all points by the policy of Catholicism, could eventually have resisted its domination.

But was it not inevitable that having reached this degree of power, the old elements of discord residing within Catholicism itself, and which, though stilled at the surface, had been constantly active at the centre, should now burst forth anew?

The distinctive peculiarity of religious progress at this period was that it depended in all countries on the preponderance of political and military power. The successes of war preceded the progress of missions. It thus followed that the latter were associated with the most important political changes, which last were in themselves of high significance, and could not fail to cause reactions, of which the particular character could not be foreseen.

Of all these changes, the most important certainly was, that the German line of the house of Austria, which had hitherto been too much engrossed by the troubles in

its hereditary dominions to assume any great share in the politics of Europe generally, now at once attained the independence, importance, and strength of a great European power. The elevation of German Austria produced the effect of awakening Spain, which had reposed in peace since the times of Philip II, but which now rose with a renewal of its old warlike spirit to the assertion of its former hopes and claims. The Spanish and German sovereigns were already brought into immediate connection, by the transactions in the Grisons. The Alpine passes were held by Austria on the German side, and by Spain on that of Italy. On those lofty mountains they seemed to offer each other mutual aid for enterprises embracing all parts of the world.

It is certain that in this condition of things there was involved on the one hand a magnificent prospect for Catholicism, to which both lines had devoted themselves with inviolable attachment; but on the other, it presented imminent danger of internal dissension. How much jealousy had been aroused by the Spanish monarchy under Philip II! But with much greater force and combined solidity did the power of that house now uprear itself; augmented as it was by the extended growth of its German resources. It followed, that all the old antipathies against it would be called into more than ever vigorous action.

This was first made manifest in Italy.

The small Italian states, incapable of standing by their own force, were above all others at that time in need of the protection gained by all from the balance of power, and were proportionably sensitive to whatever endangered its preservation. To be thus inclosed between the Spaniards and Germans, while cut off from all foreign aid by the occupation of the Alpine passes, they considered a position of great peril. With but slight regard to the advantages presented to their common faith by this combination, they had recourse to France, from whom alone they could hope for aid, to deliver them from it. Louis XIII had also become alarmed, lest his influence in Italy should be lost. Immediately after the peace of 1622, and even before he had returned to his capital, he concluded a treaty with

Savoy and Venice, by virtue of which the house of Austria was to be compelled, by the junction of their common forces, to evacuate the passes and fortresses of the Grisons.[1]

This was an intention apparently affecting one single point only, but which might readily endanger the whole existing relations of the European powers.

The probability of such a result was clearly manifest to Gregory XV. The peril by which the peace of the Catholic world, the progress of religious interests, and consequently the renewal of the papal dignity, were threatened from this point, were distinctly obvious; and with a zeal equal to that he had displayed for missions and conversions, the pontiff now laboured to prevent that outbreak of hostilities, the consequences of which were to his perception so evidently menacing.

The reverence felt for the papal see, or rather respect for the unity of the Catholic world, had still so much of vital force, that both France and Spain declared their readiness to leave the decision of this affair to the pope. Nay, he was himself requested to take possession of those fortresses which occasioned so much jealous uneasiness, to hold them as a deposit, and to garrison them with his own troops, until the question concerning them had been fully adjusted.[2]

For some short time Pope Gregory hesitated whether he should agree to take this active, and without doubt, costly share in foreign transactions; but since it was manifest that the peace of the Catholic world depended chiefly on his decision, he finally suffered a few companies to be formed, and sent them into the Grisons, under the command of his brother, the duke of Fiano. The Spaniards had wished to retain at least Riva and Chiavenna, but they now surrendered even these places to the papal troops.[3] The Archduke Leopold of the Tyrol also finally consented to yield into their hands whatever territories and fortresses he could not claim as portions of his hereditary possessions.

[1] Nani, Storia Veneta, p. 255.

[2] Dispaccio Sillery, 28 Nov. 1622. Corsini, xiii., 21 Genn. 1623, in Siri, Memorie recondite, tom. v. p. 435, 442. Scrittura del deposito della Valtellina, ib. 459.

[3] Siri, Memorie recondite, v. 519.

By these measures the danger which had been the immediate cause of the Italian anxieties appeared to be effectually removed. The chief consideration now was to provide for the safety of Catholic interests in the further arrangements. With this view it was proposed that as the Valtelline was not to fall again into the hands of the Spaniards, neither should it return to the rule of the Grisons; because the restoration of the Catholic religion would be almost inevitably interrupted by the latter arrangement; it was therefore annexed to the three ancient Rhætian confederacies, as a fourth independent state, possessing equal rights. From the same motives, even the connection of the two Austrian lines was not to be entirely destroyed, that connection appearing to be still required for the progress of Catholicism in Germany. The passes of the Valtelline and the Wormser-Joch were always to remain open to the Spaniards; but with the understanding that this was for the passage of troops into Germany, not to facilitate their entrance into Italy.[1]

Affairs were at this point—the treaties had not been actually concluded, but all was prepared for conclusion—when Gregory XV died (July 8, 1623). He had lived to enjoy the satisfaction of seeing these dissensions allayed, and of securing the uninterrupted progress of his Church. There had even been proposals in the course of those negotiations for a new alliance between the Spaniards and the French for the purpose of attacking La Rochelle and Holland.

But after the death of Gregory these intentions were far from being realized.

In the first place, the new pope, Urban VIII, did not yet enjoy that confidence which proceeds from a well-grounded presumption of perfect impartiality; and secondly, the Italians were by no means satisfied with the arrangements above described. But the most important consideration of all was, that the helm of state in France was now directed

[1] Art. 9 of the draft of the Convention.

by men who applied themselves to oppose Spain, not at the request of others, or as mere auxiliaries, but from their own unfettered impulse and as the leading principle of French policy. We allude to Vieuville and Richelieu.

But in this resolution there may possibly have been less free-will and choice than may be supposed. France, as well as the Austrian-Spanish powers, was occupied in extending all her internal forces. By the victory obtained over the Huguenots the royal power had been largely increased, together with the unity and self-confidence of the nation; and as the claims of France kept pace with her strength to enforce them, so all things now combined to produce the adoption of a bolder line of policy than had been hitherto attempted. This natural tendency inevitably called forth the organs suited to its promotion: men disposed to carry it out to its consequences and capable of doing so. Richelieu was from the first resolved to make head against the ascendancy which the house of Austria constantly asserted, and which it had but recently acquired new powers to maintain, and even to increase. He determined to engage in direct conflict with this power for supremacy in Europe.

This was a resolution by which the Catholic world was menaced with a division more perilous than that which had lately been averted. The two great powers must of necessity be involved in open war. The execution of the Roman treaty above mentioned was no longer to be hoped for; all attempts of Pope Urban to hold the French to their promised concessions were altogether vain: nor were the French content merely to ally themselves with the Catholic opposition. Although Richelieu was a cardinal of the Roman church, he did not scruple to form an undisguised league with the Protestants.

He first made advances to the English, in the hope of preventing that Spanish marriage from which the house of Austria could not fail to derive so great an extension of its influence. In this purpose he was seconded by personal feelings and circumstances; the impatience of James I, who longed for the return of his son and his favourite with all the tenderness of an old man who believes himself near death, and a misunderstanding between the two

ministers, Olivarez and Buckingham. But here also the result was principally determined by the nature of the thing itself. The affairs of the Palatinate presented invincible difficulties when they came to be negotiated between Austria, Spain, Bavaria, and the Palatinate.[1] An alliance with France, on the contrary, seeing the new direction that power was taking, gave promise of a ready solution of the difficulty by force of arms; and as this alliance not only secured to the king of England a very considerable dowry, but also afforded a prospect of reconciling the English Catholics with the throne, he resolved to take a French princess as a wife for his son, and conferred on her the same privileges, in regard to her religion, as he had promised to the Spaniards.

Preparations were accordingly made for the attack. Richelieu had formed a plan more vast and comprehensive than had ever before been known to European policy, but which was eminently characteristic of himself: by a simultaneous attack from all sides, he proposed to crush the power of the Spanish-Austrian house at one blow.

He was himself to fall upon Italy in concert with Savoy and Venice: without the slightest deference to the papal authority, he despatched French troops unexpectedly into the Grisons, and drove the papal garrisons from the fortresses.[2] Together with the English alliance, he had renewed that formerly contracted with Holland, intending that the Dutch should attack South America while the English ravaged the coasts of Spain. By the intervention of King James, the Turks were called into action, and threatened to invade Hungary; but the most important blow was to be struck in Germany. The king of Denmark, who had long been prepared, was at length resolved to lead the forces of Denmark and North Germany to battle, for the rights of

[1] From a letter of the count palatine, dated 30 Oct., it is manifest that he could not have been induced to accept the terms proposed by anything short of force.

[2] Relatione di quattro Ambasciatori, 1625: "Il papa si doleva che mai Bettune gli aveva parlato chiaro, e che delle sue parole non aveva compreso mai che si dovessero portare le armi della lega contra li suoi presidii." [The pope complained that Bethune had never spoken clearly, and that he had never imagined the arms of the League were to act against his fortresses.] The policy commonly pursued in France,

his kinsman, the elector palatine. He not only received promise of aid from England, but Richelieu also engaged to contribute a million livres towards the expenses of the war.[1] Supported by both, Mansfeld was to form a junction with the king, and march on the hereditary dominions of Austria.

Of the two most powerful Catholic powers we thus see the one arming itself in this general assault with the hope of destroying the other.

There cannot be a doubt that this state of things had an immediate tendency to impede the progress of Catholicism. It is true that the French confederacy was of a political nature, but so intimate was the connection between ecclesiastical and political relations, that the Protestants could not fail to perceive in this condition of affairs the opportunity for promoting their own cause. Protestantism accordingly recovered breath. A new champion, the king of Denmark, had risen for its defence in Germany, with energies fresh and unimpaired, and supported by the mighty combination of European policy—a victory on his part would have rendered all the successes of the imperial house ineffectual, and must have arrested the progress of the Catholic restoration.

But it is by the attempt that the difficulties inherent in an enterprise are made manifest. However brilliant may have

[1] Extract from the Instruction of Blainville, in Siri, vi. 62. Mansfeld was to co-operate with him "nel fondo di Alemagna" [in the heart of Germany.] Relatione di Caraffa: "(I Francesi) hanno tuttavia continuato sino al giorno d' hoggi a tener corrispondenza con li nemici di S. M^ta^. Ces^a^. e dar loro ajuto in gente e danari se ben con coperta, quale però non è stata tale che per molte lettere intercette e per molti altri rincontri non si siano scoperti tutti l' andamenti e corrispondenze: onde prima e doppo la rotta data dal Tilly al re di Danimarca sempre l' imperatore nel Palatinato Inferiore e nelli contorni d'Alsatia v' ha tenuto nervo di gente, dubitando che da quelle parti potesse venire qualche ruina." [The French have always had the habit, even to this day, of holding correspondence with the enemies of his imperial majesty, supplying them with aid both in money and troops; in secret certainly, yet not so secretly, but that by intercepted letters and other chances, their contrivances and correspondence have been discovered; thus even before the king of Denmark was defeated by Tilly, his majesty always kept a good force in the Lower Palatinate and about Alsace, suspecting that some mischief might come from those parts.] See Appendix, No. 112.

been the talents of Richelieu, he had yet proceeded too rashly in this undertaking; all his desires and inclinations were attracted towards this project; he had placed it before him, whether in full and conscious perception of all its import, or in obscure presentiment, as the great aim of his life; but there arose from it dangers by which he was himself first threatened.

Not only did the German Protestants, the enemies of the house of Austria, take new courage, but those of France also; the antagonists of Richelieu himself gathered fresh hopes from these new combinations in politics. They expected, as they said themselves, that in the worst possible case they would be able to make their peace with the king by means of his present allies.[1] Rohan put his forces in motion on land; Soubise by sea. In May, 1625, the Huguenots were in arms throughout the country.

And at the same moment the cardinal was assailed by enemies, perhaps more formidable still, from the other side. Urban VIII, notwithstanding his inclination to France, had too deep a sense of his own dignity to endure quietly the expulsion of his garrisons from the Grisons.[2] He raised troops, which he despatched into the Milanese, with the express purpose of making an effort, in alliance with the Spaniards, to recover the lost fortresses. These warlike menaces may very possibly have meant but little; the ecclesiastical effects associated with them were, however, most important. The complaints of the papal nuncio, that the most Christian king had become the auxiliary of heretical princes, found a ready response in France. The Jesuits came forward with their Ultramontane doctrines, and the strictly Catholic party made Richelieu the object of violent attacks.[3] It is true that he found support against them in the Gallican axioms, and was defended by the parliaments, yet

[1] Mémoires de Rohan, part i. p. 146: "Espérant que s'il venoit à bout, les alliés et ligués avec le roi le porteroient plus facilement à un accommodement."

[2] Relatione di P. Contarini: "S. S^tà. (he is speaking of the time immediately following the arrival of the news) sommamente disgustata, stimando poco rispetto s'havesse portato alle sue insegne, del continuo e grandemente se ne querelava." (App. No. III.)

[3] Mémoires du Cardinal Richelieu, Petitot, xxiii. p. 20.

he dared not long venture to have the pope for an enemy. The Catholic principle was too closely bound up with the restored monarchy. Who could secure the cardinal from the effects of the impression that might be produced on his sovereign by the admonitions of the clergy?

Thus, even in France itself, Richelieu found himself assailed, and that by the two opposite parties, at the same time. Whatever he might be able to effect against Spain, by maintaining his position, it was yet one that he saw to be wholly untenable; he was compelled to hasten out of it with all speed.

And as in the attack he had displayed his genius for widely-reaching combinations, and bold, thorough-going designs, so he now exhibited that treacherous address by which he made his allies mere tools, and then abandoned them; a practice which he pursued through his whole life.

He first prevailed on his new confederates to support him against Soubise. He had himself no naval force. With Protestant armaments, drawn from foreign countries, with Dutch and English ships, he overcame his Protestant opponents at home. In September, 1625, he availed himself of their mediation to impose on the Huguenots the acceptance of disadvantageous terms, his allies having no doubt that when once freed from these enemies he would renew the general attack.

But what was their astonishment when, instead of this, intelligence reached them that France had concluded peace with Spain,—when, in March, 1626, the peace of Monzon was made known: a papal legate had proceeded for that purpose to both courts. It is true that he does not appear to have had any material influence on the terms of the agreement; but he certainly gave new vitality and force to the Catholic principle. While Richelieu was employing the Protestants for his own purposes, under a show of the strictest confidence, he had entered still more zealously into negotiations with Spain for their destruction. With regard to the Valtelline, he agreed with Olivarez that it should return to the rule of the Grisons; but with an independent power of appointing its own public officers, and with

undiminished freedom for Catholic worship.[1] Richelieu took no direct part in these negotiations. They were, indeed, inspired by the extreme Church party, to which he did not belong. However, not wishing to oppose them openly, he assented. Thus the Catholic powers, which had seemed on the point of commencing a conflict for life or death, now stood in a moment reunited.

This result was facilitated by the misunderstanding that arose between France and England, in regard to the execution of the engagements contracted by the treaty of marriage.

It followed of necessity that a pause ensued in all preparations for the enterprise against Spain.

The Italian princes were compelled, however reluctantly, to endure the arrangements which they found to be unalterable. Savoy concluded a truce with Genoa; Venice considered herself fortunate that she had not fallen upon the Milanese, and now quietly disbanded her forces. It was maintained that the vacillating conduct of the French had prevented the relief of Breda, in 1625, so that the loss of that important fortress, which fell into the hands of Spain, was attributed to them. But the great and decisive reverse was that suffered in Germany.

The powers of Lower Germany had gathered around the king of Denmark, under shelter, as was believed, of the general alliance formed against Spain. Mansfeld advanced towards the Elbe. The emperor, on his part, had armed with earnest diligence to meet him, knowing well how much depended on the issue.

But when the forces came into actual conflict, the

[1] du Mont, v. 2, p. 487, § 2: "Qu'ils ne puissent avoir par ci-après autre religion que la Catholique." . . . § 3: "Qu'ils puissent élire par élection entre eux leurs juges, gouverneurs et autres magistrats tous catholiques." Then follow certain limitations. Since in the treaty it was agreed that the papal garrisons should be removed from the Grisons, it is intelligible that the pope was not satisfied. From a memorandum of the papal nuncio Pancirolo (printed in my "Sämtliche Werke," Bd. 35/36, p. 571) we see that the pope was very angry with the two ministers for having concluded peace behind his back. Even the nuncio had no doubt that the peace was the work of Richelieu. For the true account of the matter see my "Französische Geschichte," Bd. 2; "Sämtliche Werke," ix. p. 227 ff.

general alliance had ceased to exist. The French subsidies were not paid; the English succours came in far too slowly. The imperial troops were more practised in war than their opponents, and the result was, that the king of Denmark lost the battle of Lutter, while Mansfeld was driven as a fugitive into the Austrian provinces, through which he had hoped to march as a victor and restorer.

This was a result, of which the effects were, of necessity, commensurate with the universality of their causes.

First, as regards the imperial dominions, we may describe them in a word. The last attempt for the cause of Protestantism ventured on there, in the hope of aid from the general combination above named, was suppressed, and even the nobles, who had previously remained exempt from personal molestation, were now obliged to conform to the Catholic ritual. On the feast of St. Ignatius, 1627, the emperor declared that, after the lapse of six months, he would no longer tolerate any person in his hereditary kingdom of Bohemia, even though of noble or knightly rank, who did not believe with himself and the apostolical church, in the only true and saving Catholic faith.[1] Edicts to the same effect were proclaimed in Upper Austria; in the year 1628, they were sent into Carinthia, Carniola, and Styria, and after a certain period, into Lower Austria likewise. Even a respite was vainly entreated; the nuncio Caraffa representing that these prayers for delay were put forward only in the hope of a general change of fortune.

[1] Caraffa, Relatione, MS.: "Havendo il S^r. Cardinale ed io messo in consideratione a S. M^tà, che come non si riformassero i baroni e nobili eretici, si poteva poco o nulla sperare della conversione delli loro sudditi, e per conseguenza havriano potuto ancora infettare pian piano gli altri, piacque a S. M^tà. di aggiungere al S^r. C^le. ed agli altri commissarj autorità di riformare anche li nobili." [The cardinal and I, having submitted to his majesty's consideration, that as the heretic barons and nobles were not reformed, there could be but little good expected from the conversion of their subjects, and that in consequence they would be likely by degrees to infect others, it pleased his majesty to grant the cardinal and other commissioners power to reform the nobles also.] (App. No. 112.)

It was from that time that these districts once more became thoroughly Catholic. How mighty had been the resistance opposed to the imperial house, by the Austrian nobles, eighty years before! And now the sovereign power—orthodox, victorious, and unlimited—rose high above all opposition.

And the effects of the late victory were still more extensive in other parts of Germany. Lower Saxony was invaded and taken into possession. The imperial forces were in action, even up to the Cattegat; they held Brandenburg and Pomerania; Mecklenburg also was in the hands of the imperial generals,—all principal seats of Protestantism, and all now subjugated by Catholic armies.

The manner in which Catholicism proposed to profit by this state of things was very soon made obvious. An imperial prince was nominated bishop of Halberstadt, and the pope, by virtue of his apostolic power, appointed the same prince to be archbishop of Magdeburg. There could be no question but that, when the government of a Catholic archduke was established, the rigour with which other ecclesiastical princes had carried forward the work of restoring Catholicism, would be zealously imitated throughout the diocese.

The anti-reformation, meanwhile, proceeded with renewed ardour in Upper Germany. The list of edicts proclaimed by the imperial chancery, during these years, and to be found in Caraffa, well deserves examination. What a host of admonitions, resolutions, decisions, and recommendations—all to the profit of Catholicism![1] The youthful count of Nassau-Siegen, the younger count palatine of Neuburg, and the grand master of the Teutonic order, undertook new reformations. In the Upper Palatinate, even the nobility were compelled to adopt the Catholic faith.

The ancient legal processes instituted by ecclesiastical dignitaries against temporal estates, in relation to confiscated Church property, now took a different course from that of earlier times. How grievous were the troubles inflicted

[1] Brevis enumeratio aliquorum negotiorum quae . . . in puncto reformationis in cancellaria imperii tractata sunt ab anno 1620 ad annum 1629, in the Appendix to the Germania Sacra restaurata, p. 34.

on Würtemberg alone! All the old complainants, the bishops of Constance and Augsburg, the abbots of Mönchsreit and Kaisersheim, pressed forward their claims against the ducal house. Its very existence was endangered.[1] The bishops gained their cause against the towns in every instance; the bishop of Eichstädt against Nuremberg, the chapter of Strassburg against the city of Strassburg; Hall in Suabia, Memmingen, Ulm, Lindau, and many other towns, were compelled to restore to the Catholics the churches that had been taken from them.

If the letter of the treaty of Augsburg was, at this time, appealed to from all quarters, of how much greater importance was the more general application of its principles, as they were now understood.[2]

"After the battle of Lutter," says Caraffa, "the emperor seemed to wake as from a long sleep; liberated from a great fear that had hitherto enchained his predecessors and himself, he conceived the idea of bringing back all Germany to the rule prescribed by the treaty of Augsburg."

In addition to Magdeburg and Halberstadt, Bremen, Verden, Minden, Camin, Havelberg, Schwerin, and almost all the North German benefices, were restored to Catholicism. This had always been the remote object on which the pope and the Jesuits, in the most brilliant moments of their prosperity, had fixed their eyes. But that was precisely the cause which made the emperor anxious respecting such a step. He had no doubt, says Caraffa, of the justice and right of the measure, but only of the possibility of its execution. Yet the zeal of the Jesuits,—above all, that of his confessor Lamormain,—the favourable dispositions of the four Catholic electors, the unwearied entreaties of the papal nuncio, who informs us himself that it cost him the labour of months to prevail, at length removed all scruples. As early as August, 1628, the edict for the restitution of Church property was drawn up, the terms being those in which it

[1] Sattler, Geschichte von Würtemberg unter den Herzogen, th. vi. p. 226.

[2] Senkenberg, Fortsetzung der Häberlinschen Reichsgeschichte, bd. xxv. p. 633.

afterwards appeared.[1] Previous to being published, it was once more submitted to the Catholic princes for their consideration.

Nor was this all; a plan much more extensive was connected with this design: hopes were entertained of conciliating the Lutheran princes; but this was not to be attempted by theologians. The emperor himself, or some Catholic prince of the empire, was to undertake it. They were to proceed from the principle, that the ideas of Catholicism formed by the people of North Germany were erroneous, and that the difference between the unaltered Confession of Augsburg and the genuine Catholic doctrine was very slight. They hoped to gain over the elector of Saxony by giving up to him the patronage of the three archbishoprics situate in his dominions.[2] Nor did they despair of exciting the hatred of the Lutherans against the Calvinists, and then making that hatred instrumental to the perfect restoration of Catholicism.

This idea was eagerly seized on at Rome, and worked out into a feasible project. Nor did Urban VIII by any means propose to content himself with the conditions of the treaty of Augsburg, which had indeed never received the sanction of a pope.[3] He was determined to rest satisfied with nothing less than a complete restitution of all Church property, and the return of all Protestants to Catholicism.

But in that moment of prosperity, the pope had raised

[1] That the edict was prepared at this period is gathered from Caraffa, Commentar. de Germ. Sacra restaurata, p. 350. He remarks that the edict was drawn up in 1628 and published in 1629; he then proceeds—"Annuit ipse Deus, dum post paucos ab ipsa deliberatione dies Caesarem insigni victoria remuneratus est." He is alluding to the victory of Wolgast, won on the 22nd of August.

[2] Hopes of the conversion of this prince were felt in Rome as early as the year 1624. Instruttione a Mons^r. Caraffa: "Venne ancora qualche novella della sperata riunione con la chiesa cattolica del signor duca di Sassonia; ma ella svanì ben presto: con tutto ciò il vederlo non infenso a' cattolici e nemicissimo de' Calvinisti ed amicissimo del Magontino e convenuto nell' elettorato di Baviera ci fa sperare bene; laonde non sarà inutile che S. S^tà tenga proposito col detto Magontino di questo desiderato acquisto." (App. No. 110.)

[3] "A cui," says the pope, in a letter to the emperor, of the treaty of Passau, "non haveva giammai assentito la sede apostolica,"

his thoughts to a design still more vast and daring if possible than that just described. This was no other than an attack on England; an idea that had reappeared from time to time, as if by a sort of necessity, among the grand combinations of Catholicism. Urban VIII now hoped to make the good understanding re-established between the two crowns subservient to the promotion of this favourite design [1]

He first represented to the French ambassador the great offence that was offered to France by the total disregard of England to the promises made at the marriage. Either Louis XIII ought to compel the English to fulfil their engagements, or he should wrest the crown from a prince, who, as a heretic before God, and regardless of his word before men, was altogether unworthy to wear it.[2]

He next addressed himself to the Spanish ambassador, Oñate; and in this case the pope declared it to be his opinion, that, as a good knight, Philip IV was bound to take up the cause of the queen of England, so near a connection

[1] In Siri, Memorie, vi. 257, some account is given of this affair, but it is very imperfect. The report of it in the Mémoires de Richelieu, xxiii. 283, is also very partial. The relation of Nicoletti, which we use here, is much more circumstantial and authentic. (See App. No. 120.)

[2] In Nicoletti, the pope says: "Essere il re di Francia offeso nello stato, pel fomento che l'Inghilterra dava agli Ugonotti ribelli: nella vita, rispetto agli incitamenti e fellonia di Sciales, il quale haveva indotto il duca di Orleans a macchinare contro S. M^tà. per lo cui delitto fu poscia fatto morire: nella riputazione, rispetto a tanti mancamenti di promesse: e finalmente nel proprio sangue, rispetto agli strapazzi fatti alla regina sua sorella: ma quello che voleva dir tutto, nell' anima, insidiando l'Inglese alla salute di quella della regina ed insieme a quella del Christianissimo stesso e di tutti coloro che pur troppo hebbero voglia di fare quello infelice matrimonio." [The King of France has been offended by him, first, in his State, by the help given by England to the Huguenot rebels; in his life, by the instigations and felony of Sciales, who had induced the duke of Orleans to plot against his majesty, for which crime he afterwards suffered death; in his reputation, by the many breaches of promise he had committed; finally, in his own blood, because of the injuries inflicted on the queen of England, his sister; but what is more than all this, he is offended in his soul, the Englishman planning evil to the salvation of that of the queen, together with that of the most Christian king himself, and that of all who had been too forward in effecting that unhappy marriage.]

of his own (she was his sister-in-law), who was now oppressed on account of her religion.

When the pope saw that he might venture to hope for success, he transferred the negotiations to Spada, his nuncio in Paris.

Among the influential men of France, Cardinal Berulle, who had conducted the negotiations for the marriage, was the person who entered most earnestly into this project. He calculated how the trading vessels of England might be captured on the French coast, and how the English fleets might be burnt in their own harbours. On the Spanish part, Olivarez adopted the plan without much hesitation. He might indeed have been rendered cautious by former instances of perfidy, and another high officer of state, Cardinal Bedmar, opposed the measure on that ground; but the idea was too vast and comprehensive to be rejected by Olivarez, who in all things loved the great and magnificent.

The negotiation was conducted with the utmost secrecy; even the French ambassador in Rome, to whom the first overtures had been made, was not acquainted with the progress of the affair.

Richelieu drew up the articles of the treaty; they were amended by Olivarez, and to the form thus given them, Richelieu assented. On the 20th of April, 1627, they were ratified. The French engaged to make instant preparation of their forces and to put their harbours in a state of defence. The Spaniards were ready to commence the attack before the close of that year, and it was arranged that the French should join them with all their forces in the following spring.[1]

[1] Lettere del Nuncio. 9 Aprile, 1627: "Tornò a Parigi il prefato corriere di Spagna con avvisi che il re cattolico contentavasi di muoversi il primo, come veniva desiderato da Francesi, purchè da questi si concedessero unitamente le due offerte altre volte alternativamente proposte, cioè che il christianissimo si obligasse di muoversi nel mese di maggio o di giugno dell' anno seguente e che presentemente accomodasse l'armata cattolica di alcune galere ed altri legni. Portò anche nuova il medesimo corriere che il conte duca haveva in Ispagna staccata la pratica e dato ordine che se ne staccasse una simile in Fiandra col re d'Inghilterra, il quale offriva al cattolico sospensione d'armi per tre anni o altro più

The accounts remaining to us do not make it very clear how the booty was to be divided between France and Spain; but we collect from them sufficient to shew that regard was paid on this occasion also to the interests of the pope. Cardinal Berulle revealed to the nuncio, in the most profound confidence, that in the event of success, Ireland was to become a portion of the papal see, and might be governed by the pontiff through the medium of a viceroy. This communication was received by the nuncio with extreme satisfaction, but he recommended his holiness to allow no word to transpire on the subject, lest it might appear that his suggestions had been actuated by worldly views.

Neither had the interests of Germany and Italy been forgotten in these calculations.

There still appeared a possibility of destroying the superiority of the naval power of England and Holland, by a general combination. The formation of an armed company was suggested, and under the protection of this force, a direct communication was to be established between the Baltic, Flanders, the French coasts, Spain, and Italy, without the participation of the two maritime powers. The emperor made proposals with this view to the Hanse Towns. The Infanta at Brussels desired that a port in the Baltic should be ceded to the Spaniards.[1] Negotiations were entered into with the grand-duke of Tuscany, who by

lungo tempo tanto a nome del re di Danimarca quanto degli Olandesi." [The courier aforesaid returned to Paris from Spain, with advices that the Catholic king agreed to make the first movement, as he had been desired to do by France; provided the French would abide by both the two proposals that had been previously made as alternatives; namely, that the most Christian king should pledge himself to move in the May or June following, and should, at this time, supply the Catholic armament with some galleys and other vessels. The same courier also brought intelligence, that the Count-duke had broken off the negotiations proceeding in Spain with the king of England, who had offered the Catholic king a suspension of arms for three years, or any longer period, as well in the name of the king of Denmark as in that of Holland: a similar treaty was also broken off by order of the Catholic king in Flanders.]

[1] Pope Urban says this in an instruction to Ginetti, in Siri, Mercurio, ii. 984.

this means might have drawn the Spanish and Portuguese trade to Leghorn.[1]

It is true, that matters were not carried so far. Controlled by the complexity of the interests involved, the event took a very different course; yet such as eventually to produce results entirely favourable to the cause of Catholicism.

While plans of such imposing magnitude were in process of arrangement for an attack on England, it came to pass that the projectors were themselves assailed by a force from that country.

In July, 1627, Buckingham appeared with a noble fleet off the coasts of France; he landed on the island of Ré and took possession of it, with the exception of the citadel of St. Martin, to which he instantly laid siege. He called on the Huguenots to arouse themselves once more in defence of their liberties and religious independence, which certainly were daily exposed to more imminent dangers.

English historians have usually attributed this expedition to an extraordinary passion of Buckingham for the queen of France, Anne of Austria. Be the truth as it may with regard to that inclination, a very different cause for this enterprise, and certainly a more substantial one, is to be found in the great course of events. Was Buckingham to wait in England for the proposed attack? It was doubtless better policy to anticipate the onslaught and to carry the war into France.[2] A more favourable moment for the

[1] Scrittura sopra la compagnia militante, MS. in the Archivio Mediceo, contains a discussion as to the practicability of this plan: "Si propone che i popoli delle città anseatiche entreranno nella compagnia militante per farne piacere al imperatore e che i Toscani non abbino a recusare come chiamati da sì gran monarchi." [It is believed that the people of the Hanse Towns would enter the military companies to please the emperor, and that the Tuscans could not well refuse to do so, when called on by such great monarchs.]

[2] It may be asked, whether Buckingham had heard anything of that secret treaty. It is extremely probable that he had done so, for how rarely is a secret so completely kept that no portion of it transpires. It is certain that the Venetian ambassador, Zorzo Zorzi, who arrived in France while these designs were in preparation, heard of them instantly: "Si aggiungeva che le due corone tenevano insieme machinationi e trattati di assalire con pari forze e dispositioni l'isola d'Inghilterra." It is highly improbable that nothing of this should be

purpose could scarcely be desired; Louis XIII was dangerously ill, and Richelieu engaged in a contest with powerful factions. After some hesitation, the Huguenots did in fact again take arms; their brave and practised leaders appeared in the field once more.

To have produced effectual results, however, Buckingham should have conducted the war with more energy and been better supported. Charles I acknowledges, in all his letters, that this was not sufficiently done. As the affair was arranged, the assailants were soon proved to be no longer equal to Cardinal Richelieu, whose genius developed its resources with redoubled power in occasions of difficulty, and who had never given more decided proofs of steadfast resolution and unwearied persistence. Buckingham saved himself by a retreat. His expedition, which might have placed the French government in extreme peril, had in reality no other result than that of causing the whole strength of France, directed by the cardinal, to be hurled with renewed violence against the Huguenots.

The central point of the Huguenot power was without doubt in La Rochelle. At an earlier period, and when residing in the neighbourhood of the city, at his bishopric of Luçon, Richelieu had frequently reflected on the possibility of reducing that fortress; he now found himself called upon to direct such an enterprise, and he resolved to accomplish it, be the cost what it might.

It was a peculiar circumstance that nothing afforded him so effectual an assistance as the fanaticism of an English Puritan.

Buckingham had, at length, renewed his attempts to relieve La Rochelle. His honour was pledged to effect this; his position in England and the world depended on it; and he would, unquestionably, have strained all his powers for its accomplishment. This was the moment chosen by a fanatic, impelled by desire for vengeance and by a mistaken zeal for religion, to assassinate Buckingham.

In a crisis of great moment, it is necessary that powerful

mentioned in England, with which country the Venetians were in close connection; they had even been suspected of advising the expedition against the island of Ré. (Relatione di Francia, 1628.)

men should make the enterprise their own personal concern. The siege of La Rochelle was as a duel between the two ministers. Richelieu alone now survived. No one was found in England to take Buckingham's place, or heartily to adopt the defence of his honour. The English fleet appeared in the roads, but without doing any thing effectual. It was said that Richelieu knew there would be nothing attempted by it. He persisted with inflexible firmness in the siege, and in October, 1628, La Rochelle surrendered.

When the principal fortress had thus fallen, the neighbouring places despaired of holding out: their only care now was to obtain tolerable terms.[1]

And thus, from all these political complexities, which at first seemed to promise so much aid to the Protestant cause, there proceeded, at last, a further triumph for Catholicism, and a mighty promotion of its interests. The north-east of Germany, and south-west of France, both of which had so long resisted, were alike subdued. There now seemed nothing more required but to secure the perpetual submission of the conquered enemy, by restrictive laws and institutions of permanent efficiency.

The help afforded by Denmark to the Germans, and by England to the French, had been rather injurious than advantageous to those assisted; it had served to bring upon them an irresistible enemy, and these powers were now themselves endangered or attacked. The imperial forces penetrated even into Jutland, and in the year 1628 negotiations for a combined assault upon England proceeded with the most earnest activity between France and Spain.

[1] Zorzo Zorzi, Relatione di Francia, 1629: "L'acquisto di Rocella ultimato sugli occhi dell' armata Inglese, che professava di sciogliere l'assedio et introdurvi il soccorso, l'impresa contro Roano, capo et anima di questa fattione, i progressi contra gli Ugonotti nella Linguadocca colla ricuperatione di ben 50 piazze hanno sgomentato i cuori e spozzato la fortuna di quel partito, che perdute le forze interne e mancategli le intelligenze straniere si è intieramente rimesso alla volontà e clemenza del re." He remarks that the Spaniards certainly came to take part in the siege of La Rochelle, though late, and with only fourteen ships; still they did come. He attributes this accession to their "Certezza de fine," and their wish "partecipar agli onori."

CHAPTER IV

MANTUAN WAR—THIRTY YEARS' WAR —REVOLUTION IN THE STATE OF AFFAIRS

THE course of human affairs, the progress of a development once begun, presents, at the first glance, an aspect of undeviating persistency.

But on examining more closely, we not unfrequently perceive that the primitive cause on which the fabric of events reposes is but frail and yielding; merely some personal inclination, perhaps, whether of attachment or aversion, which may be shaken without any great difficulty.

If we inquire by what agency the new and important advantages we have enumerated were obtained for the Catholic restoration, we shall find that it was not so much the martial forces of Tilly and Wallenstein, or the military superiority of Richelieu over the Huguenots, as the friendly understanding renewed between France and Spain, without which neither the generals nor the nations could have accomplished any thing of moment.

The power of a self-sustained resistance had been lost to the Protestant cause from the year 1626, and it was only by the dissensions of the Catholic powers that its adherents were encouraged to attempt further opposition; the reconciliation of the governments was, therefore, the precursor of their ruin.

But none could fail to perceive the facility with which these friendly relations might be disturbed.

Within the limits of Catholicism, were two distinct and antagonistic impulses, each arising equally by an inevitable necessity; the one was religious, the other political.

The first demanded unity of purpose, the extension of the faith, and a perfect disregard of all other considerations; the latter continually impelled the great powers to a conflict for pre-eminence.

It could not be affirmed that the balance of power in Europe had as yet been disturbed by the course of events. In those times the balance depended on the hostility of interests existing between France and the Austro-Spanish power: but France, also, had greatly augmented her strength in the course of the recent occurrences.

Political action is, however, prompted and governed, no less by what is perceived on looking forward into the future, than by the pressure and embarrassment of the present. The natural course of things now seemed to be inevitably leading to a state of universal insecurity.

North Germany, the earliest home of Protestantism, was overwhelmed by the forces of Wallenstein; and this state of things seemed to present the possibility of restoring the imperial supremacy throughout the empire, where, one short period in the life of Charles V excepted, it had for ages been a shadow only, to real power and essential importance. Should the Catholic restoration proceed on the path it had entered, this result must of necessity ensue.

France, on the other hand, could expect no advantage equivalent to this. When once the Huguenots were completely mastered, France had nothing more to gain. But it was principally among the Italians that disquietudes were awakened; they considered the revival of a mighty imperial authority, asserting so many claims in Italy, and connected so immediately with the detested power of Spain, to be not only dangerous but intolerable.

The question once more recurred, whether Catholic efforts towards universal predominance were to be continued without regard to these considerations, or whether political views would gain the ascendancy, and raise impediments to these efforts.

Whilst the torrent of Catholic restoration was sweeping in full force over France and Germany, a movement was made in Italy, by the result of which this question was ultimately decided.

1. MANTUAN SUCCESSION

At the close of the year 1627, the duke of Mantua, Vincenzo II, of the house of Gonzaga, died without leaving children. His next of kin was Carlo Gonzaga, duke of Nevers.

Considered in itself only, this succession presented no difficulty, since no doubt could prevail as to the rights of the next of kin; but it involved a political change of the utmost importance.

Charles de Nevers was born in France, and was of necessity to be regarded as a Frenchman. It was believed that the Spaniards would not permit a Frenchman to acquire a sovereignty in Upper Italy, which they had been labouring from time immemorial, and with especial jealousy, to keep free from the influence of France.

But if, after the lapse of so long a time, we seek to ascertain the pure truth of this matter, we shall perceive that no intention of excluding the duke of Nevers was at first entertained, either at the Spanish court or that of Austria. He was, indeed, related to the imperial house, the empress being a Mantuan princess, and always greatly disposed to favour him. "There was nothing injurious to his interests required from him in the beginning," says Khevenhiller, who was employed in Mantuan affairs; "it was rather considered how he might best be induced to devote himself to the imperial house."[1] Olivarez, also, has expressly asserted the same thing; he relates, that when intelligence arrived of Don Vincenzo's serious illness, it was resolved at once to send a courier to the duke of Nevers, to offer him the protection of Spain in taking peaceable possession of Mantua and Montferrat.[2] It is very possible

[1] Annales Ferdinandei, xi. p. 30.

[2] Francesco degli Albizzi, negotiator di Monsr. Cesare Monte: "S. Mta.," says Olivarez, "in sentire la grave indispositione del duca Vincenzo ordinò che si dispacciasse corriero in Francia al medesimo Nivers, promettendogli la protettione sua acciò egli potesse pacificamente ottenere il possesso di Mantova e del Monferrato; ma appena consegnati gli ordini, si era con altro corriere venuto d'Italia intesa

that conditions might have been imposed on him, and that securities might have been demanded, but there was no thought of wrenching from him his inheritance.

The manner in which this natural course of things was opposed is remarkable.

It was not expected in Italy that the Spaniards would proceed so equitably in this matter: however frequently they had affirmed their intentions of permitting Nevers to assume his rights without opposition, the Italians had never believed them.[1] The Spanish rulers in Italy had brought upon themselves the suspicion of resolving to attain unlimited power, even though the means for doing so were unlawful. No one could now be convinced that they would not seek to confer the duchy on some member of the house of Gonzaga more devoted to themselves.

We must, nevertheless, admit that the wish of the Italians to see Mantua in possession of a prince, naturally allied to France and independent of Spain, had a considerable share in causing this opinion. They would not believe that Spain would accede to a thing desired by them chiefly as being so adverse to the Spanish interest. They even persuaded the rightful heir to think as they did; so that he thought it best to place himself in possession by whatever means presented themselves.

The case may be said to have resembled that of the animal constitution, wherein some internal disease sought only an occasion—some aggrieved point—for bursting forth.

In the most profound secrecy, and before the death of Vincenzo, the young Gonzaga Nevers, duke of Rethel, arrived in Mantua. All here had been pre-arranged by a

la morte di Vincenzo, il matrimonio di Retel senza participatione del re etc."

[1] "Nè si deve dar credenza," says Mulla, the Venetian ambassador to Mantua, in 1615, among other things, "a quello che si è lasciato intender più volte il marchese di Inoiosa, già governator di Milano, che Spagnuoli non porterebbono, quando venisse il caso, mai altri allo stato di Mantoa che il duca di Nivers." [Nor must credit be given to what has been repeatedly intimated by the marquis of Inoiosa, formerly governor of Milan, that should the occasion arise, the Spaniards would never admit any other to the duchy of Milan than the duke of Nevers.] But why not? We have only the fact; the governor asserts it, the Italians do not believe it; nevertheless it is doubtless so.

Mantuan minister, named Striggio, belonging to the anti-Spanish party. The old duke acknowledged the rights of his cousin without difficulty. There was still remaining a princess of the direct native line, great granddaughter of Philip II of Spain, through his youngest daughter, who had married into the house of Savoy. With her it seemed extremely desirable that the young duke should contract a marriage. Accidental circumstances delayed the preparations, and it was not till Vincenzo had expired[1] that the lady was taken in the night from the convent where she had been educated, and conducted to the palace, where the marriage was immediately solemnized. The death of Vincenzo was then first made known. Rethel was saluted prince of Mantua, and received the accustomed homage. An envoy from Milan was kept at a distance till it was concluded, and then, not without a kind of mockery, was made acquainted with the facts.

Intelligence of these proceedings arrived at the courts of Vienna and Madrid, together with that of the duke's death.

It will be readily admitted that they were well calculated to exasperate and embitter these mighty sovereigns, whose pleasure it was to assume a character of religious as well as temporal majesty, to have a kinswoman married without their consent, nay, without their knowledge, and with a sort of violence; an important fief taken into possession without the slightest deference to the feudal sovereign! Yet the measures adopted by the two courts were entirely different.

Olivarez, proud as a Spaniard, doubly proud as the minister of so powerful a king, and always possessed by an extravagant sense of his own importance, was now far from disposed to make any advances to the duke: he resolved to mortify him, at least, according to his own expression, if he did nothing more.[2] It is true that the deportment of

[1] Nani, Storia Veneta, l. 7, p. 350; Siri, Memorie recondite, vi. 309, both relate this fact; the last, on the authority of a letter of Sabran to the French court.

[2] Nicoletti: Vita di papa Urbano, from a despatch of the nuncio Pamfilio: "Dichiaravasi il conte duca che per lo meno voleva mortificare il duca di Nivers per lo poco rispetto portato al re nella conclusione del matrimonio senza parteciparlo; ma a qual segno potesse giungere la mortificatione, non poteva il nuntio farne congettura, e

Gonzaga was manifestly hostile: after the proofs he had given of his manner of thinking, could the important city of Montferrat, which was always considered as an outwork of Milan, be safely intrusted to his keeping? The duke of Guastalla laid claim to Mantua; the duke of Savoy to Montferrat. The Spaniards now formed alliances with both: an appeal was made to arms. The duke of Savoy advanced on Montferrat from the one side, and Don Gonzalez de Cordoba, governor of Milan, from the other. The French had already gained admittance into Casale. Don Gonzalez now hastened to lay siege to that place. He had the less doubt of reducing it speedily, as he confided in the understanding entered into with him by parties within the walls.

The emperor did not proceed so hastily. He felt persuaded that God would protect him, because he was proceeding in the path of justice. He disapproved the conduct of the Spaniards, and caused a formal remonstrance to be sent to Don Gonzalez. But he was determined, on the other hand, to exercise his right of supreme adjudication without the least restraint, and pronounced sentence of sequestration against Mantua, until he should have decided to which of the several claimants the inheritance belonged. As the new duke of Mantua, who had entered on his duchy, would not submit, the most severe mandates were issued against him.[1]

tanto più che le ragioni che avevano mosso il papa a concedere la dispensa, erano acerbamente impugnate dal medesimo conte duca." (App. No. 120.)

[1] The intentions of the imperial court may be gathered from the report of Pallotta, June 10, 1628, given in an extract by Nicoletti: "Il nunzio ogni dì più accorgevasi che era malissima l'impressione contro il duca di Nivers, che havesse disprezzato il re di Spagna e molto più l'imperatore, conchiudendo matrimonio senza sua partecipazione col possesso dello stato senza investitura, anzi senza indulto imperiale, che fosse nemico della casa d'Austria, che avesse intelligenza e disegno co' Francesi di dare loro mano nell' invasione dello stato di Milano, e che non di meno S. M^tà. Ces^a. havesse grandissima inclinatione alla pace, e con questo fine havesse fatto il decreto del sequestro per levare l'armi dalle mani di Spagnuoli e di Savojardi, stanti le ragioni che pretendevano Guastalla, Savoja, Lorena e Spagna negli stati di Mantova e Monferrato, che dappoi il duca havesse di nuovo

Now although these measures differed in their origin and character, they yet concurred to produce the same effects. Nevers found himself threatened no less by the German line of the Austrian house, with its legal claims, than by the violent measures of the Spanish line: while seeking to elude the danger, he had drawn it down upon his head.

His prospects were indeed very unpromising in the beginning. Although it is true that some of the Italian states considered his case very nearly as their own, and neglected no means that might persuade him to firmness in his resolution of resistance, yet they had not in themselves resources adequate to afford him effectual assistance.

Richelieu also had promised that he would not suffer his cause to be lost, if he could only maintain his hold till France could come to his aid; but the question was, when that would be.

The affairs of Mantua were approaching their crisis during the siege of La Rochelle, and the moment was one of extreme peril; before the reduction of that fortress, Richelieu could not move a step; he dared not venture again to commence hostilities with Spain, while his doing so might give occasion for another formidable rising of the Huguenots.

offeso l'imperatore col disprezzo de' commissarj, non dando loro la mano dritta e non gli ammettendo in Mantova, e sopra tutto col appellazione e protesta che l'imperatore fosse caduto dalla ragione e superiorità di detti feudi." [The nuncio became daily more firmly convinced that there was a very unfriendly feeling entertained against the duke of Nevers: it was affirmed that he had shewn contempt for the king of Spain, and still more for the emperor, by concluding his marriage without their knowledge, and taking possession of his fief without investiture,—nay, even without the imperial permission (indulto); that he was an enemy of the house of Austria, and was in good intelligence with the French, whom he designed to aid in their invasion of Milan. Yet his imperial majesty was much inclined to peace, and to that end had issued the decree of sequestration, that he might disarm the Spaniards and Savoyards, while the pretensions of Guastalla, Savoy, Lorraine, and Spain, to the states of Mantua and Montferrat, should be under discussion. But the duke had further offended the emperor by acts of discourtesy to the commissioners, and by not admitting them into Mantua; more than all, however, by his appeal and the protest that the emperor had lapsed from his rights and sovereignty over the said fiefs.]

And there were likewise considerations of a different character, which were forced on his attention by his earlier experience. He must on no account dare to provoke a disagreement with the zealous and rigidly Catholic party in his own country: nor could he venture to dissent from the views of the pope, or pursue a line of policy that might displease his holiness.

And now once more important general interests were depending on the pope. His position, the nature of his office, all required him to use his utmost efforts for the preservation of peace in the Catholic world. As an Italian prince he possessed an unquestionable influence over his neighbours. His proceedings were decisive, as we have seen, even of the measures of France. All depended on the question whether he would avert the outbreak of the quarrel, or would himself become a party in the contest.

In the earlier political complications of his pontificate, Urban VIII had found his line of policy marked out, its course prescribed. On this occasion his own modes of thinking first came more completely into view, and this occurred at a moment when they were essentially to affect the great interests of the world.

2. URBAN VIII

Among other foreigners who attained to considerable wealth during the sixteenth century by the trade of Ancona, which was at that time in a tolerably prosperous condition, was the Florentine house of Barberini, which distinguished itself by its talents for commerce and by consequent success. A scion of that house, Maffeo, born at Florence in the year 1568, was taken, on the early death of his father, to Rome, where he had an uncle then residing who had risen to a certain position in the Curia. Maffeo also attached himself to the service of the Curia; and in this career, though aided by the opulence of his family, he yet owed his promotion chiefly to the extraordinary talents he displayed. At every step to which he attained, his colleagues in

office perceived in him a decided superiority; but it was principally by his success in a nunciature in France, where he won the complete confidence of the French court, that he was encouraged to entertain more lofty views of his own destiny. On the death of Gregory XV the French party immediately proposed him for the pontificate. The aspect of the conclave on that occasion was to a certain extent different from that of the one preceding it, inasmuch as the last pope had reigned for a short time only. Although he had appointed a considerable number of cardinals, yet those nominated by his predecessor were equally numerous; thus the nephew of the last pope and that of the last but one, met each other in the conclave with a nearly equal force of adherents. Maffeo Barberini is said to have given each party to understand that he was an opponent of the other, and it is affirmed that he thus gained the support of both—each, too, upholding him from hatred to the other. But a still more efficient cause of his success doubtless was, that he had always proved himself a zealous defender of the jurisdictional rights of the Roman Curia, and had thus rendered the majority of the cardinals favourable to his interests. Be this as it may, helped on by his own merits and by the support of others, Maffeo Barberini secured his election, and rose to the pontifical dignity at the vigorous age of fifty-five.

The court very soon discovered a wide difference between the new pope and his immediate predecessors. Clement VIII was most commonly found occupied with the works of St. Bernard; Paul V with the writings of the blessed Justinian of Venice; but on the table of Urban VIII lay the newest poems, or plans of fortifications.

It will generally be found that the time at which the character of a man receives its decided direction is in those first years of manhood which form the period when he begins to take an independent position in public affairs or in literature. The youth of Paul V, who was born in 1552, and of Gregory XV, born in 1554, belonged to a time when the principles of Catholic restoration were pressing forwards with full unbroken vigour, and they were themselves accordingly imbued with these principles. The first

active years of Urban VIII, born in 1568, coincided, on the contrary, with that period when the papal power was opposed to Spain,—when the re-establishment of France as a Catholic power was one of the reigning topics of the day; and accordingly we find that his inclinations follow by preference the direction then chosen.

Urban VIII considered himself more particularly as a temporal prince.

He had formed the opinion that the States of the Church should be secured by fortifications, and should render themselves formidable by their own arms. When the marble monuments of his predecessors were pointed out to him, he declared that those erected by himself should be of iron. He built Castelfranco on the Bolognese frontier, and this place was also called Fort Urbano; although its military utility was so far from being obvious, that the people of Bologna suspected it to be raised against them rather than for their defence. In the year 1625 he began to strengthen the castle of St. Angelo in Rome, by the addition of breastworks, and immediately stored the fortress with provisions and munitions of war, as though the enemy had been before the gates. He built the high wall that encloses the papal gardens on Monte Cavallo, without regard to the destruction thus occasioned to some magnificent relics of antiquity in the Colonna gardens. He established a manufactory of arms at Tivoli.[1] The rooms of the Vatican

[1] A. Contarini, Relatione di 1635: "Quanto alle armi, i papi n'erano per l'addietro totalmente sproveduti, perchè confidavano più nell' obligarsi i principi con le gratie che nelle difese temporali. Hora si è mutato registro, et il papa presente in particolare vi sta applicatissimo. A Tivoli egli ha condotto un tal Ripa Bresciano, suddito di V. Sertà., il quale poi di tempo in tempo è andato sviando molti operai della terra di Gardon. Quivi costui fa lavorare gran quantità d'arme, prima facendo condurre il ferro grezzo dal Bresciano et hora lavorandone qualche portione ancora di certe miniere ritrovate nell' Umbria, di che tutto diedi avviso con mie lettere a suo tempo, che m'imagino passassero senza riflessione. Di queste armi ha il papa sotto la libreria del Vaticano accomodato un' arsenale, dove con buon ordine stanno riposti moschetti, picche, carabine e pistole per armare trentamila fanti e cinquemila cavalli oltre buon numero che dalla medesima fucina di Tivoli si è mandato a Ferrara e Castelfranco in queste ultime occorrenze." [With regard to arms, the popes were previously altogether

library were used as an arsenal, the public ways were thronged with soldiers, and the seat of the supreme spiritual power of Christendom—the peaceful circuit of the Eternal City—was filled with the uproar of a camp. The pontiff considered a free port also as indispensable to a well-organized state, and Cività Vecchia was adapted to that purpose at great cost; but the result was more in accordance with the condition of things than with the views of the pope. In his new port the Barbary corsairs sold the booty of which they had plundered Christian ships. Such was the purpose to which the labours of the supreme pastor of Christendom became subservient.

As regarded all these arrangements Pope Urban acted with absolute and uncontrolled power. He surpassed his predecessors, at least in the early years of his pontificate, in the unlimited exercise of his authority.

If it was proposed to him to take the advice of the sacred college, he would reply that he alone knew more and understood better than all the cardinals put together. Consistories were very seldom called, and even when they were assembled, few had courage to express their opinions freely. The congregations met in the usual manner, but no questions of importance were laid before them, and the decisions they arrived at were but little regarded.[1] Even for the

unprovided, confiding more in the attachment of princes secured by benefits, than in warlike defences; now the note is changed, and the present pope in particular is very earnest in the matter. He has brought a certain Ripa, of Brescia, a subject of your serenity, to Tivoli, who has, from time to time, gone to entice a number of workmen from the Gardon country. This Ripa here makes a large quantity of arms, causing the rough iron to be brought from the Brescian territory, and he is also raising some portion of ores found in Umbria: of all these things my letters have given due notice at the proper time, but I rather think they have been passed over without much attention. The pope has prepared an arsenal for these arms under the library of the Vatican, where muskets, pikes, carbines, and pistols are stored in good order; there are sufficient to arm twenty thousand foot soldiers, and five thousand horse, besides a good number that have been sent from this same factory of Tivoli to Ferrara and Castelfranco during the late events.] (App. No. 115.)

[1] "Le congregationi servono," says Aluise Contarini, "per coprire talvolta qualche errore." [The congregations are occasionally used to cover some blunder.]

administration of the state, Urban formed no proper "consulta," as had been customary with his predecessors. His nephew, Francesco Barberini, was perfectly justified in refusing, as he did, during the first ten years of Urban's pontificate, to accept the responsibility of any measure, whatever might be its nature.

The foreign ambassadors considered themselves most unfortunate in their attempts to transact business with this pope—they could make no way with him. In giving audience he talked himself more than any other person;[1] he lectured and harangued, continuing with one applicant the conversation he had commenced with another. All were expected to listen to him, admire him, and address him with the most profound reverence, even when his replies were adverse to them. Other pontiffs often refused the requests presented to them, but for some given cause—some principle, either of religion or policy. In Urban, caprice was often perceived to be the only motive for refusal; no one could conjecture whether he ought to expect a yes or

[1] Pietro Contarini, Relatione di 1627: "Abbonda con grande facondia nelli discorsi, è copioso nelli suoi ragionamenti di cose varie, argomenta e tratta nelli negozj con tutte le ragioni che intende e sa, a segno che le audienze si rendono altrettanto e più lunghe di quelle de' precessori suoi; e nelle congregationi dove interviene segue pur il medesimo con grande disavantaggio di chi tratta seco, mentre togliendo egli la maggior parte del tempo poco ne lascia agli altri; et ho udito io dire ad un card^le. che andava non per ricever l'audienza ma per darla al papa, poichè era certo che la S^tà. S. più avrebbe voluto discorrere che ascoltarlo; e molte volte è accaduto che alcuni entrati per esporre le proprie loro istanze, postosi egli nei discorsi, se ne sono usciti senza poter de' loro interessi dirle cosa alcuna." [He abounds in talk on all matters, and reasons to a great extent on every subject, putting forward whatever he knows or conceives in every matter of business, and this to such a degree, that his audiences are given with double frequency, and are longer than those of his predecessors. The same thing occurs in the congregations, whenever he is present, to the great disadvantage of all who have to treat with him; for since he takes up the greater part of the time, there is little left for others. I heard a cardinal say that he was going, not to receive audience, but to give it to the pope, since he was certain that his holiness would talk more than listen; and it has often happened that those who have gone to him about their affairs have left without having been able to say anything of their business, for if he once took up the discourse they had no longer opportunity for uttering one word.] See Appendix, No. 111.

a no. The quick-sighted Venetians found out that he loved to contradict; that he was inclined, by an almost involuntary disposition, constantly to give the contrary decision to that proposed to him. In order to gain their point, therefore, they adopted the expedient of starting objections to their own wishes; and in seeking for arguments to oppose these, he fell of himself upon propositions to which all the persuasion in the world would not otherwise have obtained his assent. This is a character of mind which sometimes exhibits itself in a certain manner among men of subordinate station also, and was not unfrequently observed in those times among Spaniards and Italians. It would seem to consider a public office as a tribute due to its merit and personal importance; and men thus constituted are far more powerfully influenced in the administration of their duties, by their own feelings and impulses, than by the exigencies of the case. They are not greatly dissimilar to an author, who, occupied by the consciousness of his talents, does not so much devote his thoughts to the subject before him as give free course to the caprices of his fancy.

And Urban himself really belonged to this class of authors; the poems of his composition still remaining to us shew considerable talent and wit; but how strangely are sacred subjects handled in them! The songs and sayings, alike of the Old and New Testaments, are compelled to accommodate themselves to Horatian measures. The song of praise of the aged Simeon is presented in two Sapphic strophes! It is manifest that no characteristic of the text can remain: the matter is forced to adapt itself to a form in direct contradiction to its character, and adopted only because preferred by the author.

But these talents, the brilliant appearance they cast about the person of the pope, nay, even the robust health that he enjoyed, all contributed to increase that self-complacency with which his lofty position had of itself inspired him.[1]

[1] This was remarked from the beginning. Relatione de' quattro ambasciatori, 1624: "Ama le proprie opinioni, e si lascia lusingare dal suo genio, a che conseguita una salda tenacità dei propij pensieri; . . . è sempre intento a quelle cose che possono ringrandire il concetto

I do not know any pope in whom this self-consciousness existed in so high a degree. An objection derived from ancient papal constitutions was once opposed to some design of his; he replied that the spoken word of a living pope was worth more than the maxims of a hundred dead ones.

The resolution adopted by the Roman people of never raising a statue to any pope during his life was abrogated by Urban, with the declaration that "such a resolution could not apply to a pope like himself."

The mode in which one of his nuncios had conducted himself under very difficult circumstances having been represented to him with praise, he remarked, that "the nuncio had but proceeded in accordance with his instructions."

To such a man—so filled with the idea of being a mighty prince, so well disposed to France, both from his early occupation in that country and the support it had afforded him; so self-willed, energetic, and full of self-importance—to such a man it was that the conduct of the supreme spiritual power over Catholic Christendom was committed at this critical moment.

On his decisions,—on the line of conduct that he should pursue among the Catholic powers, was now principally to depend the progress or interruption of that universal restoration of Catholicism with which the world was occupied.

But it had very early been remarked that the pontiff betrayed a disinclination towards the interests of Austria and Spain.[1]

Cardinal Borgia complained of his aversion and harshness as early as 1625. "The king of Spain," he said, "could not obtain the slightest concession from him,—every thing was refused to his majesty."

The same prelate further maintained that Urban was

della sua persona." [He loves his own opinions, and thinks highly of his own genius; thus he is rigidly tenacious of his own purposes. . . . He is always earnest about things that promise to enhance the idea entertained of his personal qualities.] (App. No. 104.)

[1] Marquemont, Lettres, in Aubéry, Mémoires de Richelieu, i. p. 65, observes this from the beginning. It will not be difficult, he says, to manage the pope: his inclination is for the king and for France, but from prudence he will try to content the other sovereigns. The pope on his part soon became aware of the aversion of the Spaniards.

unwilling to settle the affairs of the Valtelline; he affirmed that the king of Spain had offered to resign the disputed passes, but that the pope had not taken any notice of the offer.

It is also unquestionable that Urban was in part to blame for the failure of the alliance proposed between the houses of Austria and Stuart. In completing the dispensation already drawn up by his predecessor, he added to the former conditions a demand that public churches for Catholic worship should be built in every English county; this was a requisition with which the majority of an irritated Protestant population rendered compliance impossible, and which the pope himself subsequently abandoned on the occasion of the French marriage. He seemed, indeed, to be unwilling that Spain should acquire that increase of power which must have resulted to her from a connection with England. Negotiations were carried on in profound secrecy by the nuncio, then resident in Brussels, for the marriage of the electoral prince palatine,—not with an Austrian, but with a Bavarian princess.[1]

In the complexities of the Mantuan succession, also, Pope Urban VIII took an equally efficient part. The recent marriage of the young princess with Rethel, on which the whole affair depended, could not have been completed without the papal dispensation. The pontiff granted this without having consulted the nearest kinsmen of the lady—Philip of Spain and the emperor; and it was besides prepared precisely at the moment required.

All these things sufficed to render the dispositions of the pope clearly manifest: his most earnest wish was that of all the other Italian sovereignties, namely, to see a prince entirely independent of Spain in Mantua.

He did not even wait until the initiative had been taken by Richelieu. His representations to the imperial court having failed of their effect, the proceedings of Austria being indeed more and more threatening, while the siege of Casale was still persisted in, the pope turned of his own accord to France.

[1] The emissary of the nuncio was a Capuchin, Francesco della Rota. Rusdorf, Négociations, i. 205, gives a particularly detailed account of these transactions.

He caused the most urgent entreaties to be used. "The king," he said, "might send an army into the field even before the reduction of La Rochelle was effected; an expedition for the assistance of Mantua would be quite as pleasing to God as the siege of that chief bulwark of the Huguenots. Let the king only appear at Lyons and declare himself for the freedom of Italy, and the pope on his part would not delay to bring his forces into action and unite himself with the king." [1]

From this side, therefore, Richelieu had nothing now to fear, if he should determine to revive the opposition to Spain which he had failed to establish three years before. But he wished to proceed with perfect security; he was not in so much haste as the pope, and would not suffer himself to be disturbed in that siege by which his ambition was fettered in its career.

But he was all the more determined when once La Rochelle had fallen. "Monsignore," he said to the papal nuncio, whom he instantly sent for, "now we will not lose another moment; the king will engage in the affairs of Italy with all his power." [2]

Thereupon, the hostility to Spain and Austria which had so often displayed itself, rose up with greater vehemence than ever. The jealousy of Italy once more called forth the ambition of France. The state of things appeared to be so urgent, that Louis XIII would not wait for the spring, but left Paris at once, even in the midst of January (1629). He took the road to the Alps, and it was in vain that the duke of Savoy, who, as we have said, adhered to Spain, opposed his progress. The passes of his dominions, which he had caused to be barricaded, were forced at the first assault; Susa was taken, and in the month of March he was compelled to come to terms: the Spaniards were then constrained to raise the siege of Casale.[3]

Thus the two leading powers of Catholic Christendom

[1] Extracts from Bethune's despatches of the 23rd Sept. and 8th Oct. 1628, in Siri, Memorie, vi. p. 478.

[2] Dispaccio Bagni, 2 Nov. 1628.

[3] Recueil de diverses relations des guerres d'Italie, 1629-31. Bourg en Bresse, 1632.

once more stood opposed to each other in arms. Richelieu again proceeded to bring his boldest plans to bear against the Spanish and Austrian power.

But if we compare the two periods, we perceive that he now held a far more substantial and tenable position than at the time of his enterprise in regard to the Grisons and the Palatinate. Then, the Huguenots might have seized the moment for renewing the civil war. Nor were they completely subdued even now; but since they had lost La Rochelle they occasioned no further disquietude: defeats and losses pursued them without intermission, so that they could no longer effect even a diversion. And perhaps it was of still more importance that Richelieu now had the pope on his side. In his earlier undertaking the contest in which he was thereby involved with the policy of Rome, was perilous even to his position in France; his present enterprise, on the contrary, had been suggested by Rome itself for the interests of the papal power. Richelieu found it advisable on the whole to attach himself as closely as possible to the papacy: in the disputes between the Roman and Gallican doctrines he now adhered to the Roman and abandoned the Gallican tenets.

In this state of things how momentous became the animosity of Urban VIII to the house of Austria!

With the development of religious opinions, and the progress of Catholic restoration, were associated political changes, the principles of which continued to make themselves more earnestly and deeply felt, and now placed themselves in direct opposition even to that of the Church.

The pope entered the lists against that very power by which the restoration and progress of Catholicism had been most zealously and most efficiently promoted.

The question now was, what would be the attitude of this power—above all, that of Ferdinand himself, in whose hands the work of restoration principally rested—when confronted by so mighty and so threatening an opposition?

3. THE POWER OF THE EMPEROR FERDINAND II IN THE YEAR 1629

The emperor proceeded as though nothing had occurred. Under the circumstances prevailing, it was true that he could promise himself no kind of favour from the pope. In the most trifling matters, as for example in a question relating to the abbacy of St. Maximian, he found his wishes opposed; nay, with regard to the most devout suggestions, he experienced nothing but refusals,—as when he desired, among other things, that St. Stephen and St. Wenceslaus—the one of whom was greatly revered in Hungary, and the other in Bohemia—should be admitted into the Roman calendar. Notwithstanding all these disappointments, he published the edict of restitution in the empire on the 6th of March, 1629. This may be regarded as the final judgment in a great suit which had been pending for more than a century. The Protestants were utterly condemned: judgment was given entirely in favour of the Catholics. "There remains nothing for us," declared the emperor, "but to uphold the injured party, and to send forth our commissioners that they may demand from their present unauthorized possessors the restitution of all archbishoprics, bishoprics, prelacies, monasteries, and other ecclesiastical property confiscated since the treaty of Passau." Commissions were immediately instituted, one for each circle of the empire; these were at once in full activity, and the most indiscriminate executions began. And might not the pope at least have been appeased by this, and moved to some show of favour and friendliness? Pope Urban considered it all as the mere fulfilment of a duty. The emperor begged to have the right of nominating, at least for the first time, to the ecclesiastical benefices recovered by the edict of restitution; but the pope refused him this, affirming that he dared not violate the concordats, which were observed, he said, even in France.[1] There was a kind of mockery in this

[1] Lettera di segretaria di stato al nuntio Pallotta li 28 Aprile, 1629. The pope appointed Pier Luigi Caraffa, his nuncio in Cologne, to

mode of refusal, since the French concordat secured to the king that very privilege now desired by the emperor. Ferdinand wished to receive permission to convert the recovered monasteries into colleges, more particularly for the Jesuits. The pope replied that the monasteries must be instantly delivered over to the bishops.

Meanwhile the emperor proceeded on his way without regard to the displeasure of the pope; he considered himself as the great champion of the Catholic church.

He caused three armies to take the field at the same time.

The first advanced to the aid of the Poles against the Swedes, and did, in fact, succeed in restoring the Polish fortunes to a certain extent. That was, however, not its only object. It was proposed by this campaign at the same time to restore Prussia to the empire and the Teutonic Order from which it had been wrested.[1]

Another body marched upon the Netherlands to support the Spaniards in that country. It swept across the open plains from Utrecht towards Amsterdam, and but for the accident of a surprise at Wesel, would without doubt have produced important results.

A third force was meanwhile assembled at Memmingen and Lindau, for the purpose of proceeding into Italy and bringing the Mantuan affair to a conclusion with the sword. The Swiss could by no means be persuaded to grant a passage, and it was therefore made by force. Lucien-steig, Chur, and all the passes of the Grisons, even to the Lake of Como, were occupied at one moment, and the Austrian army, 35,000 strong, then poured down along the Adda and the Oglio. The duke of Mantua was once more summoned to submit, and declared in reply

Lower Saxony, "con titolo per la restitutione de' beni ecclesiastici, e deliberò di dargli anche le facoltà a parte se fosse stato bisogno di usarle nelle controversie fra ecclesiastici ed ecclesiastici" [with powers for the restitution of ecclesiastical property, and resolved also to give him additional powers, to be used, if required, in disputes between clergy and clergy.]

[1] Mémoires et négociations de Rusdorf, ii. 724. "Comiti Negromontano [Schwarzenberg] Viennae nuper claris verbis a consiliariis et ministris Caesaris dictum fuit, imperatorem scilicet sibi et imperio subjecturum quidquid milite suo in Borussia occuparit et ceperit."

that he was under the protection of the king of France, and that negotiations must be referred to him. Meanwhile, as the Germans moved upon Mantua and the Spaniards on Montferrat, the French likewise appeared for the second time. On this occasion, also, they gained some advantages, taking Saluzzo and Pinerolo, but in the main they produced no effectual results; they could not even again compel the duke of Savoy to their wishes. The Spaniards commenced the siege of Casale; the Germans, after a short truce, invested Mantua:[1] their party had a decided preponderance.

It could not occasion surprise if, in this state of things, recollections of the ancient supremacy of the emperors arose, or that they were now frequently alluded to in Vienna: "the Italians must be taught that there is still an emperor; they must be called to a strict account."

Venice had more particularly attracted to itself the hatred of the house of Austria. It was the general opinion in Vienna that when once Mantua had fallen, the territories of Venice, situated on the main-land, would no longer be able to offer resistance to the Austrian power. They could not fail to be reduced in a few months, and his majesty would then demand restitution of the imperial fiefs. The Spanish ambassador went still further: he compared the power of Spanish Austria with that of Rome, and the power of Venice with that of Carthage; "Aut Roma," he exclaimed, "aut Carthago delenda est."

And the secular rights of the empire, as opposed to those of the papal see, were here also brought to recollection.

Ferdinand II was desirous of being crowned, and required that the pope should come as far as Bologna or Ferrara to meet him. The pope dared neither to promise nor positively to refuse, and sought to help himself through the difficulty by a mental reservation[2] (reservatio mentalis).

[1] The eleventh book of the Istoria di Pietro Giov. Capriata describes the events of this siege minutely.

[2] "Se bene Urbano una volta uscì coll' ambasciatore Savelli che bisognando si saria trasferito a Bologna o Ferrara, non intese però dire in correspettività di quello che espresse il principe di Eckenberg." [Although Urban once said to the ambassador Savelli, that in case of need he would go to Bologna or Ferrara, he did not mean that to be understood as referring to what the prince of Eckenberg had mentioned.]

Question was made respecting the feudal rights of the empire over Urbino and Montefeltro, when the papal nuncio was told with little ceremony, that Wallenstein would obtain further information on the subject when he should descend into Italy. And this was in fact the purpose of Wallenstein. He had previously opposed the Italian war, but he now declared that, seeing the pope and his allies were seeking to destroy the power of Austria, he considered that war necessary.[1] He intimated that it was a hundred years since Rome was last plundered, and that it must be now much richer than it was then.

Nor was France to be spared. The emperor proposed to regain the three alienated bishoprics by force of arms, his plan being, to raise Cossack troops in Poland and to send them into France: the dissensions of Louis XIII with his brother and mother seemed to offer the desired opportunity for this expedition.

The house of Austria thus assumed a position from which it continued its efforts against the Protestants with

[1] The opinion generally entertained of the pope in Vienna appears from a letter of Pallotta, dated August 10, 1628: "E stato qui rappresentato da' maligni, che son quelli che vogliono la guerra, che lo stato di Milano sta in grandissimo pericolo, essendo cosa sicura che papa Urbano havendo vastissimi pensieri sia di cattivo animo verso la casa d'Austria, che perciò si habbia da temere di S. S^tà. non meno che di Veneziani e di Francesi, havendo gli stati così vicini al ducato di Milano e potendo in un tratto mettere potente esercito in campagna; e di più gli stessi maligni hanno rappresentato per cosa già stabilità, che S. S^tà. vuole in ogni modo far fare re de' Romani il re di Francia, ed in confermazione di ciò hanno allegato che essendo la S^tà. S. nunzio in Francia dicesse alla regina che s'egli arrivava ad esser papa, voleva procurare di fare re de' Romani il suo figliuolo, il quale ancora era fanciullo." [It has been reported here by evil-minded people, who are those desirous of war, that the state of Milan is in extremity of peril, it being certain that Pope Urban is forming vast designs, and has very hostile intentions towards the house of Austria: that his holiness is therefore as much to be feared as the Venetians or French, his states being so near the duchy of Milan, and he being in a condition instantly to bring troops into the field. And further, the same malignant people have declared, as a thing decided on, that his holiness will in some manner contrive to have the king of France elected king of the Romans; in confirmation of which they affirm, that when his holiness was nuncio in France, he promised the queen that if ever he became pope, her son, then a child, should be made king of the Romans.]

the utmost boldness; while at the same time it kept a firm hand on the movements of the Catholic opposition, and powerfully restrained even the pope himself.

4. NEGOTIATIONS WITH SWEDEN—ELECTORAL DIET AT RATISBON

In earlier times, whenever a contingency of this kind had been merely foreseen, or dreaded for the remote future only, every power in Europe, still retaining independence, at once combined. It had now actually occurred. The Catholic opposition looked around for aid and sought it—not now from mere jealousy, but for defence and as a help in its utmost need—beyond the limits of Catholicism. But to what quarter could it turn? England was fully occupied at home by the disputes between the king and his parliament; she was besides already engaged in renewed negotiations with Spain. The Netherlands were themselves overwhelmed by the enemy;—the German Protestants were either beaten or overawed by the imperial armies. The king of Denmark had been compelled to conclude a disadvantageous peace. There remained none but the king of Sweden.

While the Protestants had been suffering defeat in all quarters, Gustavus Adolphus alone had achieved victories. He had conquered Riga, the whole of Livonia, as far as Dünamünde, and, "as much of Lithuania," according to the Poles themselves, "as he had been pleased to take." He had then, in 1626, appeared in Prussia, principally, as he said, to look into the state of the clergy in the bishopric of Ermeland. The two chief seats of restored Catholicism in that country, Frauenburg and Braunsberg, namely, he had taken into his own possession, and had afforded a new and powerful support to the oppressed Protestants of those districts. All eyes were turned on him. "Above all men," writes Rusdorf, in the year 1624, "do I estimate this victorious hero; I revere in him the sole protector of our cause, and the terror of our common enemy. His path of glory, which is raised far above the reach of envy, do I

constantly follow with my prayers."[1] It is true, that Gustavus Adolphus had sustained some loss in a battle on the plains of Stumm, and had himself narrowly escaped being made a prisoner, but the chivalrous bravery with which he had cut his way through all opposition cast added lustre on his name, and, despite this disadvantage, he still kept the field.

Towards this prince, the French now turned themselves. They first effected a truce between him and the Poles, and it is very possible that the emperor's views in regard to Prussia may have contributed to dispose the magnates, if not the king of Poland, to a more peaceful temper.[2] This done, they made a nearer approach to their principal purpose, that of drawing the king of Sweden into Germany; the only precaution they took, was to stipulate, in the treaty, for certain regulations in favour of Catholicism; under these conditions they declared themselves ready to support the king, who was able to bring a considerable army into the field, with corresponding supplies in money. After some delay, Gustavus acceded to their proposals. In his instructions, he avoids all mention of religious affairs, and represents the objects of the confederacy to be the restoration of the German Estates to their ancient rights, the removal of the imperial troops, and the security of the seas and of commerce.[3] An agreement was drawn up, in which the king promised to tolerate the Catholic religion wherever he should find it established, and in all affairs of religion to guide himself (such was the expression) according to the laws of the empire. This last stipulation was imperative, on account of the pope, to whom it was immediately communicated. The completion of this treaty was, indeed, still retarded by certain formalities; but in the summer

[1] Rusdorf, Mémoires, ii. 3: "Ejus gloriam invidiae metas eluctatam, excelsam infracti animi magnitudinem, et virtutis magis ac magis per merita enitescentis et assurgentis invictum robur cum stupore adoro et supplici voto prosequor."

[2] Rusdorf, i. 724: "Poloniae proceres, si unquam, vel nunc maxime pacem desiderabunt."

[3] Tenor mandatorum quae S. R. Maj. Sueciae clementer vult, ut consiliarius ejus. . . . Dn. Camerarius observare debeat, Upsaliae, 18 Dec. 1629. Mosers patriotisches Archiv. b. vi. p. 133.

of 1630, it was regarded as definitively settled.[1] The papal nuncio in France affirmed that Venice had engaged to pay a third part of the subsidies.[2] I have not been able to discover on what grounds this assertion was founded, but that Venice should make this promise was entirely consistent with the situation of things.

But could there be a reasonable hope that Gustavus Adolphus could alone suffice to overcome the force of the allied imperial armies, and could conquer them single-handed in the field? This was not believed to be possible; it therefore seemed desirable above all things, that a movement should be excited in Germany itself, which might co-operate with and aid him in his enterprise.

And here, without doubt, the Protestants might safely be counted on; whatever might be the policy adopted by individual princes from personal considerations or fear, yet the general mind was fully mastered by that ferment which penetrates to the ultimate depths of our social life, and is the precursor of mighty movements. I will but mention one idea of those prevalent at the time. When the edict of restitution had begun to be enforced in various places, and the Jesuits already signified their determination to pay no regard even to the treaty of Augsburg, the Protestants gave it to be understood in their turn, that before matters should proceed to that length, the German empire and nations should be utterly overturned—"rather should all laws and restraints be cast away, and Germany be thrown back to the wild life of its ancient forests."

[1] Bagni, 18 Giugno, 1630. He gives the article, which is also in the compact of the 6th Jan. 1631, with a slight variation, as follows: "Si rex aliquos progressus faciet, in captis aut deditis locis, quantum ad ea quae religionem spectant, observabit leges imperii." He also shews us in what sense it was understood: "Le quali leggi," he adds, "dicevano dovere intendersi della religione cattolica e della confessione Augustana." [Which laws, he adds, are reported to be understood as applying to the Catholic religion and the Confession of Augsburg.]—So that the Calvinists would have remained excluded.

[2] Bagni, 16 Luglio, 1630. "Sopraggiunsero," the extract says, "nuove lettere del Bagni coll' aviso che alla prefata confederatione fra il re di Francia e lo Sueco erasi aggiunta la republica di Venetia, la quale obbligavasi a contribuire per la terza parte."

In aid of all this there came discontent and dissension, which now appeared on the Catholic side.

It would be difficult to describe the commotion that ensued among the clergy on perceiving that the Jesuits proposed to constitute themselves possessors of the recovered monastic property. The Society of Jesus was reported to have declared that there were no Benedictines now remaining, that all had departed from the rule of their founder, and were no more capable of resuming their lost possessions. The merits of the Jesuits themselves were then brought into question by the other side, which maintained that they had performed no conversions: what seemed conversion was, as they affirmed, a mere effect of force.[1] Thus, even before the restitution of ecclesiastical property had taken place, it had already excited discord and contention for the right to its possession between the orders, and for the right to the collation between the emperor and the pope.

But these ecclesiastical differences were accompanied by others of a secular character, and of far more extensive

[1] From the violent controversial writings, the attacks, replies, and rejoinders that appeared on this subject, it is impossible to extract the truth of the facts, but we readily gather the points in dispute. "E verissimo," says the papal nuncio, in a letter written in cipher, "che i padri Gesuiti hanno procurato e procurano col favore dell' imperatore, che non può esser maggiore, di non solo soprastare agli altri religiosi, ma di escluderli dove essi v'hanno alcun interesse o politico o spirituale." [It is perfectly true that the Jesuit fathers have sought, and do seek, by favour of the emperor, which could not well be greater, not only to obtain a preference over all other orders, but even to exclude all others, wherever they have any interest either political or ecclesiastical.] I find, nevertheless, that however devoted the emperor then was to the Jesuits, yet in the year 1629 he was greatly disposed to make entire restitution to the older orders. Pier Luigi Caraffa, nuncio in Cologne, declares this. But at that very moment the Jesuits had already gained their point in Rome, whence an edict was published in July, 1629, to the effect: "che alcuna parte (dei beni ricuperati) potesse convertirsi in erezioni di seminarj, di alunnati, di scuole e di collegj tanto de' padri Gesuiti, quali in gran parte furono motori dell' editto di Cesare, come di altri religiosi" [that a portion of the recovered property might be applied to the foundation of schools, endowments, seminaries, and colleges, as well for the Jesuit fathers, who had been the chief promoters of the decree for restitution, as of other religious orders.] The Jesuit schools would thus have extended over the whole of North Germany.

nature. The imperial troops were found to be an insupportable burden to the country, their passage through a district exhausted the land and its inhabitants equally; as the peasant and the burgher were maltreated by the soldier, so were the princes by the general. Wallenstein allowed himself to use the most arrogant language. The oldest allies of the emperor, the chiefs of the League, and above all Maximilian of Bavaria, were dissatisfied with the present, and anxious about the future.

While affairs were in this position, it happened that Ferdinand assembled the Catholic electors of Ratisbon in the summer of 1630, for the purpose of procuring the election of his son as king of the Romans. It was not possible that such an occasion should pass away without the discussion of all other public affairs.

The emperor clearly saw that he must concede something, and his intention was to do this in regard to some portion of the German affairs. He shewed a disposition to suspend the edict for restoring Church property, in so far as it affected the territories of Brandenburg and electoral Saxony; was desirous of coming to some definitive arrangement in respect to Mecklenburg and the Palatinate, wished to conciliate Sweden, negotiations for that purpose having been already commenced, and meanwhile to concentrate all his force upon Italy, that the Mantuan war might be brought to an end, and the pope compelled to acknowledge his ecclesiastical claims.[1]

[1] Dispaccio Pallotta, 2 Ag. 1630. enumerates the following, as among the points that were to be deliberated upon: "1° se si doveva sospendere o tirare avanti l'editto della ricuperatione de' beni eccl^ci. ; 2° se havendosi da procedere avanti, si avesse da sospendere quanto a quelli che erano negli stati dell' elettori di Sassonia e di Brandenburgo, *ed inclinavasi a sospenderlo ;* 3° quanto ai beneficii e beni eccl^ci. che si erano ricuperati, pretendevasi che alli imperatori spettasse la nominazione; — — 6° trattavasi di restituire il ducato di Mechelburgh agli antichi padroni, siccome il palatinato almeno inferiore al palatino, con perpetuo pregiuditio della religione cattolica, come era seguito con Danimarca." [1st. Whether the edict for the restoration of ecclesiastical property should be suspended or carried into execution. 2nd. Whether, if it were to be executed, there should be a suspension in regard to property situate in the states of the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg; and *he was inclined to suspend it.* 3rd. As regarded the benefices and

Ferdinand probably thought, that since he had to deal with German princes, he should effect more for his own purposes by concessions in German affairs than by any other means; but the position of things was not so simple.

The spirit of opposition, as embodied in the league of the French and Italians, had made its way among the Catholic electors, and now sought to avail itself of the discontent existing in their minds for the furtherance of its own purposes.

The papal nuncio, Rocci, first appeared in Ratisbon, and how could he fail to employ every means that presented itself for the prevention of Ferdinand's Italian and anti-papal designs?

The pope had exhorted him, above all things, to maintain a friendly understanding with the elector of Bavaria, and soon afterwards Rocci reports that this friendly understanding is kept up, but with the most profound secrecy.[1] He contrived to procure from the Catholic electors a declaration that they would maintain a close union with himself in all that appertained to ecclesiastical affairs, and would more especially uphold the jurisdiction of the papal see, and preserve its dignity inviolate.

But to give the matter a decisive turn, Father Joseph, the trusted confederate of Richelieu, came to the aid of Rocci, and the consummate craft of that Capuchin was, perhaps, never more active, more efficient, or, to those initiated, more obvious, than on this occasion. His colleague in Ratisbon, Monsieur de Leon, who gave his name to the embassy, declared of him, that the father had in fact no soul, but in its stead were holes and quicksands, into

other ecclesiastical possessions recovered, it was affirmed that the nomination to them was vested in the emperor. . . . 6th. The restitution of the duchy of Mecklenburg to its former possessors was discussed, as also that of the Palatinate, at least the Lower Palatinate, to the elector palatine, to the perpetual prejudice of the Catholic religion, as had been done in regard to Denmark.

[1] Dispaccio Rocci, 9 Sett. 1630: "E questa corrispondenza riuscì molto fruttuosa, perchè Baviera di buon cuore operò che in quel convento non si trattò delle operationi sopra mentovate." [And this friendly understanding proved very profitable, because Bavaria laboured heartily to prevent the above-mentioned subjects from being discussed in that convention.]

which every one must fall who should attempt to have any dealings with him.

By the agency of intermediaries such as these, the French and Italian opposition soon made the German allies of the emperor completely its own. For the reconciliation of the empire with Sweden, for the pacification of the Protestants, nothing was done; and never would the pope have consented to the suspension of the edict of restitution. On the other hand, the electors pressed for the restoration of peace in Italy, and demanded the dismissal of the imperial commander-in-chief, who was conducting himself in the fashion of an absolute dictator.

And so irrepressible was the influence exercised, so craftily was it brought to bear on all points, that the mighty emperor, though at the zenith of his power, yielded to its force without resistance, and without conditions.

While these negotiations were proceeding in Ratisbon, the troops of Ferdinand had conquered Mantua, and he might then have considered himself master of Italy. Yet at that moment he agreed to resign the duchy to Nevers, with no other condition than the empty formality of an entreaty for pardon. But the other demand made on the emperor was perhaps still more significant. The German princes, France, and the pope, were at once and equally menaced by the general, on whose personal qualities the fortune of the imperial arms depended; that they should detest him, and desire to be freed from his presence, can occasion no surprise; but what followed may well excite astonishment. The emperor, for the sake of peace, gave him up.

At the moment when he might have mastered Italy, he suffered it to elude his grasp; at the moment when he was attacked in Germany by the most formidable of enemies, the most practised of warriors, he dismissed the commander who alone was in a condition to defend him. Never have policy and negotiation produced more important results.

5. SWEDISH WAR—SITUATION OF THE POPE

And now it was that the war really began. Gustavus Adolphus commenced it, as must needs be admitted, under the most favourable auspices; for had not the imperial army been brought together by the name of Wallenstein, and was it not wholly devoted and bound to his person? The emperor even disbanded a part of it, and subjected the contributions levied by the generals, which had previously been regulated by their own discretion, to the control of the circles of the empire.[1] It is not to be denied that the emperor, when he dismissed his general, destroyed his army at the same time, and deprived it of its moral force. Torquato Conti, an Italian, who had formerly been in the papal service, had to offer resistance, with troops in this state, to an enemy high in courage and full of zeal. It was in the nature of things that failure should ensue; the imperial army was no longer what it had been, nothing was seen but irresolution, weakness, panic, and defeat. Gustavus Adolphus drove it completely from the field, and established himself in firm possession on the lower Oder.

It was at first believed in Upper Germany that this was of little importance to the rest of the empire. Tilly continued his operations, in the meantime, with great composure along the Elbe. When he at length gained possession of Magdeburg, the pope considered it a great victory, and the brightest hopes were founded on this conquest. At the suggestion of Tilly, a commissioner was even appointed "for the purpose of arranging the affairs of the archbishopric in accordance with the laws of the Catholic church."

But the result of this measure was that all the Protestant princes who had remained undecided, now determined to attach themselves to Gustavus Adolphus; and when Tilly sought to prevent this, he did but further involve them in

[1] Adlzreitter, iii. xv. 48: "Caesar statuit ne in posterum stipendia pro tribunorum arbitrio, sed ex circulorum praescripta moderatione penderentur."

hostilities with the League, so that it was no longer possible to make distinction between Leaguers and Imperialists. The battle of Leipzig followed. Tilly was completely routed, and the Protestant forces poured alike over the territories of the Leaguers and the Imperialists. Würzburg and Bamberg fell into the hands of the king. The Protestants of the remote north were met on the Rhine by those ancient defenders of Roman Catholicism, the troops of Spain, and there, near to Oppenheim, their mingled skulls are to be seen. Mainz was taken, all oppressed princes took part with the Swedish king, and the expelled count palatine appeared in his camp.

Thus it followed, as a necessary consequence, that an enterprise, originated or sanctioned by the Catholic opposition for political purposes, resulted in the advantage of Protestantism. The party before overpowered and beaten down, now saw itself once more victorious. It is true that the king extended his protection to the Catholics generally, as the terms of his treaty with the allies compelled him to do; but he declared expressly, at the same time, that he was come to rescue his brethren in faith from the oppressions they were suffering for conscience' sake.[1] He extended his especial protection to the evangelical ministers living under Catholic governments,—those of Erfurt, for example; in all quarters he caused the Augsburg Confession to be reinstated; the exiled pastors returned to the Palatinate, and the Lutheran worship made its way through the empire once more, together with the victorious army.

Thus strangely perplexed was the policy of Urban VIII. In so far as Gustavus attacked and overcame the power of Austria, he was the natural ally of the pope. This was at once made manifest in the affairs of Italy; under the influence of his German losses, the emperor assented, in the year 1631, to conditions regarding the duchy of Mantua, still more unfavourable to himself than those submitted to him the year before at Ratisbon. Nay, there even existed, if not direct, yet indirect relations between the papal see and those Protestant powers now once more in battle array,

[1] Letter from the king to the town of Schweinfurt, in Chemnitz: Schwedischer Krieg, Th. i. p. 231.

and making victorious advance. "I speak of this from good authority," says Aluise Contarini, who had been first at the French court, and afterwards at that of Rome. "I was present at all the negotiations. The pope's nuncios always favoured Richelieu's undertakings, whether they were meant to secure his own safety, or to bring about the union of Bavaria and the league with France. When the alliance of Richelieu with Holland and the Protestant powers generally was in question, they remained silent, to save themselves from admitting that they approved it. Other popes would perhaps have found this offend their conscience; but the nuncios of Urban VIII obtained, by such means, increased consideration and personal advantages."[1]

Loud and bitter were the complaints of the emperor. "The Roman court had first prevailed on him to publish the edict of restitution, and then abandoned him in the war occasioned by it: the election of his son as king of the Romans had been impeded by the pope, who had encouraged the elector of Bavaria, both by word and deed, to pursue a separate line of policy and to ally himself with France: it was in vain to ask Urban for such assistance as earlier popes had so often afforded, either of money or troops; he even refused to utter a condemnation of the alliance of France with heretics, or to declare the present war a war of religion."[2] In the year 1632, we find the imperial ambassadors in Rome insisting with extreme earnestness on the last-mentioned point; they affirmed that the declaration of his holiness might still produce the most important effects, that it was

[1] Aluise Contarini, Relatione di Roma, 1635. (App. No. 115.)

[2] Aluise Contarini: "Gli Alemanni si pretendono delusi dal papa, perchè dopo aver egli reiteratamente persuaso l' imperatore di ripetere dagli eretici i beni ecclesiastici d' Alemagna ch' erano in loro mani, origine di tante guerre, resistesse S. S^tà. poi alle reiterate spedizioni di card^li, e d' amb^ri. nelle assistenze di danaro, nel mandar gente e bandiere con l'esempio de' precessori, nel publicar la guerra di religione, nell' impedire colle scomuniche gli appoggi ai medesimi heretici della Francia: anzi nel medesimo tempo ritardata l' elettione del re de' Romani, confortato il duca di Baviera con la lega cattolica all' unione di Francia, assistendo lo medesimo di danari e di consiglio per sostenersi in corpo separato. Il papa si lagna d' esser tenuto eretico et amatore di buoni progressi de' protestanti, come tal volta in effetto non li ebbe discari."

not yet altogether impossible to drive back the king of Sweden, who had not more than thirty thousand men.

The pontiff replied with cold pedantry, "With thirty thousand men Alexander conquered the world."

He maintained that the war was not one of religion, that it related to matters of state only, and, besides, that the papal treasury was exhausted, and he could do nothing.

The members of the Curia and the inhabitants of Rome were amazed. "Amidst the conflagration of Catholic churches and monasteries,"—thus it was they expressed themselves,—"the pope stands cold and rigid as ice. The king of Sweden has more zeal for his Lutheranism than the holy father for the only true and saving Catholic faith."

The Spaniards proceeded once more to a protestation: as Olivarez had formerly appeared before Sixtus V, so did Cardinal Borgia now present himself to Urban VIII for the purpose of solemnly protesting against the conduct of his holiness. The scene that followed was even more violent than that on the earlier occasion. While the pope gave way to ebullitions of rage, the cardinals present took part either with one party or the other, and the ambassador was obliged to content himself with delivering his protest in writing.[1] But the zealously Catholic party were not satisfied with this; the thought immediately arose of summoning a council in opposition to the pope, and was more particularly promoted by Cardinal Ludovisio, nephew of the preceding pontiff.[2]

But what a fire would have been kindled by this proceeding! The course of events was already taking a direction which left no doubt as to their nature, and must of necessity give a different character to the papal policy.

Urban VIII flattered himself for some time that the king of Sweden would form a treaty of neutrality with Bavaria,

[1] "Nella quale," says Cardinal Cecchini in his autobiography, "concludeva che tutti li danni che per le presenti turbolenze erano per venire alla christianità, sariano stati attribuiti alla negligenza del papa." [In which it was concluded that all the injuries inflicted on Christendom by these present troubles, would be attributable to the negligence of the pope.] (App. No. 121.)

[2] Aluise Contarini speaks of "orecchio, che si prestava in Spagna alle pratiche di Ludovisio per un concilio" [the ear they lent in Spain to Ludovisio's attempts to procure a council.]

and would reinstate the ecclesiastical princes who had fled their territories; but it soon became evident that all attempts to reconcile interests so directly at variance must of necessity be utterly vain. The Swedish arms pressed onward to Bavaria; Tilly fell, Munich was taken, and Duke Bernard advanced towards the Tyrol.

It was now no longer possible to doubt what the pope and Catholicism had to expect from the Swedes. How completely was the state of things changed in a moment! The Catholics had been hoping to restore the Protestant endowments of North Germany to Catholicism, and now the king of Sweden was forming his plans for changing the South German bishoprics that had fallen into his hand into secular principalities; he was already speaking of his duchy of Franconia, and seemed to intend establishing his royal court at Augsburg.

Two years before, the pope had been dreading the arrival of the Austrians in Italy, and had been threatened with an attack on Rome; now the Swedes were appearing on the Italian borders: and with the name of the king of the Swedes and Goths, borne by Gustavus Adolphus, were associated recollections that were now revived in the minds of both parties.[1]

6. RESTORATION OF A BALANCE BETWEEN THE TWO CONFESSIONS

I will not enter into the details of that struggle which for sixteen years longer extended over Germany; let it suffice that we have made ourselves aware of the means by which the mighty advance of Catholicism, which was on the point

[1] Yet Aluise Contarini assures us, that "L'opinione vive tuttavia che a S. Stà. sia dispiaciuta la morte del re di Suezia e che più goda o per dir meglio manco tema i progressi de' protestanti che degli Austriaci." [The opinion still prevails that his holiness regrets the death of the king of Sweden, and that he liked better, or to speak more accurately, that he feared less, to hear of progress on the Protestant side than on that of the Austrians.]

of taking possession of Germany for ever, was arrested in its course, when preparing to annihilate the Protestant faith at its sources, and encountered a victorious resistance. It may be remarked generally, that Catholicism, considered as one body, was not able to support its own victories; the head of that Church himself believed it imperative on him to oppose, from political motives, those very powers by whom his spiritual authority was most effectually defended and enlarged. It was by Catholics, acting in concert with the pope, that the yet unsubdued powers of Protestantism were called forth, and that the path was prepared for their progress.

Purposes of so vast a magnitude as those formed by Gustavus Adolphus when at the climax of his prosperity, could not indeed be carried into execution after the early death of that prince, and for the obvious reason that the successes of Protestantism were by no means to be attributed to its own unaided power. But neither could Catholicism, even when its forces were closely combined—when Bavaria had again made common cause with the emperor, and when Urban VIII once more contributed subsidies—find strength that should suffice for the overpowering of the Protestant faith.

This conviction soon gained prevalence, at least in Germany, and was indeed the main cause of the treaty of Prague. The emperor suffered his edict of restitution to drop; while the elector of Saxony and the states in alliance with him resigned all thought of restoring the Protestant faith in the hereditary dominions (Erblanden).

It is true that Pope Urban opposed himself to all that should be determined at variance with the edict of restitution, and in the emperor's spiritual council he had the Jesuits, and particularly Father Lamormain, on his side: the latter was sufficiently extolled for that reason as "a worthy confessor -a man regardless of all temporal considerations;"[1] but the majority was against him. The Capuchins, Quiroga and Valerian, with Cardinals Dietrichstein and Pázmány,

[1] Lettera del Card[l]. Barberino al nuntio Baglione, 17 Marzo, 1635: "Essendo azione da generoso Christiano e degno confessore di un pio imperatore, ciò che egli ha fatto rimirando più il cielo che il mondo."

maintained that, provided the Catholic religion was kept pure in the hereditary dominions, liberty of conscience might be safely granted in the empire. The peace of Prague was proclaimed from every pulpit in Vienna. The Capuchins boasted of their part in this "honourable and holy work:" they instituted special solemnities for the occasion; it was with difficulty that the nuncio prevented them from singing a Te Deum.[1]

[1] From the correspondence of Baglioni, as extracted in the 6th vol. of Nicoletti, *e.g.*, 14 April, 1635: "Disse un giorno il conte di Ognate che assolutamente il re di Spagna non haverebbe dato ajuto alcuno all' imperatore se non in caso che seguisse la pace con Sassonia; di che maravigliandosi il nunzio disse che la pietà del re cattolico richiedeva che si cumulassero gli ajuti non seguendo detta pace, la quale doveva piuttosto disturbarsi trattandosi con eretici, ed applicare l'animo alla pace universale coi principi cattolici. Fulli rispose che ciò seguirebbe quando la guerra si fosse fatta per la salute delle anime e non per la ricuperazione de' beni ecclesiastici, ed il padre Quiroga soggiunse al nunzio che l'imperatore era stato gabbato da quelli che l'havevano persuaso a fare l'editto della ricuperazione de' beni ecclesiastici, volendo intendere de' Gesuiti, e che tutto erasi fatto per interesse proprio: ma avendo il nunzio risposto che la persuasione era stata interposta con buona intenzione, il padre Quiroga si accese in maniera che proruppe in termini esorbitanti, sicchè al nunzio fu difficile il ripigliarlo perchè maggiormente non eccedesse. Ma Ognate passò più oltre, dicendo che l'imperatore non poteva in conto alcuno ritirarsi dalla pace con Sassonia per la necessità in cui trovavasi, non potendo resistere a tanti nemici, e che non era obbligato a rimettervi l'havere de' suoi stati hereditarj, ma solamente quelli dell' imperio, che erano tenuissimi, e che non compliva di tirare avanti con pericolo di perdere gli uni e gli altri." [Count Oñate one day said that the king of Spain would positively have given no aid to the emperor, but on condition of peace with Saxony; at which the nuncio marveiling, replied that the piety of the Catholic king required him to give that aid more abundantly, if there were no peace, and ought to be disturbed at peace with heretics, applying itself only to thoughts of universal peace among Catholic princes. Fulli replied, that so it would have happened, if the war had been for the salvation of souls, and not for the recovery of ecclesiastical wealth; and Father Quiroga added, that the emperor had been cheated by those who had persuaded him to issue the edict of restitution,—meaning the Jesuits, who had done all for their own interest; but the nuncio remarking that their persuasion had been from good motives, Father Quiroga became so much excited that he burst into the most intemperate, nay, exorbitant language, so that the nuncio could scarcely get in a word to reprove and stop him, that he might fall into no further excesses; but Oñate went still further, saying, that the emperor could not avoid the peace with Saxony, because of the necessity he was in, and his inability to

Now Urban VIII, although practically he had contributed so largely to the defeat of all the plans formed by Catholicism, yet in theory would not relinquish any portion of his claims; but all he effected was to place the papacy in a position removed from the living and actual interests of the world. This is rendered clearly manifest by the instructions he gave to his legate Ginetti, when the latter proceeded to Cologne, at the first attempt to negotiate a general peace in the year 1636. The hands of the legate were tied, precisely in regard to all those important points on which everything was absolutely depending. One of the most urgent necessities, for example, was the restoration of the Palatinate; the legate was nevertheless enjoined to oppose the restitution of the Palatinate to a non-Catholic prince.[1] That certain concessions to Protestants in respect of ecclesiastical property were unavoidable, was sufficiently obvious, even during the discussions at Prague; this truth became afterwards yet more evident, but the legate was none the less exhorted "to especial zeal in guarding against the resignation of any point that might be turned to the advantage of Protestants in the matter of church property." Even the conclusion of peace with Protestant powers the pope refused to sanction; the ambassador was commanded to withhold his support from any proposal for including the Dutch in the peace, and to oppose every cession to the Swedes (the question at that time was merely one relating to a sea-port); "the divine mercy would certainly find means for removing that nation out of Germany."

The Roman court could no longer entertain a reasonable hope of overpowering the Protestants; yet it is a striking and important fact, that, however involuntarily, by its pertinacity in adhering to claims now become utterly untenable, it rendered itself incapable of exercising any efficient influence on the relations of its own adherents to those of the Protestant faith.

withstand so many enemies; and that he was not obliged to resign what belonged to his hereditary dominions, but only certain rights of the empire, which were but small, nor was it advisable that he should go forward at the risk of losing both one and the other.]

[1] Siri, Mercurio, ii. p. 987

It is true that the papal court did not fail to send its ambassadors to the congress assembled for the negotiation of peace: to Ginetti succeeded Machiavelli, Rosetti, and Chigi. Ginetti was reported to be very penurious, and thus to have decreased his efficiency; Machiavelli was said to think only of obtaining rank—the qualification for a more important position; Rosetti was not acceptable to the French. It is thus that explanation has been attempted of the insignificance of their influence.[1] The truth is, that the thing itself, the position which the pope had assumed, made all effective interference on the part of the legates impossible. Chigi was able and popular, yet he accomplished nothing. A peace was concluded before his eyes, precisely of the character which the pope had expressly condemned. The elector palatine and all the exiled princes were restored. So far from anything like a confirmation of the edict of restitution being thought of, many spiritual endowments were absolutely secularized and given up to the Protestants. Spain resolved at length to acknowledge the independence of those rebels to pope and king, the Dutch. The Swedes retained a considerable portion of the empire. Even the peace which the emperor concluded with France was such as the Curia could not approve, because it included stipulations relating to Metz, Toul, and Verdun, by which the rights of Rome were infringed. The papacy found itself under the melancholy necessity of protesting. The principles which it did not possess the power of making effectual, it was at least resolved to express. But this also had been foreseen. The articles relating to ecclesiastical affairs in the peace of Westphalia, opened with a declaration that no regard should be paid to the opposition of any person, be he who he might, and whether of temporal or spiritual condition.[2]

By that peace the great conflict between Protestants and Catholics was at length brought to a decision, though to one very different from that proposed by the edict of restitution. Catholicism still retained immense acquisitions, since the year 1624 was assumed as the normal period, to

[1] Pallavicini: Vita di Papa Alessandro VII, MS. (App. No. 130.)
[2] Osnabrückischer Friedensschluss, Article v. § 1.

which the condition of the respective parties was to be referred; but the Protestants, on the other hand, obtained that indispensable equality which had so long been withheld. According to this principle all the relations of the empire were regulated.

How entirely vain had it, moreover, now become even to think of such enterprises as had formerly been ventured on, and had even succeeded!

Nay, further, the results of the contests in Germany reacted immediately on the neighbouring countries.

Although the emperor had succeeded in maintaining the Catholic faith supreme in his hereditary dominions, he was nevertheless compelled to make concessions to the Protestants of Hungary; in the year 1645, he saw himself constrained to restore to them a not inconsiderable number of churches.

And now, after the elevation attained by Sweden to a position of universal importance, was it possible that Poland should ever again think of renewing her old claims to that country? Wladislaus IV did not indeed inherit the zeal of his father for conversions, and was a gracious king to his dissident subjects.

Even in France, the Huguenots received favour from Richelieu, after they had been deprived of their political independence; and still more effectually did he support the principle of Protestantism, by continuing to wage against that predominant Catholic power, the Spanish monarchy, a war for life or death, by which it was shaken even to its foundations. That quarrel was the only one which the pope could have adjusted altogether without scruple. But while all other discords were effectually composed, this remained unappeased, and continued to convulse the bosom of the Catholic world.

Until the peace of Westphalia, the Dutch had continually taken the most successful part in the war against Spain. This was the golden age of their power, as well as of their wealth; but when labouring to attain to preponderance in the East, they came at once into violent contact with the progress of the Catholic missions.

It was only in England that Catholicism, or at least

something analogous to that faith in its outward forms, seemed at times on the point of finding admission. Ambassadors from the English court were at this time to be found in Rome, and papal agents in England. The queen, to whom a sort of official recognition was accorded in Rome,[1] possessed an influence over her husband which seemed likely to extend even to religion; an approach had already been made in many of the Church ceremonies to the usages of Catholicism. But from all these things there resulted the very reverse of what might have been expected. It can scarcely be supposed that Charles I ever dissented in his heart from the tenets of Protestantism; but even those slight approaches which he permitted himself to make to the Catholic ritual were decisive of his ruin. It seemed as if the violent excitement which had produced such long-continued, unremitting, and universal conflicts in the Protestant world at large, had become concentrated in the English Puritans. Vainly did Ireland struggle to escape from their domination, and to organize itself in the spirit of Catholicism; the subjection of the country was but rendered the more complete by these efforts. The aristocracy and commons of England constituted a power, the rise of which marked the revival of Protestantism throughout Europe generally.

By these events, limits were imposed for ever to the extension of Catholicism, which had now its appointed and definite bounds: universal conquest, such as was formerly projected, could never more be seriously contemplated.

A direction had indeed been taken in the intellectual

[1] Nani: Relatione di Roma, 1640: "Con la regina d'Inghilterra passa communicatione de' ministri con officii e donativi di cortesia, e si concede a quella M^tà. nominatione di cardinali a pare degli altri re." [Communication is held with the queen of England by the ministers. Offices and gifts of courtesy also pass; nomination of cardinals is likewise conceded to her majesty as to other sovereigns.] Spada: Relatione della nunziatura di Francia, 1641: "Il S^r. conte Rossetti, residente in quel regno, bene corrisponde nell' ossequio gli ordini del S^r. card^l. Barberini protettore tutti pieni dell' ardore e zelo di S. Em^za." [Count Rosetti, resident in that kingdom, attends carefully to the orders of Card^l. Barberini, the protector, which orders are full of the earnest zeal of his eminence.] See Appendix, Nos. 117, 118.

development of the world which rendered any such attempt impossible.

The preponderance had been obtained by impulses endangering the higher principle of unity; the religious element was repressed,—political views and motives ruled the world.

For it was not by themselves that the Protestants were delivered. It was by the schism established in the bosom of Catholicism that they were enabled to recover themselves. In the year 1631, we find the two great Catholic powers in league with the Protestants,—France confessedly so, Spain at least covertly. It is certain that the Spaniards had at that period formed relations of amity with the French Huguenots.

But the Protestants were not more perfectly united among themselves than the Catholics. Not only did the Lutherans and the Reformed, or Calvinists, contend with each other,—that they had done from time immemorial,—but the different sects of Calvinists, although, beyond all doubt, they had a common cause to battle for, yet proceeded to attack each other during this war. The naval power of the French Huguenots was broken solely by the support which their ancient allies and brethren in the faith had been induced to afford to the crown of France.

Even the supreme chief of Catholicism, the pope of Rome, who had hitherto directed the attacks on the Protestants, finally placed the higher interest of the spiritual authority in abeyance, and took part against those who had laboured most zealously for the restoration of the Catholic faith; he proceeded in accordance with the views of a secular sovereignty only, and returned to that line of policy which had been abandoned from the time of Paul III. It will be remembered that Protestantism in the earlier half of the sixteenth century was indebted for its progress to nothing so much as to the political labours of the popes. It was to these, so far as human judgment can decide, that Protestantism now owed its deliverance and confirmed strength.

And this example could not fail to produce an effect on the remaining powers; even German Austria, which had so

long preserved itself immoveable in its orthodoxy, at length adopted a similar policy; the position assumed by that country, after the peace of Westphalia, was based on its intimate connection with North Germany, England, and Holland.

If we now attempt to investigate the more remote causes of this phenomenon, we should seek them erroneously in the depression or decay of religious impulses. We must, I think, look elsewhere for the import and significance of the fact.

In the first place, the great spiritual contest had completed its operation on the minds of men.

Christianity in earlier times had been rather a matter of implicit surrender and acquiescence, of simple acceptation, of faith undisturbed by doubt; it was now become an affair of conviction,—of conscious and deliberate adoption. It was a point of high moment that men had to choose between the different confessions,—that they could reject, abjure, or pass from one to the other. The individual man became the subject of direct appeal; his freedom of judgment was called into action. Thence it followed that Christian ideas became more closely intertwined with, and penetrated more deeply into, every portion of life and thought.

To this must be added another momentous consideration.

It is perfectly true that the prevalence of internal dissension disturbed the unity of the collective faith; but, if we do not deceive ourselves, it is another law of life, that this circumstance prepared the way for a yet higher and more extended development of the human mind.

In the pressure of the universal strife, religion was adopted by the nations, in the different modifications of its dogmatic forms; the system thus chosen had blended with and been fused into the feeling of nationality,—had become, as it were, a possession of the community of the state, or of the people. It had been won by force of arms, was maintained amidst a thousand perils, and had become part and parcel of the national life.

Thence it happened that the states on both sides

formed themselves into great ecclesiastico-political bodies, whose individuality was characterized on the Catholic side by the measure of their devotion to the Roman see, and their toleration or exclusion of non-Catholics; but still more decidedly on the Protestant side, where the departure from the symbolical books appealed to as tests, the mingling of the Lutheran and Calvinistic confessions, with the nearer or more remote approximation to the episcopal constitution, presented the groundworks of so many clear and manifest distinctions. The first question in regard to every country is, what form of religion is predominant there? Christianity appears under manifold aspects. However striking the contrasts presented by these, no one party can dispute with another its possession of that which forms the basis to the faith of all. These various forms are, on the contrary, guaranteed by compacts and treaties of peace, in which all have part, and which form what may be called the fundamental laws of a universal republic. The idea of exalting one or the other confession to supreme dominion can never more be entertained. All must now be referred to the question, how each state, each people, may best be enabled to develop its energies, in obedience to its own religious and political principles. On this depends the future condition of the world.

BOOK VIII

THE POPES ABOUT THE MIDDLE OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

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After the attempt made by the popes to renew their dominion over the world had been finally defeated, notwithstanding its partial success, their position and the character of the interest which they excite in us underwent a general change. It is to the affairs of the Papal States, their administration, and internal development, that our attention is now chiefly to be given.

As one who descends from the lofty mountain, whence the wide and distant prospect is descried, into the valley where his view is circumscribed and held in by narrow boundaries, so do we proceed from a survey of events affecting the history of the world at large, and in which the papacy took so important a part, to the consideration of circumstances more immediately touching the States of the Church.

It was in the time of Urban VIII that the Papal States first attained to the completion of their territorial possessions: we will begin with this event.

1. LAPSE OF URBINO

The duchy of Urbino included seven towns and nearly three hundred castles; it possessed a productive line of sea-coast, well situated for trade, with a cheerful and salubrious mountain district rising into the Apennines.

The dukes of Urbino had rendered themselves remarkable, as had those of Ferrara, sometimes for their warlike achievements, sometimes for their efforts in the cause of literature, and again for the munificence and splendour of

their court.[1] In the year 1570, Guidobaldo II had established four households, including, besides his own, separate establishments for his consort, for the prince, and for the princesses. They were all very magnificent, were sedulously frequented by the nobles of the duchy, and liberally open to strangers.[2] According to ancient custom, all foreigners were hospitably entertained in the palace. The revenues of the country would not have sufficed for so large an expenditure, since they did not amount, even when the corn-trade of Sinigaglia was most prosperous, to more than one hundred thousand scudi; but the princes were always in the military service of some foreign power, at least nominally, and the position of the country in the middle of Italy was so fortunate, that the neighbouring states were in constant emulation of each other for their favour, which they sought to secure by acts of good-will, military grants, and large subsidies.

It was a common remark in the country that the prince brought in more than he cost.

It is true that attempts were made here as well as elsewhere to raise the imposts, but so many difficulties arose, more particularly in Urbino itself, that, partly from good-will and partly from inability to do otherwise, the government finally contented itself with its long-established revenues. The privileges and statutes of the land remained equally unimpaired. Under the protection of this house the republic of San Marino preserved its inoffensive freedom.[3]

[1] Bernardo Tasso has conferred a magnificent eulogy on these princes in the 47th book of the Amadigi:

> "Vedete i quattro a cui il vecchio Apennino
> Ornerà il petto suo di fiori e d' erba. . . ."
>
> [Behold the four, for whom, with flowery vest,
> Old Apennine enfolds his shaggy breast.]—C. F.

[2] Relatione di Lazzaro Mocenigo, ritornato da Guidubaldo duca d' Urbino, 1570: "Vuole alloggiar tutti li personaggi che passano per il suo stato, il numero de' quali alla fine dell' anno si trova esser grandissimo."

[3] "Ha humore d'esser republica" [it has a fancy for being a republic,] remarks a report on the state of Urbino to Pope Urban VIII, respecting San Marino. On passing over to the States of the Church it acquired an extension of its privileges.

While in all other principalities of Italy the power of the sovereign became more widely extended and more absolute, in the duchy of Urbino it remained within its ancient limits.

From this state of things it followed that the inhabitants clung to their dynasty with excessive attachment, and this was the more devoted, from their conviction that a union with the States of the Church would inevitably bring with it the entire dissolution of their long-established relations, and the loss of their ancient freedom.

It thus became a matter of the utmost importance to the country that the line of the ducal house should be continued.

Francesco Maria, prince of Urbino, resided for a certain time at the court of Philip II.[1] He there formed, as it is said, a very serious attachment to a Spanish lady, and intended to make her his wife. But his father Guidobaldo was decidedly opposed to the marriage, and resolved to have a daughter-in-law of equal birth in his house. He compelled his son to return, and give his hand to the Princess Lucrezia d'Este, of Ferrara.

They might have seemed a tolerably well-assorted pair,

[1] In the Amadigi he is very agreeably described, while quite a child, as—

"Quel piccolo fanciul, che gli occhi alzando
Par che si specchi nell' avo e nel padre
E l' alta gloria lor quasi pensando."

[A child he was, but from his upraised eyes
Looked the high courage of long ancestries,
As if he, in his sire and grandsire's fame,
Read the high honours of his future name.]—C. F.

Mocenigo thus describes him at the period of his marriage: "Giostra leggiadramente studia et è intelligente delle matematiche e delle fortificationi: tanto gagliardi sono i suoi esercitii, come giuocare alla balla, andare alla caccia a piedi per habituarsi all' incomodo della guerra, e così continui che molti dubitano che gli abbino col tempo a nuocere." [He tilts gracefully, studies and understands mathematics and fortifications; he is so ardent in his exercises, such as playing at ball, or hunting on foot to accustom himself to the fatigues of war, and continues this to such an extent, as to cause fears lest they should injure his health.]

the prince a man of ready address, accomplished in the use of arms, and not without acquirements in science, more especially as related to war; the princess endowed with intelligence, majesty, and grace. The people gave themselves up to the hope that this marriage would secure the permanency of the ducal house; the cities emulated each other in doing honour to the married pair by arches of triumph and magnificent gifts.

But the misfortune was that the prince was only twenty-five years old, while the princess was little less than forty. The father had overlooked this in his desire to palliate his refusal of the Spanish marriage—which had, nevertheless, produced no favourable impression at the court of Philip—by an alliance so exalted, so brilliant, and so wealthy; but the marriage turned out worse than the Duke Guidobaldo could have imagined probable. After his death Lucrezia was compelled to return to Ferrara; of posterity there was no further hope.[1]

We have before described the decisive influence that Lucrezia d'Este had on the fate—the extinction of the duchy of Ferrara. In the affairs of Urbino, also, we find her most unhappily implicated. Even at the time when Ferrara was taken into the papal possession, it seemed certain that Urbino also must lapse to the Roman see; and the rather, as in this case there were no natural heirs who might have made claim to the succession.

Yet the face of things once more assumed a different aspect. In February, 1598, Lucrezia died, and Francesco Maria was at liberty to make a second marriage.

The whole duchy was overjoyed when it came to be known soon after that their good sovereign, who had ruled them through all the years of his reign with so gentle and peaceful a hand, and whom all loved, had good hope—though now somewhat advanced in life—that his race would

[1] Mathio Zane, Relatione del Duca d' Urbino, 1574, considers Lucrezia as even then "Signora di bellezza manco che mediocre, ma si tien ben acconcia: — — si dispera quasi di poter veder da questo matrimonio figliuoli." [A lady of less than moderate beauty, but she adorns herself to advantage; there is now little hope of seeing children from this marriage.]

not be extinguished with his own life. Prayers and vows were made by all for the safe delivery of the new duchess. When the time had come, the nobles of the land, with the magistrates of the cities, assembled in Pesaro, where the princess was residing; and during her labour, the square before the palace, with all the adjoining streets, was filled with people. At length the duke appeared at a window;—"God," he exclaimed with a loud voice, "God has given us a boy!" This intelligence was received with indescribable acclamations of delight. The cities built churches, and endowed pious institutions, as they had pledged themselves to do by their vows.[1]

But how deceptive are hopes that are founded on men!

The prince was brought up with great care, and displayed some talent—at least for literature. The old duke had the happiness of seeing him married to a princess of Tuscany; he then withdrew to the retirement of Castel-durante, and resigned the government to his son.

But scarcely was the prince his own master, and master of the country, when he was seized by the intoxication of power. The taste for theatrical amusements was just then becoming prevalent in Italy, and the young prince was all the more violently affected by it, from the circumstance of his having conceived a passion for an actress. During the day, he amused himself after the manner of Nero, in driving chariots; in the evening he appeared himself on the stage. These excesses were followed by many others: the respectable citizens looked sorrowfully at each other, and scarcely knew whether to lament or rejoice, when one morning, in the year 1623, the prince, after a night of frenzied excess, was found dead in his bed.

The aged Francesco Maria was then compelled to resume the government; full of deep sorrow that he was now the last of the line of Rovere, and that his house was drawing to its end with his own life: doubly disheartened to find himself burdened with the cares of government, and utterly

[1] La devoluzione a Santa Chiesa degli stati di Francesco Maria II della Rovere, ultimo duca d' Urbino, descritta dall' ill^mo. Sr. Antonio Donati nobile Veneziano.—Inff. Politt. (It has also been printed.)

deprived of courage for encountering the bitter insults and injurious encroachments of the Roman see.[1]

He was at first in fear lest the Barberini should contrive to obtain possession of the daughter left him by his son, a child of a year old; and to remove her for ever from their attempts, he betrothed her to a prince of Tuscany, and sent her immediately into the neighbouring state.

But another calamitous circumstance also occurred.

As the emperor made claim to certain portions of the territory of Urbino, Pope Urban, desiring to secure himself, required a declaration from the duke that he held all his possessions as a fief of the papal see. Long did Francesco Maria refuse to comply with this demand; he found such a declaration against his conscience. At length he resigned himself to the necessity of making it; "but from that time," says our authority, "he was never cheerful again,—he felt his spirit oppressed by that act."

He was soon afterwards obliged to allow the governors of his fortresses and towns to take the oath of allegiance to the pope; at length he resigned the government of the country,—it was in fact the best thing he could do,—without any reservation, to the authorities appointed by the pontiff.

Wearied of life, enfeebled by age, and bent with anguish of heart, after seeing all his trusted friends depart, the duke found his sole consolation in the practices of devotion. He died in the year 1631.

The dukedom was instantly taken into possession of the papacy by Taddeo Barberini, who hastened thither for that purpose. The allodial inheritance passed to Florence. The territory of Urbino was at once subjected to the system of government prevailing in other districts belonging to the Church, and very soon there might be heard throughout the duchy the complaints that the government of priests invariably called forth.[2]

[1] P. Contarini, "trovandosi il duca per gli anni e per l'indispositione già cadente prosternato et avvilito d'animo."

[2] Aluise Contarini finds the inhabitants exceedingly dissatisfied in the year 1635: "Quei sudditi s'aggravano molto della mutatione, chiamando tirannico il governo de' preti, i quali altro interesse che d'arrichirsi e d'avanzarsi non vi tengono."

We next proceed to examine their administration in general, and will first consider the most important of its elements, that on which all others are dependent,—the finances.

2. INCREASE OF DEBT IN THE STATES OF THE CHURCH

The public expenditure was diminished and treasure was accumulated by Sixtus V; but at the same time he increased the taxes and the revenue, and founded on them a great mass of debt.

To set rigid bounds to expenditure, and to amass money, were not things likely to be done by every man. The necessities of the Church, moreover, as well as those of the State, became more and more urgent from year to year. Recourse was sometimes had to the treasure locked up in the castle of St. Angelo, but so rigorous were the conditions attached to its application that this could only happen on very extraordinary occasions. It is a remarkable fact that the Curia found it much less difficult to raise loans, than to use the money lying by in its own coffers. The popes resorted, therefore, to the former method in the most reckless and precipitate manner.

We possess authentic statements of the relation which the revenues bore to the capital of the debt and its interest during a given number of years, and these documents present a curious subject of observation.

In the year 1587, the revenues amounted to 1,358,456 scudi, the debt to 7,500,000 scudi; about one-half of the revenue, 715,913 scudi, was assigned to pay the interest of the debt.

In 1592, the revenues had risen to 1,585,520 scudi, the debts to 12,242,620 scudi. The increase of the debt was already much greater than that of the revenue,—1,088,600 scudi, that is, about two-thirds of the income, were

appropriated to the interest of the debt by saleable offices and *luoghi di monte*.[1]

This state of things was already so critical that it must have occasioned very serious anxieties; the Curia would gladly have proceeded to diminish the rate of interest, and it was proposed to take a million from the castle for the purpose of paying back the capital of those who should refuse to accept the reduced interest. The net revenue would by this means have been considerably augmented; but the bull of Sixtus V, and anxiety lest the treasure should be squandered, prevented measures of that kind from being adopted, and the government was compelled to continue the usual practice.

It might have been expected that the acquisition of a territory so productive as that of Ferrara, would have presented a corresponding alleviation of the papal difficulties; yet this was not the case.

So early as the year 1599, the interest of the debt absorbed nearly three-fourths of the entire revenue.

But in the year 1605, when Paul V commenced his administration, the sum of 70,000 scudi was all that remained to the treasury of the total income, after paying the interest of the debt.[2] Cardinal Du Perron affirmed that the regular income to the pontiff would not have sufficed him for half the year, although the expenditure of the palace was very moderate.

It had thus become inevitable that debt should be heaped upon debt. We are enabled to ascertain from authentic sources how systematically Paul V availed himself of this means. He raised loans in November 1607, twice in January 1608, again in March, June, and July of the same year, and twice more in the month of September.

[1] Minute account of the papal finances from the first years of Clement VIII, without any particular title. Bibliol. Barb. No. 1699 on eighty leaves.

[2] Per sollevare la Camera Apostolica, discorso di M. Malvasia, 1606: "Gli interessi che hoggi paga la sede apostolica assorbono quasi tutte l'entrate, di maniera che si vive in continua angustia e difficoltà di provedere alle spese ordinarie e necessarie, e venendo occasione di qualche spesa straordinaria non ci è dove voltarsi." (App. No. 88.)

This he continued through all the years of his government. These loans were not large, according to our mode of viewing such operations: the less weighty demands were met as they arose by the establishment and sale of new luoghi di monte, in greater or smaller numbers. These bonds were secured now on the customs of Ancona, now on the dogana of Rome, or of some province, or again on an increase in the price of salt, or on the proceeds of the post. They were thus gradually extended to a very heavy amount: by Paul V alone two millions were added to the debt in luoghi di monte.[1]

He would, however, have found this impracticable, had he not been aided by a circumstance of a peculiar character.

Power has always attracted money. So long as the Spanish monarchy pursued its career of greatness, and extended its influence over the whole world, the Genoese, who were at that time the principal capitalists, invested their treasures in loans to the kings of Spain; nor were they deterred from thus disposing of their funds by the fact of their being subjected by Philip II to various exactions and forced reductions of interest. But as the great movement gradually abated, as the wars ceased and the expenditure of the Spaniards diminished, the Genoese withdrew their money. They next turned their attention towards Rome, which had meanwhile again assumed so powerful a position, and the treasures of Europe once more poured into the city. Under Paul V Rome was, perhaps, the most important money-market in Europe. The Roman luoghi di monte were resorted to with extreme avidity; as they paid considerable interest and presented sufficient security, their price increased on certain occasions to one hundred and fifty per cent. However extensively they were augmented, therefore, the pontiff invariably found purchasers in abundance.

It thus happened that the debts increased perpetually. In the beginning of the pontificate of Urban VIII they had attained the amount of eighteen millions; the revenues also, by the system of the Roman court, rose in similar

[1] Nota de' luoghi di monte eretti in tempo del pontificato della felice memoria di Paolo V, 1606–1618.

proportion; they were estimated at the beginning of Urban's administration, at 1,818,104 scudi 96 bajocchi.[1] I have not ascertained the precise sum taken from them for the payment of interest, but it must have been by far the larger portion; and on examining the different sources of revenue separately, the demands are found very frequently to exceed the income. In the year 1592, the Roman excise and customs (dogana di Roma) brought in 162,450 scudi. In 1625 they produced 209,000 scudi; but in the first of these years, 16,956 scudi had been paid into the papal treasury, while in the second, the assignments on the revenue exceeded the income by 13,260 scudi. The monopoly of salt (salara di Roma) had increased during that period from 27,654 to 40,000 scudi; but in 1592, a surplus had remained of 7,482 scudi; while in 1625 there was a deficiency of 2,321 scudi 98 bajocchi.

It will be obvious that little could be effected by household economy towards the due restriction of such a system as this. Still less under an administration such as that of Urban VIII, whose political jealousy so often impelled him to raise troops and construct fortifications.

It is true that Urbino was annexed to the States of the Church, but this acquisition produced but little, more especially in the commencement. After the loss of the allodial domains, the revenue of Urbino amounted to no more than 40,000 scudi; and on the other hand, the act of taking possession, when important concessions were made to the heirs, had occasioned a large expenditure.[2]

In the year 1635, Urban had raised the debt to thirty million scudi,[3] and to procure the funds required, he

[1] Entrata et uscita della Sede Apostolica del tempo di Urbano VIII.

[2] Remark of Francesco Barberini to the nuncio in Vienna, when the emperor put forward claims founded on that acquisition.

[3] Angelo Contarini, in 1629, estimates the revenue at 2,200,000 scudi, and the expenditure at 2,284,000 scudi, leaving a yearly deficit of 84,000 scudi. Relazione di Angelo Contarini ambasciatore ordinario alla corte di Roma 1627-1629 in: Relazioni degli stati Europei lette al senato dagli ambasciatori Veneti nel secolo decimosettimo, raccolte ed annotate di Niccolò Barozzi e Guglielmo Berchet. Serie III, Vol. I, p. 258.

had already imposed ten different taxes, either new ones, or old imposts increased. But even with all this he was far from attaining his object: circumstances occurred by which he was induced to go much further; but these we shall examine with more profit after having first directed our attention to another series of events.

3. FOUNDATION OF NEW FAMILIES

If we inquire to what objects all these revenues were applied, whither they all went, it is certainly undeniable that they were for the most part expended in furtherance of the general efforts in the cause of Catholicism.

Armies, such as that sent by Gregory XIV into France, and which his successors were compelled to maintain for some time after, necessarily cost the Roman see enormous sums; as did the active part taken by Clement VIII in the Turkish war, and the subsidies, such as those so often granted to the League and the house of Austria under Paul V, which Gregory XV afterwards doubled, and which were transferred, at least in part, to Maximilian of Bavaria by Urban VIII.

The States of the Church also frequently required large sums for the exigencies of some extraordinary occasion,—as, for example, the conquest of Ferrara, under Clement VIII; the proceedings of Paul V against Venice, and all the military preparations of Urban VIII.

To these were added the magnificent public buildings, raised at one time for the embellishment of the city, at another for the defence of the state, in the construction of which every new pope laboured in emulation of his predecessors.

There was, besides, a practice which obtained in the Roman court, and which contributed not a little to the accumulation of this mass of debt, while it certainly was not beneficial either to Christendom, the state, or even to the city, but was solely for the advantage of the different papal families.

The custom had been established, and is indeed perfectly consistent with the relation of the priesthood to a

widely extended organization of family interests—that the overplus of the ecclesiastical revenues should devolve on the kindred of the several incumbents.

The popes of the period now before us were prevented by the bulls of their predecessors from investing their relations with principalities, as had been so often attempted in earlier times; but they did not on that account forego the general practice of the ecclesiastical body; on the contrary, they were only the more earnest in their efforts to secure hereditary dignity to their families by conferring on them large possessions both in money and land.

They were careful, while pursuing this object, to provide themselves with arguments for their own justification. They proceeded from the principle that they were bound by no vow of poverty, and having decided that they might fairly consider the surplus proceeds of the spiritual office as their own property, they likewise inferred that they possessed the right of bestowing this superfluity on their kindred.

But far more powerful than considerations of this kind was the influence of family ties, and the natural inclination of men to leave behind them some memorial that shall survive their death.

The first who determined the form to which all pontiffs afterwards adhered, was Sixtus V.

One of his grand-nephews he raised to the rank of cardinal, intrusted him with a portion of the public business, and gave him an ecclesiastical income of 100,000 scudi; the other he married to a daughter of the Sommaglia family, and made marquis of Mentana, adding afterwards to his domains the principality of Venafro and the county of Celano in the Neapolitan territories. The house of Peretti long maintained itself in high consideration, and the name appears repeatedly in the college of cardinals.

But the Aldobrandini became far more powerful.[1] We

[1] Niccolò Contarini, Storia Veneta: "Clemente VIII nel conferir li beneficii ecclesiastici alli nepoti non hebbe alcun termine, et andò etiandio di gran lunga superiore a Sisto V suo precessore, che spalancò questa porta." [In conferring ecclesiastical benefices on his nephews Clement VIII knew no bounds, and even went far beyond his predecessor, Sixtus V, by whom this door was first thrown open, and that widely.]

have seen the influence exercised by Pietro Aldobrandini during the pontificate of his uncle. In the year 1599, he had already secured 60,000 scudi yearly from Church property; how greatly must this have been afterwards augmented! The possessions he inherited from Lucrezia d'Este came most effectually to his aid; he bought largely on all sides, and we find that he had funds invested in the Bank of Venice. But however extensive were the domains of Pietro, all must at length devolve on the family of his sister and her husband, Giovanni Francesco Aldobrandini. This Giovan-Francesco was also richly provided for; he was castellan of St. Angelo, governor of the Borgo, captain of the Guard, and general of the Church. His income, as early as the year 1599, was 60,000 scudi, and he often received sums of money from the pope. I find an account, by which Clement VIII is shewn to have bestowed on his kinsmen generally, during the thirteen years of his pontificate, more than a million scudi in hard money. They became all the more wealthy from the fact that Giovan-Francesco was a clever manager. He bought the estates of Ridolfo Pio, which had previously yielded only three thousand scudi a year, and obtained from them an income of twelve thousand. The marriage of his daughter Margareta with Rainuccio Farnese was not effected without enormous cost; the lady brought a dowry of 400,000 scudi to her husband,[1] besides other privileges and advantages, although this connection did not, as we have seen, eventually prove so close and cordial as had been hoped.

The path pursued by the Aldobrandini was taken up by the Borghese family, with an eager haste and recklessness that almost surpassed that displayed by the first-named house.

Cardinal Scipione Cafarelli Borghese possessed an influence over Paul V, fully equal to that exercised by Pietro

[1] Contarini: "Il papa mostrando dolore di esser condotto da nepoti da far così contro la propria conscienza, non poteva tanto nasconder nel cupo del cuore che non dirompesse la soprabondanza dell' allegrezza." [The pope, while making a show of grief at being induced by his nephews to act thus against his conscience, could not yet so carefully conceal his joy in the depths and darkness of his heart, but that it would burst forth.]

Aldobrandini over Clement VIII, and the wealth he accumulated was even greater. In the year 1612, the Church benefices already conferred on him were computed to secure him an income of 150,000 scudi. The envy necessarily awakened by riches and power so extensive he sought to appease and conciliate by kindness and a courteous affability of manner, but we cannot be surprised if he did not entirely succeed in disarming its rancour.

The temporal offices were bestowed on Marc-Antonio Borghese, on whom the pope also conferred the principality of Sulmona, in Naples, giving him besides rich palaces in Rome and the most beautiful villas in the neighbourhood. He loaded his nephews with presents; we have a list of them through his whole reign down to the year 1620. They were sometimes jewels or vessels of silver, or magnificent furniture, which was taken directly from the stores of the palace and sent to the nephews; at other times carriages, rich arms, as muskets and falconets, were presented to them, but the principal thing was the round sums of hard money. These accounts make it appear that, to the year 1620, they had received in ready money 689,627 scudi 31 bajocchi; in luoghi di monte, 24,600 scudi, according to their nominal value; in places, computing them at the sum their sale would have brought to the treasury, 268,176 scudi; all which amounted, as in the case of the Aldobrandini, to nearly a million.[1]

Nor did the Borghese neglect to invest their wealth in real property. They acquired eighty estates in the Roman Campagna; the Roman nobles suffering themselves to be tempted into the sale of their ancient hereditary domains by the large prices paid them, and by the high rate of interest borne by the luoghi di monte, which they purchased with the money thus acquired. In many other parts of the States of the Church, the Borghese also seated themselves, the pope facilitating their doing so by the grant of peculiar privileges. In some places, for example, they received the right of restoring exiles; in others, that of holding a market, or certain exemptions were granted to

[1] Nota di danari, officii, e mobili donati da Papa Paolo V a suoi parenti e concessioni fattegli. MS. See Appendix, No. 89.

their vassals. They were freed from various imposts, and even obtained a bull, by virtue of which their possessions were never to be confiscated.

The Borghese became the most wealthy and powerful of all the families that had yet risen in Rome.

And by these precedents the system of nepotism was so fully established, that even a short pontificate presented the means for accumulating a magnificent fortune.[1]

It is unquestionable that Cardinal Ludovico Ludovisio, the nephew of Gregory XV, exercised a more unlimited authority than had been possessed by any previous nephew. He had the good fortune to see the two most important offices of the Curia, those of vice-chancellor and high chamberlain, fall vacant during his administration, and both were given to him. He obtained Church revenues to the amount of more than 200,000 scudi yearly. The more important employments of the temporal power fell into the hands of Don Orazio, the brother of the pope and a senator at Bologna, who was appointed to the generalship of the Church and many other lucrative offices. Since the pope gave little promise of a long life, there was the more haste among the family to secure themselves a provision. In a short time they acquired luoghi di monte to the value of 800,000 scudi. The duchy of Fiano was purchased for them from the house of Sforza, and the principality of Zagarolo from the Farnese family. Already the young Niccolò Ludovisio was entitled to claim the richest and most splendid alliance. By his first marriage, accordingly, he brought Venosa, by a second, Piombino into his house. To these

[1] Pietro Contarini, Relatione di 1627: "Quello che possiede la casa Peretta, Aldobrandina, Borghese e Ludovisia, li loro principati, le grossissime rendite, tante eminentissime fabriche, superbissime supellettili con estraordinarii ornamenti e delizie non solo superano le conditioni di signori e principi privati, ma s'uguagliano e s'avanzano a quelle dei medesimi re." [That which is possessed by the Peretti, Aldobrandini, Borghese, and Ludovisi families, their principalities, their enormous revenues, their most splendid fabrics, their sumptuous furniture, their wonderful ornaments and luxuries of all kinds, not only exceed what is proper to the condition of nobles and private princes, but equal and even surpass the possessions of kings themselves.] See Appendix, No. III.

fortunate circumstances the favour of the king of Spain very greatly contributed.

Emulating examples so distinguished, the Barberini now proceeded in the same course; by the side of Urban VIII, there stood his elder brother Don Carlo as general of the Church; a grave and experienced man of business, of very few words, who was not to be dazzled by the first gleam of his rising fortunes, nor tempted into a display of empty pride, but who now steadily set himself before all things to found a great family estate.[1] "He knows," it is remarked in a report of the year 1625, "that the possession of riches distinguishes a man from the common mass, and does not consider it seemly that he who has once stood in the position of kinsman to a pope should appear in straitened circumstances after his death." Don Carlo had three sons, Francesco, Taddeo, and Antonio, who were now at once, and of necessity, destined to acquire positions of great importance. Francesco and Antonio adopted the clerical office; the first, who by his modesty and kindliness secured the general confidence and good-will, and who had also the faculty of accommodating himself to the caprices of his uncle, obtained the leading influence in the administration; and this, although he used it on the whole with moderation, could not fail, in so long a course of years, to bring with it a large amount of riches. In the year 1625, the income of Francesco was forty thousand scudi, but so early as 1627, it had arisen to one hundred thousand scudi.[2] It was not

[1] Relatione de' quattro Ambasciatori, 1625: "Nella sua casa è buon economo et ha mira di far danari, assai sapendo egli molto bene che l'oro accresce la riputatione agli uomini, anzi l'oro gli inalza e gli distingue vantaggiosamente nel cospetto del mondo."

[2] Pietro Contarini, 1627: "E di ottimi, virtuosi e lodevoli costumi, di soave natura, e con esempio unico non vuole ricever donativi o presente alcuno. Sarà nondimeno vivendo il pontefice al pari d'ogni altro cardinale grande e ricco. Hor deve aver intorno 80,000 sc. d'entrata di beneficii ecclesiastici, e con li governi e legationi che tiene deve avvicinarsi a 100^m sc." [He is a man of excellent, virtuous, and exemplary habits, and of a gentle disposition; he has given the solitary example of refusing to receive all donations or presents of whatever kind. Yet, if the pope lives, he will be equally rich and great with any other cardinal; he must now have about 80,000 scudi from church benefices, and with the government and legations that he holds, his income must be near 100,000 scudi.]

altogether with his consent that Antonio was also nominated cardinal, nor did this take place without the express condition that he should take no part in the administration. Antonio was a man of feeble frame, but was aspiring, obstinate, and proud; unwilling to be eclipsed in all ways by his brother, he laboured eagerly to accumulate a number of offices in his own person, and to secure large revenues; his income in the year 1635 amounted to the sum of 100,000 scudi. From the Order of Malta alone, he held six commanderies, which could not have been a welcome arrangement to the knights. He accepted presents also, but at the same time he gave much away, and was liberal on principle, for the purpose of securing to himself a large body of adherents among the Roman nobility. The second of these brothers, Don Taddeo, was chosen as the one who should found a family by the acquisition of heritable possessions; he obtained the dignity of the secular nephew, and after the death of his father, became general of the Church, commander of St. Angelo, and governor of the Borgo. He was already possessed of so many estates in the year 1635, that he also enjoyed a yearly income of 100,000 scudi,[1] and was continually receiving additions to his property. Don Taddeo lived in close retirement, and the economy of his household was quite exemplary. In a short time the regular yearly income of the three brothers was computed at half a million scudi. The most important offices were in their hands. As the younger Antonio was high chamberlain, so was the elder vice-chancellor, while the prefecture, which became vacant by the death of the duke of Urbino, was conferred on Don Taddeo. It was affirmed, that in the course of this pontificate, the incredible sum of 105,000,000 scudi passed into the hands of the Barberini.[2] "The

[1] That is to say, the revenues of his landed property amounted to the above-named sum. "Per li novi acquisti," says Al. Contarini, "di Palestrina, Monterotondo e Valmontone, fatto vendere a forza dai Colonnesi e Sforzeschi per pagare i debiti loro." [By his new acquisitions of Palestrina, Monterotondo, and Valmontone, which the houses of Colonna and Sforza were compelled to sell by force, for the payment of their debts.] The office of a general of the Church brought in 20,000 scudi. App. No. 115.

[2] Conclave di Innocenzo X; "Si contano caduti nella Barberina

palaces," continues the author of this account, "that, for example, at the Quattro Fontane, a royal work, the vineyards, the pictures, the statues, the wrought silver and gold, the precious stones, that were heaped on that house, are of more value than can be believed or expressed." To the pope himself this enormous accumulation of wealth by his family seems occasionally to have become matter of scruple, so that in the year 1640 he formally appointed a commission to inquire into the lawfulness of so large a possession by a papal family.[1] In the first place, this commission laid down the principle that a temporal sovereignty was involved in the papacy, from the surplus revenues or savings of which the pope might lawfully make donations to his kindred. It next proceeded to examine the relations and circumstances of this sovereignty, in order to determine to what extent the pope might go. Having made all requisite calculations, the commission decided that the pope might, with a safe conscience, found a patrimonial estate (majorat) of 80,000 scudi net revenue, together with an inheritance for the second son, and that to the daughters of the house there might be assigned a dowry of 180,000 scudi. The general of the Jesuits also, Vitelleschi, was required to give his opinion, for the Jesuits must needs have a hand in every thing; and he, considering these estimates to be moderate, awarded them his approval.

In this manner new families continually arose from pontificate to pontificate, obtaining hereditary wealth and influence; they took place immediately among the high aristocracy of the country, a rank that was readily accorded to them.

It will be obvious that they were not likely to remain exempt from collisions among themselves. The conflicts between predecessors and successors which had previously taken place among the factions in the conclaves, were now

come risulta da sincera notitia di partite distinte, 105 milioni di contanti." The sum is so incredible, that it might be taken for an error in writing, but the same statement is found in many MSS., among others in that of the Foscarini at Vienna, and in my own.

[1] Niccolini treats of this matter. I have also seen a small treatise: "Motivi a far decidere quid possit papa donare, al 7 di Luglio, 1640," by a member of this commission.

exhibited among the papal families. The new race that had just attained to power maintained the supremacy of its rank with jealous tenacity, and for the most part displayed hostility towards the family immediately preceding; nay, frequently inflicted persecutions on it. Thus, though the Aldobrandini had taken so large a part in the elevation of Paul V, they were, nevertheless, thrust aside by his kinsmen, were treated with enmity by them, and finally tried severely by costly and dangerous lawsuits.[1] They called him the "great ungrateful." The kinsmen of Paul V, in their turn, found no higher favour at the hands of the Ludovisi; while Cardinal Ludovisio himself was compelled to leave Rome on the rise of the Barberini into power.

This last-named family at once displayed an immoderate ambition in the use they made of the authority over the Roman nobles and Italian princes which they derived from the papal power. The dignity of prefect of Rome was conferred by Urban VIII on his secular nephew, precisely because to this office certain honorary rights were attached, which seemed likely to secure to his house a perpetual precedence over all others.

But this mode of proceeding was at length productive of a movement, which, though not of particular consequence to the world at large, yet makes an important epoch as regards the position of the papacy, not only within the States of the Church, but also throughout Italy.

4. WAR OF CASTRO

Among the papal families not actually in possession, that of the Farnese always maintained the highest rank, since they had not only secured large possessions in land, as the others had done, but had also acquired a principality of no inconsiderable importance: thus it was at all times a very difficult task for the ruling nephew to keep that house in allegiance and due subordination. When the duke Odoardo

[1] There is an example of this in the Vita de C[l]. Cecchini. See Appendix, No. 121.

Farnese visited Rome in the year 1639, all possible honours were paid to him;[1] the pope caused a residence to be prepared for him, appointed noblemen to attend him, and even lent him aid in his pecuniary affairs. The Barberini gave him splendid entertainments, and made him rich presents of pictures and horses. But with all these courtesies they could not wholly conciliate the duke to themselves. Odoardo Farnese was a prince of some talent, spirit, and self-reliance, but deeply imbued with the ambition of those times, which found pleasure in the exact observance of small distinctions, of which all were very jealous. He could not be persuaded to pay due respect to Don Taddeo, as prefect of Rome, nor would he concede to him the rank appropriate to that office. Even when visiting the pope, Farnese made an offensive display of the sense he entertained of his own personal superiority, as well as of the high dignity of his house. All this gave rise to misunderstandings, which were the less easy to remove, because founded on personal impressions that could not be effaced.

How the duke was to be escorted on his departure then became a weighty question. Odoardo demanded attendance similar to that received by the grand-duke of Tuscany: that is to say, he required the ruling nephew, Cardinal Francesco Barberini, to escort him in person. This Francesco would not agree to do, unless the duke first paid him a formal leave-taking visit at the Vatican,—a demand with which Odoardo did not feel himself bound to comply. Difficulties arising from his financial affairs came in addition to this cause of disagreement, and the duke's self-love, thus doubly mortified, was violently inflamed. After taking leave of the pope, with very few words, in which he nevertheless mingled complaints of the nephews, he left the palace and city without a word of farewell to Cardinal Francesco, a

[1] Deone, Diario ni Roma, tom. i.: "E fatale a Sig^ri. Barberini di non trovare corrispondenza ne' beneficati da loro. Il duca di Parma fu da loro alloggiato, accarezzato, servito di gentil'huomini e carrozze, beneficato con la reduttione del monte Farnese con utile di grossa somma del duca e danno grandissimo di molti poveri particulari, corteggiato e pasteggiato da ambi li fratelli card^li. per spatio di più settimane, e regalato di cavalli, quadri et altri galanterie, e si partì da Roma senza pur salutarli."

proceeding whereby he hoped to mortify him to the heart.[1]

But the Barberini, possessing an absolute authority in the States of the Church, had the means of avenging themselves in a manner to be felt much more sensibly.

The financial system established in the state had also found admission among the princely houses constituting its aristocracy, by all of whom it was imitated; they, too, had founded *monti*, and had assigned the incomes of their estates for the payment of their creditors: as the papal revenues were assigned to the creditors of the state, the luoghi di monte of the nobles passed in like manner from hand to hand. But these monti could scarcely have found credit if they had not been placed under the inspection and control of the supreme authority. It was only with the expressed approval of the pontiff that they could be either established or modified. Thus one of the privileges of the reigning house was that it could exercise an important influence over the domestic affairs of all other families by means of this supervision. Reductions of the rate of interest paid on the monti were of very common occurrence; they depended solely on the good pleasure and disposition of the pontifical house.

Now the Farnese also were loaded with a large amount of debt. The "Monte Farnese Vecchio" took its origin from the necessities and expenditure of Alessandro Farnese in the campaigns of Flanders; a new one had also been founded, concessions (indulti) from the popes had increased the mass, and since, while new monti, with lower interest, had been established, the old had not been extinguished, and the different operations were conducted by

[1] Among the many writings on both sides still remaining in MS., I consider the following most impartial and worthy of credit. Risposta in forma di lettera al libro di duca di Parma, in the 45th volume of the Informationi: "Il duca Odoardo fu dal papa e ringraziollo, soggiunse di non si poter lodare del S^r. C^le. Barberino. Dal papa gli fu brevemente risposto che conosceva l'affetto di S. Em^za. verso di lui. Licentiatosi da S. Beat^ne. senza far motto al S^r. cardinale se n'andò al suo palazzo, dovendo se voleva esser accompagnato da S. Em^za. rimanere nelle stanze del Vaticano e licentiarsi parimente da S. Em^za., come è usanza de' principi. La mattina finalmente partì senza far altro."

different commercial houses, all jealous of each other, every thing had fallen into confusion.[1]

It now happened, in addition to this, that the Barberini adopted certain measures, by which great injury was inflicted on the duke.

The two "monti Farnesi" were secured on the revenues of Castro and Ronciglione. The Siri, farmers of the imposts of Castro, paid 94,000 scudi to the duke, and with this sum the interest of the monti could still be just paid, but the proceeds would not have reached this amount, had it not been for certain concessions made to his house by Paul III. With this object, Pope Paul had turned the high-road from Sutri to Ronciglione, and had conferred on that district more extensive privileges in relation to the export of corn, than were possessed by other provinces. The Barberini now determined to recall these privileges. They turned the high-road again to Sutri; and in Montalto di Maremma, where the grain from Castro had always been shipped, they published an edict prohibiting the export of corn.[2]

The result anticipated became instantly manifest. The Siri, who were already on bad terms with the duke, on

[1] Deone, t. i.: "Fu ultimamente l'uno et l'altro stato, cioè Castro e Ronciglione, affittato per 94^{m} scudi l'anno a gli Siri. Sopra questa entrata è fondata la dote dell' uno e dell' altro monte Farnese, vecchio cioè e nuovo. Il vecchio fu fatto dal duca Alessandro di 54^{m} scudi l'anno, denari tutti spesi in Fiandra, al quale il presente duca Odoardo aggiunse somma per 300^{m} scudi in sorte principale a ragione di 4½ per cento, e di più impose alcuni censi, di modo che poco o nulla rimane per lui, sì che se li leva la tratta del grano, non ci sarà il pago per li creditori del monte, non che de' censuarii." [Ultimately both states, that is, Castro and Ronciglione, were farmed to the Siri for 94,000 scudi yearly. On this revenue, the interest of both the monti Farnesi, the old and the new, was secured; the old monte, paying 54,000 scudi a year, was founded by Duke Alessandro, all the money being spent in Flanders; the present duke Odoardo added to this the sum of 300,000 scudi, a capital paying four and a half per cent.; he has besides borrowed on mortgage; thus little or nothing remains for himself, so that if the corn-trade be removed from those states, there will be no means for paying either the creditors of the monte or the mortgagees.] (App. No. 122.)

[2] They defended their decree by the words of Paul's bull, which granted only the "facultas frumenta ad quaecunque etiam praefatae Romanae ecclesiae et nobis immediate vel mediate subjecta conducendi;" but in the course of time general freedom of export had grown up,

account of these financial operations, and now saw they would have support from the palace, refused to fulfil their contract; they ceased to pay the interest of the monte Farnese. It is affirmed that they were specially instigated to this by some of the prelates, who secretly took part in their business. The creditors of the monte, thus suddenly deprived of their income, pressed their claims, and sought redress from the papal government. Duke Odoardo, perceiving that he was intentionally wronged, disdained to seek for means of accommodation, but the complaints of the montists became so earnest, so urgent, and so general, that the pope thought himself justified in taking possession of the mortgaged domains, with a view to the restoration of so large a body of Roman citizens to their lawful rights. For this purpose, Urban sent a small armed force to Castro. The affair does not seem to have proceeded altogether without opposition. "We have been compelled," he exclaims, with excessive indignation in his *monitorium*, "we have been compelled to fire four great shots, by means of which one of the enemy was left slain."[1] On the 13th October, 1641, he took possession of Castro, nor was it his intention to stop there. In January, 1642, excommunication was pronounced against the duke, who would not suffer the revenues to be touched; he was declared to have forfeited all his fiefs, and an army took the field for the purpose of depriving him of Parma and Piacenza also. The pope would not hear a word of pacification; he affirmed that "between lord and vassal, nothing of the sort could find place; he would humble the duke; he had money, courage, and soldiers. God and the world would be on his side."

But by this proceeding the affair at once acquired a more general importance. The Italian states had long felt jealous of the repeated extensions given to the ecclesiastical

[1] This happened near a bridge. "Dictus dominus Marchio, ex quo milites numero 40 circiter, qui in eisdem ponte et vallo ad pugnandum appositi fuerunt, amicabiliter ex eis recedere recusabant, immo hostiliter pontificio exercitui se opponebant, fuit coactus pro illorum expugnatione quatuor magnorum tormentorum ictus explodere, quorum formidine hostes perterriti, fugam tandem arripuerunt, in qua unus ipsorum interfectus remansit."

dominions. They would not suffer Parma to be appropriated as Ferrara and Urbino had been, neither indeed had the house of Este resigned its rights to Ferrara, nor that of Medici certain claims on Urbino. All were offended by the arrogant pretensions of Don Taddeo,—the Venetians doubly so, because Urban VIII but a short time before had caused an inscription to be obliterated from the Sala Regia, wherein they were extolled for their pretended defence of Alexander III, an act which the people of Venice held to be a great insult.[1] To these causes of animosity were added political considerations of a more general character. As the Spanish predominance had formerly excited the suspicions and fears of the Italian states, so now did that of France produce the same effect. In all directions the Spanish monarchy was suffering severe losses, and the Italians feared lest a general revolution, even among themselves, might ensue, should Urban VIII, whom all considered the determined ally of the French, attain to increased power. On all these grounds they resolved to oppose him; their troops assembled in the Modenese, and the Barberini were thus compelled to give up the attempt to march through that territory. The papal forces sent against the allies took up their quarters about Ferrara.

Here then was to a certain extent repeated that contest between the French and Spanish interests which kept Europe at large in commotion; but how much feebler were the motives, the forces, and the efforts that were here engaged in this petty strife.

The peculiarity of the position in which the conflicting parties were placed, is strikingly exemplified by an expedition undertaken with his own unaided powers by the duke of Parma, who now found himself protected without much exertion on his own part, and yet entirely unfettered.

Without artillery or infantry, and with only three thousand horse, Odoardo made an incursion into the States of the Church. Fort Urbano, which had been erected at so

[1] This circumstance will be further considered in the Appendix, No. 117.

great a cost, and the assembled militia which had never prepared itself to meet an armed foe, opposed no resistance to his progress; the people of Bologna shut themselves up within their walls, and Farnese marched through the country, without once obtaining a sight of the papal troops. The city of Imola having opened her gates to the duke, he paid a visit to the papal commandant, and exhorted the town to remain faithful to the Roman see, for it was not against Rome, as he affirmed, that he had taken up arms; nor even against Urban VIII, but solely against his nephews; he marched under the banner of the Gonfaloniere of the Church, on which all might see the effigies of St. Peter and St. Paul, and in the name of the Church he demanded free passage for his troops. In Faenza, preparations were made for defending the gates, but when the governor perceived the enemy, he caused himself to be let down from the walls by a rope, in order to hold conference with the duke in person: the result of this interview was, that the gates were opened. Things proceeded in like manner at Forlì. In all these towns the inhabitants looked quietly from their windows on the march of their enemy, as he passed through the streets. The duke proceeded across the mountains into Tuscany, and then again passed from Arezzo into the States of the Church. Castiglione da Lago and Città del Pieve opened their gates to his troops; he pressed forward without a pause, and filled the land with the terror of his name.[1] Rome more particularly was perplexed and confounded; the pope dreaded the fate of Clement VII, and made an attempt to arm his Romans; but it was necessary first to gather funds, and to levy contributions from house to house, which was not accomplished without much offensive discourse, before a small body of cavalry could be got together. Had the duke of Parma then made his appearance, a couple of cardinals would, without doubt, have been despatched to meet him at the Milvian Bridge (Ponte Molle) with instructions to grant all that he might be pleased to demand.

But neither was Odoardo Farnese a warrior. It would

[1] A circumstantial relation of this enterprise will be found in Siri's Mercurio, tom. ii. p. 1289.

be difficult to conjecture by what considerations he was restrained, what reflections withheld him, or how he suffered himself to be led into negotiations from which he could expect to gain nothing. The pope recovered his breath; with a zeal quickened by the sense of danger he fortified Rome,[1] and managed to send a new army into the field, by which the duke, whose troops were not easily kept together, was very soon driven from the States of the Church. As there was now nothing more to fear, Urban again imposed the most rigorous conditions; the ambassadors of the different sovereigns left Rome; and even in unwarlike Italy, preparations were once more set on foot for a trial of the national weapons.

First of all, in May, 1643, the confederate princes invaded the territory of Ferrara. The duke of Parma laid hands on a couple of fortresses, Bondeno and Stellata; the Venetians and Modenese joined their forces and marched deeper into the land. But the pope also had meanwhile armed himself with his best skill as aforesaid; he had set 30,000 men on foot, and got 6000 horse together, and the Venetians found it advisable to consider a little, before attacking so mighty a force; they drew back, and in a short time it was the troops of the Church that were going forward into the territories of Modena and to Polesine di Rovigo.[2]

The grand duke of Tuscany made an ineffectual

[1] Deone: "Si seguitano le fortificationi non solo di Borgo, ma del rimanente della mura di Roma, alle quali sono deputati tre cardinali, Pallotta, Gabrieli et Orsino, che giornalmente cavalcano da una porta all' altra; e si tagliano tutte le vigne che sono appresso la mura per la parte di dentro di Roma, cioè fanno strada tra la mura e le vigne e giardini con danno grandissimo de' padroni di esse: e così verrà anche tocco il bellissimo giardino de' Medici, e perderà la particella che haveva nella mura di Roma." [They are proceeding with the fortifications, not only of the Borgo, but also of the remaining walls of Rome; three cardinals are deputed to see this done, Pallotta, Gabrielli, and Orsino, and they prance about every day from one gate to the other. All the vines are cut down on the city side of the walls, that is, they are making a road between the walls and the vines, to the great injury of the proprietors. Very soon they will be falling on the beautiful garden of the Medici, and the last morsel they possess within the walls of Rome will be lost.]

[2] Frizzi, Memorie per la Storia di Ferrara, v. p. 100.

attempt on Perugia. The troops of the pope even made incursions here and there within the territory of Tuscany.

How extraordinary is the aspect of all these movements! how totally without nerve or spirit on either side! how inefficient, how useless, compared with the conflicts proceeding at the same time in Germany, with the march of the Swedes from the Baltic to the neighbourhood of Vienna, and from Moravia to Jutland! And yet they were not purely Italian; foreigners served on both sides; the majority of the papal troops were Frenchmen, and the confederate army was principally German.

But the Italian war had nevertheless one result of a similar character to those more vigorously conducted; the country was exhausted and the papal treasury more particularly fell into the utmost embarrassment.[1]

Many were the expedients resorted to by Urban VIII for procuring the money he required. So early as September, 1642, the bull of Sixtus V was submitted to a new deliberation, and this ended in the resolution to take 500,000 scudi from the castle.[2] It was obvious that the sum thus appropriated could not go far; the practice was then commenced of taking loans from the remainder of that treasure; that is to say, it was positively resolved that at some future time the money then abstracted should be paid back. We have already seen that personal taxation had been among the means adopted; and this method of raising funds was now frequently repeated. The pope gave intimation to the conservators of what sums he required, whereupon

[1] Riccius, Rerum Italicarum sui temporis narrationes, Narr. xix. p. 590: "Ingens opinioneque maius bellum exarsit; sed primo impetu validum, mox senescens, postremo neutrius partis fructu, imo militum rapinis indigenis exitiale, irritis conatibus prorsus inane mutua studia officiaque abiit."

[2] Deone, 20 Sett. 1642: "Havendo il papa fatto studiare da legisti e theologi di potere conforme la bolla di Sisto V cessare denari dal tesoro del castel Sant' Angelo, il lunedì 22 del mese il papa tenne consistoro per il medesimo affare. — — Fu risoluto di cessare 500^{m} scudi d'oro, a 100^{m} per volta, e non prima che sia spesi quelli che al presente sono ancora in essere della camera."

the inhabitants, foreigners not excepted, were called on to contribute each his quota. But the principal dependence continued to be on the excise and customs. At first they were of such kind as to be but little felt,—on bruised corn, for example, the food of poultry; but much heavier imposts soon followed, and these fell on articles of indispensable necessity, such as bread and salt, wine, fire-wood.[1] It was at this time that the taxes made their second great advance, having attained in 1644 to the sum of 2,200,000 scudi. It will now be understood from previous remarks that each new impost, or increase of an impost, was immediately funded, a monte established on it, and then sold. Cardinal Cesi, a former treasurer, computed that in this manner new debts were contracted to the amount of 7,200,000 scudi, although 60,000 scudi still remained of the treasure. The entire expense of the war was stated to the Venetian ambassador in the year 1645, at more than 12,000,000 scudi.[2]

The serious consequences to be apprehended from such a system now became daily more obvious; credit was, at length, exhausted, and all resources were gradually failing. Neither did the war proceed altogether as was desired; in a skirmish near Lagoscuro, 17th March, 1644, Cardinal Antonio was in imminent danger of being made prisoner, and escaped only by the fleetness of his horse.[3] The pope,

[1] Deone, 29 Nov. 1642: "Si sono imposte 3 nuove gabelle, una sopra il sale oltre l'alte, la 2ª sopra le legna, la 3ª sopra la dogana, la quale in tutte le mercantie che vengono per terra riscuote 7 per cento, per acqua 10 per cento. Si è cresciuto uno per cento d'avvantaggio, e si aspettano altre 3 gabelle per le necessità correnti, una sopra le case, l'altra sopra li censi, la terza sopra li casali, cioè poderi nella campagna." [Three new taxes have been imposed; one on salt, in addition to the old one, the second on wood, and the third on the customs, being seven per cent. on merchandise brought by land, and ten per cent. on all that comes by water. This is raising them one per cent.; and three other taxes are expected to meet the present necessities; one on houses, another on mortgages, and a third on "casali," that is to say, farms in the country.]

[2] Relatione de' quattro Ambasciatori: "L'erario si trova notabilmente esausto, essendoci stato affermato da più cardinali, aver spesi i Barberini nella guerra passata sopra 12 milioni d'oro." (App. No. 125.)

[3] Nani, Storia Veneta, lib. xii. p. 740.

feeling himself constantly becoming weaker, was, at length, compelled to think of peace.

The French undertook the task of mediation. The Spaniards had so little influence at the papal court, and had besides lost so much of their authority in all other quarters, that on this occasion they were entirely excluded.

At a former period, the pope had often said that he knew well the purpose of the Venetians was to kill him with vexation, but that they should not succeed, for he would know how to hold out against them. Yet he now saw himself compelled to yield all they demanded, to revoke the sentence of excommunication pronounced against the duke of Parma, and restore Castro to his possession. Urban had never imagined that he could come to this extremity, and he felt it very deeply.

He was afflicted also from another cause, the renewed fear, namely, that now assailed him, of having favoured his nephews unduly; and this he dreaded to find lying heavily on his conscience, when he should stand in the presence of God. He once more called together certain theologians in whom he placed particular confidence. Cardinal Lugo, among others, with Father Lupis, a Jesuit, were summoned to hold a consultation in his presence. The conclusion they came to was, that since the nephews of his holiness had made so many enemies, it was perfectly just, nay, even necessary for the honour of the Apostolic See, that they should have the means of maintaining their dignity unimpaired after the decease of the pope and in defiance of their enemies.[1]

By these afflicting doubts, and with the bitter consciousness of having laboured to no purpose, the pope met the approach of death. His physician has recorded the fact, that at the moment when he was compelled to sign the peace of Castro, he was so completely overcome by distress of mind, as to fall into a swoon, and this was the beginning of the illness of which he died. He prayed that Heaven would avenge him on the godless princes who had forced him into war, and expired on the 29th July, 1644.

[1] Nicoletti, Vita di Papa Urbano, tom. viii. See Appendix, No. 120; see also No. 115.

Thus the papal see had scarcely been forced to retreat from the position it had occupied at the central point of European affairs, when it suffered a defeat as regarded those of Italy, and even in the concerns of its own states, exceeding any that had been inflicted on it for a long period.

It is true that Pope Clement VIII had fallen out with the Farnese, and had been obliged, at length, to grant them pardon; but he did so, because he desired to avenge himself on the Spaniards, and required the aid of the remaining Italian princes for that purpose. The position of things at the moment we speak of was very different from this. Urban VIII had put forth his utmost strength to attack the duke of Parma, but the united forces of Italy had exhausted all the powers he could oppose to them, and compelled him to a disadvantageous peace. It was not to be denied that the papacy had once more sustained a decided defeat.

5. INNOCENT X

The effect of this position of affairs was made manifest on the assembling of the next conclave.[1] The nephews of Urban VIII brought in eight and forty cardinals, creatures of their uncle; so large a faction had never before been seen. Yet it soon became evident that they would not be able to secure the elevation of Sacchetti, the man whom they had chosen, the scrutinies daily presenting a more and more unfavourable result. Perceiving this, and to prevent a declared antagonist from obtaining the tiara, Francesco Barberini finally decided for Cardinal Pamfili, who was, at

[1] Again arose the disorders and violence customary during a vacancy of the papal chair. J. Nicii Erythraei Epist. lxviii. ad Tyrrhenum, iii non. Aug. 1644: "Civitas sine jure est, sine dignitate respublica. Tantus in urbe armatorum numerus cernitur, quantum me alias vidisse non memini. Nulla domus est paulo locupletior, quae non militum multorum praesidio muniatur; ac si in unum omnes cogerentur, magnus ex eis exercitus confici posset. Summa in urbe armorum impunitas, summa licentia: passim caedes hominum fiunt: nil ita frequenter auditur quam, hic vel ille notus homo est interfectus."

least, one of those created by Urban VIII, although strongly disposed to the party of Spain, and expressly objected to by the French court. On the 16th September, 1644, Cardinal Pamfili was elected. He took the name of Innocent X, in memory, as was believed, of Innocent VIII, in whose pontificate his house had come to Rome.

By the elevation of Innocent X the policy of the Roman court once more received a change.

The confederate princes, more particularly the Medici, to whom the new pope attributed his election, now obtained influence over that authority against which they were but lately in arms. The inscription relating to the Venetians, which Urban had effaced, was restored.[1] Nearly all those elevated in the first promotion that ensued were friends of Spain; a new accession of strength was acquired by the whole Spanish party, which now again held the French, at least in Rome, in equal balance.

The Barberini were the first to feel this revolution of things. It is no longer possible to ascertain how much of all that was laid to their charge was well founded. They were declared to have perverted justice, and to have seized benefices belonging to others; but the chief accusation against them was that of having misappropriated the public money. The pope resolved to call the nephew of his predecessor to account for the administration of the finances during the war of Castro.[2]

[1] Relatione de' quattro Ambasciatori, 1645: "Il presente pontefice nel bel principio del suo governo ha con publiche dimostrationi registrate in marmi detestato le opinioni del processore, rendendo il lustro alle glorie degli antenati di VV EE." [The present pontiff, in the very beginning of his government, has expressed his dissent from the opinion of his predecessor, by public demonstration registered in marble, and has restored their lustre to the glories of your excellency's ancestors.] We see from this how high a tone they took as regarded that matter.

[2] Relatione delle cose correnti, 25 Maggio, 1646, MS. Chigi: "I Barberini, come affatto esclusi dal matrimonio del novello pontefice, cominciarono a machinar vastità di pensieri stimati da loro nobili. Il papa continuò ad invigiliare con ogni accuratezza che la discamerata camera fusse da loro sodisfatta." [The Barberini, seeing themselves utterly repudiated by the new pope, began to devise machinations in plenty, which they considered excellent; but the pope continued to watch carefully, and insisted on having the untreasuried treasury satisfied by them.]

At first the Barberini believed that they could place themselves in security by means of France, and as Mazarin had risen to his eminent station, in the service, and by the assistance of their house, he did not now let them want support; they affixed the French arms to their palaces, and formally declared themselves under the protection of France. But Pope Innocent affirmed that he was there for the purpose of maintaining justice, and could not neglect to do so even though Bourbon were standing at the gates.

Antonio, who was in the greatest danger, first took flight, in October, 1645. Some months later Francesco left the city, as did Taddeo, with his children.

The pope caused their palaces to be seized, their offices to be distributed to others, and their luoghi di monte sequestrated. The Roman people applauded him in all these proceedings. On the 20th of February, 1646, an assembly was gathered in the Capitol: it was the most imposing that had been seen within the memory of man, from the number of persons, distinguished by their rank and titles, who took part in it. A proposal was made to entreat the pope to repeal, at least, that most oppressive of all the taxes imposed by Urban VIII—the tax on flour. But the connections of the Barberini resisted this proposal, in apprehension lest the debt founded on that impost should be paid out of their property in the event of its being repealed. Donna Anna Colonna, the wife of Taddeo Barberini, caused a memorial to be read, reminding the people of the services Urban VIII had rendered the city, and of his zeal for the administration of justice: she declared it to be unseemly that an appeal should be made against the lawful taxes imposed by a pontiff of such high merit. The resolution was adopted nevertheless: Innocent proceeded to act upon it without delay, and the deficiency thereby occasioned was made good, as had been rightly anticipated, from the possessions of Don Taddeo.[1]

In the meantime, and while the family of the preceding pope was thus violently assailed and persecuted, it became a question, now the most important in every pontificate, by

[1] The passage from the Diario of Deone will be found in the Appendix, No. 122.

what means the new pontifical house was to establish itself. It is a circumstance of some weight in the general history of the papacy, that this was no longer accomplished by precisely the same method as on earlier occasions, although the scandal caused by the court was in itself much increased and aggravated.

Pope Innocent was under obligations to his sister-in-law, Donna Olimpia Maidalchina of Viterbo; more particularly on account of the very considerable possessions that she had brought into the house of Pamfili. He accounted it, also, as a high merit in Donna Olimpia, that she had refused to form any second alliance after the death of his brother, her husband.[1] His own interest more especially was promoted by this determination on her part. The management of the family possessions had been long committed to her care, and it is not therefore surprising if she now obtained influence over the administration of the papacy.

This lady soon acquired a position of the highest importance at the court; it was to her that ambassadors paid their first visit on arriving in Rome. Cardinals placed her portrait in their apartments, as is customary with the portraits of sovereigns, and foreign courts sought to conciliate her favour by presents. As the same path was taken by all who desired to obtain favours from the Curia, riches soon began to flow into her coffers; it was even reported that from all the inferior offices procured by her means she exacted a monthly contribution. In a short time she had established a great household, gave rich festivals and theatrical entertainments, travelled and bought estates. Her daughters were married into the most distinguished and wealthy families; the first to one of the Ludovisi, the second to a son of the Giustiniani. For her son Don Camillo, who was of very mean capacity, she had originally

[1] Bussi, Storia di Viterbo, p. 331. Donna Olimpia was at first much esteemed. The Venetian ambassadors, of the year 1645, say of her: "è dama di gran prudenza e valore, conosce il posto in cui si trova di cognata del pontefice, gode la stima e l'affettione della S^tà. S., ha seco molta autorità." [She is a lady of great prudence and worth; she understands the position she holds of sister-in-law to the pope; she enjoys the esteem and affection of his holiness, and has great influence with him.]

thought it expedient to select the clerical profession, and intended him to assume, at least in externals, the position of cardinal-nephew;[1] but an opportunity having presented itself for contracting a splendid marriage for him with the richest heiress in Rome, Donna Olimpia Aldobrandini, who had been set at liberty by the death of her husband, he returned to the secular condition and entered into that alliance.

By this union Don Camillo was exalted to the highest happiness he could possibly desire; his wife was not only rich, but still in the bloom of life, being graceful and full of intelligence; she supplied his deficiencies by her own rare qualities. But she also desired to rule. Between the mother-in-law and her daughter-in-law there was not a moment's peace, and the house of the pope was disturbed by the contentions of two women. The newly-married pair were at first obliged to depart; but they did not long endure to remain at a distance, and returned to the palace without the pope's consent; the dissensions of the family then became manifest to all the world. Donna Olimpia Maidalchina appeared, for example, on a certain occasion during the carnival, with a magnificent equipage and splendid train on the Corso; her son and his wife were standing at a window, but when their mother's carriage appeared in sight, they turned and went away. This was remarked by every one. It became the subject of conversation to all Rome.[2] The different parties next laboured to obtain influence with these dissentient relatives.

The character and disposition of Pope Innocent were

[1] All were surprised at this from the first: "Io stimo," says Deone, 19 Nov. 1644, "che sia opera della S^ra. donna Olimpia che ha voluto vedere il figlio cardinale e desidera più tosto genero che nuora." [I conclude that this is the work of Donna Olimpia, who has desired to see her son a cardinal, and prefers a son-in-law to a daughter-in-law.]

[2] Deone, Diario. At another time he relates as follows: "Mercordì la tarda (Ag. 1648) la S^ra. Olimpia con ambedue le figliuole con molta comitiva passò per longo il corso; ogn' uno credeva che ella andasse a visitare la nuora, ma passò avanti la casa senza guardarla." [On Wednesday, in the afternoon (August, 1648), the Signora Olimpia, with both her daughters, and a numerous train, passed along the Corso; every one supposed that she was going to visit her daughter-in-law, but she passed before the house without looking at it.]

unfortunately better fitted for promoting and exasperating disputes of this kind than for appeasing them.

Not that he was by any means a man of common qualities. In his earlier career, while attached to the Rota, in his office of nuncio, or as cardinal, he had proved himself to be diligent in action, blameless of life, and upright in principle; this reputation he still maintained. His industry was thought the more extraordinary, from the fact that he had completed his seventy-second year at the period of his election. It was, nevertheless, boastingly remarked, that "labour does not weary him; after long exertion he is as fresh as he was before; he finds pleasure in conversing with those who seek him, and permits each person to say all that he desires to say." The cheerful temper and affable manners of Innocent presented a striking contrast to the proud reserve of Urban VIII. He made it his particular concern to maintain peace and good order in Rome, and was ambitious of establishing security of property, and insuring the safety of all his subjects by night as well as by day. No injustice or oppression from the superior to the inferior, no injury of the weak by the powerful, was tolerated during the pontificate of Innocent X.[1]

He also compelled the barons to pay their debts. The duke of Parma had not yet satisfied his creditors, so that the pope could not appear in Rome without being implored aloud to procure justice for the montists; as there was, moreover, cause to believe that the bishop of Castro had been murdered at the instigation of the duke's government, it was at length resolved to take decisive steps in this matter also. The domains of the Farnese were once more offered for sale; solicitors and civil practitioners proceeded to Castro and took possession of the town in the name of the montists.[2] The duke again opposed resistance, and made

[1] Relatione di Contarini, 1648: "Rimira solamente con applicatione alla quiete dello stato ecclesiastico e particolarmente di Roma, acciò goda ciascheduno delle proprie facoltà e della libertà del praticare la notte e non rimanga l'inferiore tiranneggiato dal superiore."

[2] Deone, Diario, 16 Giugno, 1649: "Il papa in questo negotio sta posto totalmente e mi disse: 'non possiamo andare per le strade di Roma, che non si venga gridato dietro, che facciamo pagare il duca di

a second attempt to penetrate into the States of the Church; but this time he found no auxiliaries. Innocent X was not feared by the Italian princes as Urban had been; he was rather, as we have seen, their ally. Castro was taken, its defences were demolished, and the duke was compelled to resign that district to the administration of the papal treasury, which undertook to satisfy his creditors; he even assented to the decision which adjudged him to forfeit the whole domain if he failed to redeem the monti Farnesi within eight years. The capital amounted to about 1,700,000 scudi, the accumulated interest to 400,000 scudi. The duke seemed in no condition to raise so large a sum; the agreement, which was moreover again effected by Spanish mediation, was tantamount to an enforced renunciation, and did but escape it in name.

In all these transactions, Pope Innocent displayed energy, prudence, and determination; but he laboured under one defect which made it difficult to preserve a good understanding with him, and which rendered his life bitter even to himself; he reposed unvarying confidence in no one; good-will and displeasure alternated with him according to the impression of the moment.

This was experienced, among others, by the datary, Cecchini; after he had long enjoyed the papal favour, this officer suddenly found himself suspected, attacked, reproached, and finally superseded by his subordinate, that Mascambruno who was afterwards convicted of the most extraordinary forgeries.[1]

But perplexities of a still more painful character arose in the papal family itself, which was already sufficiently divided.

After the marriage of Don Camillo Pamfili, Innocent X had no longer a nephew of the clerical order, a personage who had for a long time formed an essential part of the papal court and household. He once felt himself moved to

Parma. Sono sette anni che non paga, e di questa entrata devon viver molti luoghi pii e vedove e pupilli.'" It is obvious that the pope's motives were not reprehensible.

[1] Vita del C^l. Cecchini, scritta da lui medesimo. "Scrittura contro Mons^r. Mascambruno, con laquale s' intende che s' instruisca il processo che contro il medesimo si va fabricando;" with the still more circumstantial report, Pro R. P. D. Mascambruno, MS. Appendix, No. 121.

take particular interest in Don Camillo Astalli, a distant kinsman of his house, who was presented to him, and resolved to confer on this young man the dignity of cardinal-nephew. He took him into his household, gave him apartments in the palace, and entrusted him with a share in the business of the state. This elevation he caused to be publicly proclaimed by the firing of cannon from the castle of St. Angelo, and by other solemnities.

Yet nothing resulted from that arrangement but new misunderstandings and vexations.

The remainder of the papal family complained of being placed in the background; even the cardinals previously nominated by Innocent X were dissatisfied on perceiving a new-comer preferred to themselves;[1] but above all other persons, Donna Olimpia Maidalchina was displeased; she had commended the young Astalli, and had proposed his elevation to the cardinalate, but she had by no means expected that his favour would go so far.

In the first place, she was herself sent away. The secular nephew and his wife, who was declared by a contemporary to be "as greatly exalted above ordinary women as he was sunk beneath the level of ordinary men," gained access to the palace.

But the nearly related secular nephew did not long maintain his friendly relations with the adopted ecclesiastical nephew; the elder Olimpia was recalled to keep the house in order.

In a very short time she had recovered all her accustomed influence.[2]

[1] Deone, Diario, 10 Sett. 1650: "Discorre la corte che'l papa ha perduto il beneficio conferito a tutte le sue creature, che si tengono offese che papa habbia preferito un giovane senza esperienza a tutti loro, tra' quali sono huomini di molto valore, segno che tutti l'ha per diffidenti overo inetti alla carica." Much is said of this in a paper entitled Osservationi sopra la futura elettione, 1652: "Io credo che sia solamente un capriccio che all' improviso gli venne — — conoscendo appena mons^r. Camillo Astalli." [I believe that this is merely a caprice . . . the pope scarcely knowing Mons^r. Astalli.]

[2] Pallavicini, Vita di Papa Alessandro VII: "La scaltra vecchia passò con breve mezzo dall' estremo della disgratia all' estremo della gratia." [The crafty old woman has mounted in a short time from the extremity of disgrace to the height of favour.]

In one of the apartments of the Villa Pamfili stand the busts of the pope and his sister-in-law; when these are compared—when the features of the woman, full of intelligence and firm decision, are considered, together with the mild and inexpressive countenance of the pope, it becomes at once obvious that his being governed by his sister-in-law was not only possible but inevitable.

After she had regained admission to the palace, she too refused to suffer that the advantages consequent on the position of a nephew should be imparted to any other house than her own. Since Astalli would not divide his authority with her as she desired, she did not rest until he had lost the favour of the pope, was cast down from his eminence and sent from the palace, nor until she had herself recovered her undivided rule, and reigned absolute mistress in the house. On the other hand, won over by gifts, she now formed an intimate connection with the Barberini, who had meanwhile returned to Rome.

How grievously must all these changes from disgrace to favour, and from favour to disgrace, with the continual dissensions among those most immediately connected with him, have oppressed and disturbed the poor old pope. Nor can the inward longings of the spirit be stilled by the declared rupture that may seem to re-establish quiet; the affections that should have consoled and gladdened his age were turned into sources of grief and distress. The aged pontiff now felt, moreover, that he was made the instrument for gratifying a womanly desire for authority and love of gain; he disapproved of and was rendered unhappy by this state of things; gladly would he have brought it to an end, but he had not the energy and resolution required, nor did he indeed know how to do without his sister-in-law. His pontificate, which ought to have been numbered among the more fortunate, since it passed without any remarkable disaster, yet acquired an evil reputation from these irregularities in the family and the palace. Innocent was himself rendered even more capricious, self-willed, and burdensome to himself than he had been made by nature.[1]

[1] Pallavicini: "Fra pretiosi arredi oggetto fetente e stomachevole — — proruppe a varie dimostrationi quasi di smanie, — — Assai te-

Tò the last days of his life we find him occupied in despoiling and inflicting new banishments on his other relations, and in this comfortless state of things he died, Jan. 5, 1655.

The corpse lay three days before any one of those connected with him, on whom by the usage of the court the duty of interment devolved, had given a thought to the care of it. Donna Olimpia declared that she was a poor widow, and that it was beyond her powers; no other person considered himself under any obligation to the deceased pontiff. Finally, a canon, who had once been in the papal service, but had been long dismissed, expended half a scudo, and caused the last honours to be rendered to his late master.

But we are not to suppose that these domestic contentions were merely personal in their ultimate consequences.

It is evident that the system of government by nephews, which had exercised so complete an authority in the state, and so powerful an influence on the Church during previous pontificates, after receiving a severe shock in the latter years of Urban VIII, had now fallen into abeyance, and was, indeed, for ever doomed.

6. ALEXANDER VII AND CLEMENT IX

The succeeding conclave immediately presented an unaccustomed appearance.

The nephews of the deceased pontiff had hitherto presented themselves, with a numerous band of devoted adherents, to dominate the new election. Innocent X left no nephew who could hold the cardinals of his creation together, or unite them into a faction. None owed their elevation to Astalli, who had guided the helm of state for a short

muto, niente amato, non senza qualche gloria e felicità ne' successi esterni, ma inglorioso e miserabile per le continue o tragedie o comedie domestiche." [In the midst of splendid appointments a fetid and loathsome object . . . he broke into various exclamations with a sort of frenzy. . . . Not a little feared, but by no means loved, he had some success and credit in his public affairs, but was most inglorious and wretched from the continually recurring scenes either of tragedy or comedy in his domestic life.] See Appendix, Nos. 129, 130.

time only, and had exercised no prevailing influence, nor did any of them feel bound to his interests. For the first time, during many centuries, the new cardinals entered the conclave with unlimited freedom of choice. They were recommended to unite of their own accord under one head, and are reported to have replied that every one of them had a head and feet of his own; they were for the most part men of distinguished character and independent modes of thinking, united certainly among themselves (they were designated the flying squadron—squadrone volante),[1] but they would no longer be guided by the will of a nephew, and had resolved to act upon their own convictions and judgment.

While Innocent X yet lay on his death-bed, one of this "squadron," Cardinal Ottoboni, is said to have exclaimed, "This time we must seek an honest man." "If you want an honest man," replied another of the party, Cardinal Azzolini, "there stands one,"—he pointed to Cardinal Chigi.[2] And Chigi had not only obtained the reputation of being an able man of upright intentions, but was particularly distinguished as an opponent of the abuses involved in the forms of government hitherto prevailing. But the friends he had secured were confronted by very powerful antagonists, more especially among the French. When Mazarin, driven out of France by the troubles of the Fronde, was making preparations on the German frontier to replace himself, by force of arms, in possession of his lost power, his efforts had not been promoted by Chigi,—who was then nuncio at Cologne,—so effectively as he thought himself entitled to expect; from that time, therefore, Mazarin had entertained a personal animosity to Chigi. It followed from this circumstance that the election cost much labour, and the contest was once more protracted to a very great length; finally, however, the new members of the conclave, the "squadronisti,"

[1] Pallavicini names the following as confederates: Imperiale, Omodei, Borromeo, Odescalchi, Pio, Aquaviva, Ottoboni, Albizi, Gualtieri, and Azzolini. The name of Squadrone was given them by the Spanish ambassador.

[2] "Se vogliano un uomo dabene, quegli è desso, et additò Cl. Chigi, che era indi lontano alquanto nella medesima camera." (Pallavicini.)

carried their point. On the 7th of April, 1655, Fabio Chigi was elected. He took the name of Alexander VII.

The new pontiff was compelled, by the very principle which had suggested his elevation, to conduct his government on a system wholly different from that adopted by his more immediate predecessors; he seemed also to have determined on doing this.

For a considerable time he would not permit his nephews to visit Rome, and boasted that he had not suffered one penny to be turned to their advantage. His confessor, Pallavicini, who was then writing the history of the Council of Trent, at once inserted a passage in his work, predicting everlasting fame to Alexander VII, more particularly on account of this self-denial with regard to his family.[1]

But it must always be a difficult thing to abandon a custom once firmly established, and the rather because it never could have gained prevalence without possessing in itself some quality that was commendable—some natural claim to existence. There are persons in every court who are always prepared to put this better aspect of a custom in the most favourable light, and who delight to cling firmly to ancient usage, however obvious its abuses may be.

It was thus gradually intimated to Alexander VII, first by one, and then by another, of those surrounding him, that it was not seemly to permit the papal kinsmen to remain in the rank of private citizens in some remote town; nay, that it was, in fact, impossible, for that the people of Siena were not to be restrained from paying princely honours to his house, whereby the Holy See might readily become involved in misunderstandings with Tuscany. There were other

[1] In his Latin biography of Alexander VII he says: "Populus, qui prae multis vectigalibus humeris sibi ferre videbatur recentiores pontificias domos tot opibus onustas, huic Alexandri S^mi. magnanimitati mirifice plaudebat; — — inexplicabili detrimento erat et sacro imperio distributione minus aequa beneficiorum et perpetuis populi oneribus."—Relatione de' IV Ambasciatori 1655: "E continenza sin ora eroica quella di che S. S^tà si mostra armata, escludendo dall' adito di Roma il fratello, i nepoti e qualunque si pregia di congiontione di sangue seco; et è tanto più da ammirarsi questa parsimonia d'affetti verso i suoi congiunti quanto che non è destillata nella mente dalle persuasioni, ma è volontaria e natavi per propria elettione." See Appendix, Nos. 130, 132, and 135.

advisers who, not content with confirming these remarks, added further, that the pontiff would give a still better example if he received his connections at the court, and proved that he could hold them in proper restraint, than if he kept them altogether at a distance. But the most effectual impression was unquestionably produced by Oliva, the rector of the Jesuits' college, who directly declared that the pope would be guilty of a sin if he did not summon his nephews to his side. He maintained that the foreign ambassadors would never have so much confidence in a mere minister as in a near relation of the pope; that the holy father, being thus less perfectly supplied with intelligence, would have fewer facilities for the due administration of his office.[1]

It scarcely required so many arguments to persuade the pope into a course towards which he could not but feel inclined. On the 24th of April, 1656, he proposed in the consistory the question, whether it seemed good to the cardinals, his brethren, that he should employ his kinsmen in the service of the papal see. No one ventured to speak against the measure, and they very soon arrived.[2] The brother of the pope, Don Mario, obtained the most lucrative appointments, as the superintendence of the regulations respecting corn (annona), and the administration of justice in the Borgo. His son Flavio was declared cardinal padrone, and was soon in possession of ecclesiastical revenues to the amount of 100,000 scudi. Another brother of the pontiff, who had been an object of particular affection to his holiness, was no longer living; but his son, Agostino, was chosen to become the founder of a family. The richest possessions were gradually conferred on him,

[1] Scritture politiche, &c.: "Un giorno Oliva prese occasione di dire al padre Luti" (Father Luti had been brought up with the pope, paid him frequent visits, and desired that the nephews should be invited) "che il papa era in obligo sotto peccato mortale di chiamare a Roma i suoi nepoti." He then gave his reasons as above cited.

[2] Pallavicini: "In quei primi giorni i partiali d'Alessandro non potean comparir in publico senza soggiacere a mordaci scherni." [In the first days after that event, the advisers of Alexander could not appear in public without subjecting themselves to bitter taunts.] See Appendix, No. 132.

as, for example, the incomparable Ariccia, the principality of Farnese, the palace in the Piazza Colonna, and many luoghi di monte; he was, besides, married to a Borghese.[1] The favours of the pontiff were indeed at length extended to more remote connections also; among others, to the Commendatore Bichi, who occasionally appears in the Candian war, and even to the Sienese in general.

Things might thus have seemed to be returning entirely to their earlier condition; but this was, nevertheless, not the case.

Flavio Chigi was far from possessing an authority equal to that of Pietro Aldobrandini, or Scipione Cafarelli, or Francesco Barberini, nor did he even seek to obtain it. The exercise of power had no charms for him; he rather felt disposed to envy his secular cousin, Agostino, to whom the essential enjoyments of life had been awarded with but little toil or pains on his part.

Nay, Alexander VII himself no longer ruled with an authority approaching to the absolute and unlimited power of his predecessors.

Even during the pontificate of Urban VIII a "congregatione di stato" had been established, the office of which was, after due deliberation, to decide on the most important questions affecting the general affairs of the state; but its effect was not at that time of any great moment. Under Innocent X it obtained much higher importance. Pancirolo, secretary of that congregation, the first distinguished man who held the appointment, and by whom the foundation of its subsequent credit was laid, retained to his death the largest share in the government of Innocent X, and to his influence it was attributed that no nephew could obtain firm

[1] Vita di Alessandro VII, 1666: "Il principato Farnese, che vale 100[m] scudi, la Riccia, che costa altrettanto, il palazzo in piazza Colonna, che finito arriverà ad altri 100[m] sc., formano bellissimi stabili per Don Augustino, et aggiuntovi i luoghi di monte et altri officii comprati faranno gli stabili di una sola testa più di mezzo milione, senza le annue rendite di 25[m] sc., che gode il commendator Bichi, e senza ben 100[m] e più sc. d'entrata che ogni anno entrano nella borsa del C[l]. Chigi." These are obviously such calculations as might be made in the current talk of the day, and to which no higher value must be attributed. See Appendix, Nos. 130 and 135.

possession of power during that pontificate. Chigi himself was for some time invested with this dignity; it was now enjoyed by Cardinal Rospigliosi, in whose hands was vested the entire administration of foreign affairs. Associated with him was Cardinal Corrado of Ferrara, who was of high authority in all matters pertaining to ecclesiastical immunities. The direction of the monastic orders was entrusted to Monsignore Fugnano, and theological questions were decided by Cardinal Pallavicini. The congregations, which had possessed but little weight under earlier popes, now again acquired consideration and independent efficiency. The opinion was already expressed and defended, that the pope had the power of absolute and unfettered decision in spiritual affairs only; in all temporal matters, on the contrary—as, for example, the declaration of war, the conclusion of peace, the alienation of territory, or the imposition of taxes—he was bound to ask counsel from the cardinals,[1] and, in fact, Pope Alexander took but little active part in the administration of the state. For two months at a time he would go to Castelgandolfo, where all business was studiously avoided; when he was in Rome, the afternoons were devoted to literature. Authors then presented themselves before the pontiff; they read their works aloud, and it was a favourite occupation of Alexander to suggest improvements. Even in the mornings it was difficult to obtain audience of him for actual business. "I served," says Giacomo Quirini, "during forty-two months with Pope Alexander, and I perceived that he had merely the name of pope, not the command of the papal power. Of those qualities by which he had been distinguished while cardinal, vivacity of intellect, power of discrimination, decision in difficult cases, and facility of expression, not a trace could be found; business was entirely set aside. He thought only of passing his life in undisturbed repose of mind."[2]

[1] Giac. Quirini: "I cardinali, particolarmente C^l. Albicci, pretendevano che il papa potesse disporre d'indulgenze . . .; ma per pace e guerra, alienatione di stati, impositione di gabelle dovrebbe ricorrere ai cardinali." See Appendix, No. 136.

[2] "Datosi quel capo alla quiete dell' animo, al solo pensiere di vivere, e con severo divieto ripudiato il negotio."

Alexander was himself occasionally conscious of the real state of affairs, and the knowledge of it displeased him; when his projects failed, he would attribute the blame to the interested conduct of the cardinals. He was heard to speak to this effect even in the delirium that preceded his death.

But since this was but the natural result of the course of things, it continued as before.

Those cardinals of the "Squadrone," who had most powerfully contributed to the election of Alexander VII, and had possessed great influence through his whole administration, gave the decisive voice in the conclave succeeding his death; but with this difference, that they had now a better understanding with France. On the 20th of June, 1667, Rospigliosi, previously secretary of state, was raised to the papal throne under the name of Clement IX.[1]

All voices united to declare that the new pontiff was the best and kindest man that could possibly be found. It is true that he was not so active as well-intentioned: he was compared to a tree, perfect in its branches, full of leaf, and perhaps producing blossoms, but bearing no fruit. All the moral qualities that consist in the absence of faults—purity of life, diffidence, and moderation—he possessed in an eminent degree. He was the first pope who really kept within due bounds in the promotion of his kindred. They were not directly kept at a distance; on the contrary, they were suffered to occupy the accustomed position, and even founded a new family; but this happened only because an opportunity presented itself for the marriage of a young Rospigliosi with a Pallavicini of Genoa, a very rich heiress. The advantages they obtained from their uncle were very

[1] Quirini: "Dalle pratiche di volanti, ch'in vero ebbero il merito della presente elettione, successe che Chigi con mal regolato consiglio e fuori di tempo et ordine si dichiarò in sala regia nell' entrare in capella allo scrutinio, che acconsentiva alla nomina di Rospigliosi. — — Ottoboni inanzi dell' adoratione fu dichiarato prodatario, Azzolini segretario di stato." [By the contrivances of the "Volanti," who certainly had the merit of the present election, it happened that Chigi, unadvisedly and without regard to time or order, declared in the Sala Regia, when about to enter the chapel for the scrutiny, that he consented to the nomination of Rospigliosi. . . . Even before the adoration Ottoboni was declared prodatario, and Azzolini, secretary of state.] See Appendix, No. 136.

moderate; they did not appropriate the public property, with the exception of some luoghi di monte that were given to them; nor did they divide the management of public affairs and the power of government among themselves.

Here, then, we perceive the most important change.

Hitherto, on every new accession to the throne, the whole, or in any case the greater part, of the state officials were changed; the character and proceedings of the court were regulated accordingly. Clement IX abolished this custom; he would have no one dissatisfied; he confirmed the appointments of all whom he found in office, with the exception of a few among the highest places.[1] In these he placed cardinals such as Ottoboni and Azzolini,—members of the "Squadrone," men who had decided the last elections, and were, besides, of great weight. He was far from persecuting the relatives of previous popes, as had been usual during so many pontificates. The recommendations of Flavio Chigi availed but little less with him than with Alexander; favours were still bestowed through his hands: all things remained as they had been at the death of Alexander VII.

The countrymen of Clement, the people of Pistoia, found themselves grievously disappointed. They had been calculating on favours similar to those that had just been conferred on so many of the Sienese. We find it reported, that all the men of Pistoia then in Rome were perceived to assume a certain air of consequence, and began to swear by the word of a nobleman; how bitter, then, was their astonishment, when they found that the places they had hoped for were not even vacated, much less bestowed upon themselves.

It is true that Clement IX did not omit to distribute the bounty with which it had been customary for the popes to

[1] Grimani, Relatione: "I suoi corteggiani sono mal sodisfatti, per non haver volsuto rimuovere alcuno de' ministri et officiali di quelli dell' antecedente pontefice, come sempre costumarono di far gli altri pontefici." This was blamed, because it would leave his kindred without due support after his death: "Quelli che havevano ricevute le cariche di Alessandro VII, benchè non rimossi da Clemente, conserveranno l'obligatione agli eredi di Alessandro." [Those who have received their places from Alexander VII, though indebted to Clement for not removing them, will yet repay their obligation to the heirs of Alexander.] See Appendix, No. 138.

signalize their accession to the throne; he even carried his liberality to an unwonted length, bestowing more than six hundred thousand scudi during the first month of his pontificate. But this sum was not given to his countrymen, nor even to his family: representations were in fact made to his kinsmen on the neglect he displayed as regarded their interests.[1] It was divided among the cardinals, and the leading members of the Curia in general. Reports immediately prevailed to the effect that this was the result of stipulations made in the conclave, but no distinct trace of any such thing can be discovered.

This proceeding was rather in accordance with the general modification of opinion which had taken place during this period in almost every part of Europe.

There has never been a time more favourable to the aristocracy than the middle of the seventeenth century, when, throughout the whole extent of the Spanish monarchy, the power which preceding kings had withdrawn from the high nobility, had again fallen into their hands; when the constitution of England acquired, amidst the most perilous conflicts and struggles, the aristocratic character which it retains even to our own times; when the French parliaments persuaded themselves that they could perform a part similar to that of the English parliament; when the nobility acquired a decided predominance through all the German territories — one here and there excepted, where some courageous prince overpowered all efforts for independence; when the Estates of Sweden attempted to impose insufferable restraints on the sovereign authority, and the Polish nobility attained to unfettered independence. The same spirit was now becoming prevalent in Rome; a numerous, powerful, and wealthy aristocracy surrounded the papal throne; the families already established imposed restraints on those that were but newly rising; from the self-reliance and authoritative boldness of monarchy, the ecclesiastical

[1] "Considerandogli che con tanta profusione d'oro e d'argento una lunga catena per la povertà della loro casa lavoravano." [Calling their attention to the fact, that with this profusion of gold and silver, a long chain was being formed to keep their house in a state of poverty.] (Quirini.)

sovereignty was passing to the deliberation, sobriety, and measured calmness of aristocratic government.

Under these circumstances, the court assumed an altered form; a remarkable pause occurred in the continuous influx of strangers, who had hitherto sought their advancement in Rome, in the unceasing whirl and succession of new adventurers; a fixed population had now been formed, which received accessions more rarely, and less extensively. We will here cast a glance on this population.

7. ELEMENTS OF THE ROMAN POPULATION

Let us begin with those higher classes of whom we have just been making mention.

Among them there still flourished those old and long-renowned Roman races, the Savelli, Conti, Orsini, Colonna, and Gaetani. The Savelli yet retained their ancient jurisdiction of the Corte Savella, with the privilege of saving one criminal in every year from the punishment of death;[1] the ladies of that house maintained their immemorial custom of never leaving their palaces, or doing so only in a carefully closed carriage. The Conti prided themselves on the portraits of popes issuing from their family, that adorned their halls. The Gaetani recalled, with complacency, their connection with Boniface VIII, whose spirit, as they believed, and as others also were inclined to concede, still rested on their house. The Colonna and Orsini made it their boast, that for centuries no peace had been concluded between the princes of Christendom, in which they had not been included by name.[2] But however powerful these houses may have been in earlier times, they certainly owed their importance in those now before us to their connection with the Curia and the popes. The Orsini, although

[1] Discorso del dominio temporale e spirituale del Sommo Pontefice, 1664.

[2] Descrittione delle famiglie nobili Romane, MS. in the Library of St. Mark, vi. 237 and 234.

possessing the most noble domains, from which they ought to have derived a revenue of 80,000 scudi, were yet greatly impoverished by an ill-considered liberality, and required the assistance afforded by ecclesiastical offices. The contestabile, Don Filippo Colonna, had been enabled to restore order to his financial affairs, only by the permission he had obtained from Urban VIII to reduce the rate of interest on his debts, and by the ecclesiastical benefices conferred on four of his sons.[1]

For it was a custom long established, that the families newly rising should enter into direct connection with those ancient princely houses.

Under Innocent X, there existed for a considerable time, as it were, two great factions, or associations of families. The Orsini, Cesarini, Borghese, Aldobrandini, Ludovisi, and Giustiniani were with the Pamfili; while opposed to them, were the house of Colonna and the Barberini. By the reconciliation of Donna Olimpia with the Barberini, the union became general, and comprised all the families of name.

And even in this circle of families we now perceive a decided change. In earlier times, the pontifical house had always taken a highly predominant part, oppressing their predecessors, and casting them into the shade, by the acquisition of superior wealth. This was now no longer possible, partly because the older houses had become too rich, either by continual intermarriages or by good

[1] Almaden, Relatione di Roma: "Il primogenito è Don Frederico principe di Botero; il secondo Don Girolomo cardinale, cuore del padre e meritamente per esser signore di tutta bontà; il terzo Don Carlo, il quale dopo diversi soldi di Fiandra e di Germania si fece monaco ed abate Casinense; il quarto Don Marc Antonio, accasato in Sicilia; il quinto Don Prospero commendatore di S. Giovanni; il sesto Don Pietro abbate secolare, stroppio della persona, ma altrettanto fatica d'ingegno." [The eldest son is Don Frederico, prince of Botero; the second is Don Girolamo, the delight of his father's heart, and deservedly so, for he is a nobleman full of all goodness; the third is Don Carlo, who, after various military services in Flanders and Germany, became a monk and abbot; the fourth is Don Marc Antonio, married in Sicily; the fifth Don Prospero, commendator of St. Giovanni; the sixth Don Pietro, a secular abbot, lame in person, but he labours all the more by his intellect and mind.] See Appendix, No. 123.

management, but chiefly because the papal treasury had been gradually exhausted. The Chigi could no longer venture to aspire to surpass their predecessors; the Rospigliosi did not even wish to do so,—they considered it quite sufficient if they could attain to being received among them.

All social communities are portrayed, or reflected, so to speak, in some intellectual product, some peculiarity of usage, some point of manner; the most remarkable product of this Roman community, and its mode of life and intercourse, was the ceremonial of the court. At no time have the forms of etiquette and ceremony been more rigorously insisted on than at the period we now treat of—a fact in harmony with the aristocratical tendencies universally prevailing. The perfection of order to which all ceremony was elaborated in Rome, may have proceeded from the claim advanced by this court to take precedence of all others, a claim it thus sought to intimate in certain external forms,[1] or perhaps in part also from the circumstance that the ambassadors of France and Spain had there contended for precedence from time immemorial. There were, besides, continual disputes in regard to rank, between the ambassadors and the higher officials of the Roman court,—the governatore, for example, or between the cardinals who had seats in the Rota and those who had none; as also between a variety of other corporate bodies of officials, and between the different races,—the Orsini and Colonna, for example. Sixtus V had vainly sought to amend this evil in the case of these two houses, by deciding that the eldest of either house should take precedence: when this was a Colonna, the Orsini did not appear; when it was an Orsini, the Colonna were not to be seen; and even to these families, the Conti and Savelli resigned the precedence with infinite reluctance, and only under perpetual protest. Distinctions of rank were marked with minute precision; when the kinsmen of the pontiff entered the papal apartments, for example, the two leaves of the folding-doors were thrown open; other barons or cardinals were compelled to content

[1] These attempts are complained of by the French ambassador Bethune, among others, 1627, 23 February. In Siri, Memorie rec. vi. p. 262.

themselves with one. A singular manner of denoting respect had been introduced,—a man stopped his carriage on meeting the equipage of a superior or patron. The Marchese Mattei was said to be the first who adopted this mode of doing honour, by paying it to Cardinal Alessandro Farnese; that cardinal then stopped his carriage also, and they exchanged a few words.[1] The example was soon followed by others; ambassadors received this mark of respect from their countrymen; the usage became universal, and in despite of its excessive inconvenience, it was soon considered an universal duty. It is precisely to things the most insignificant that self-love clings most fondly, and each excuses himself, by affirming that he must not act in prejudice to the rights of his connections, and those of a similar rank to his own.

We will now proceed a step lower in the social scale.

In the middle of the seventeenth century there were computed to be fifty noble families in Rome of three hundred years' standing, thirty-five of two hundred, and sixteen of one hundred years. None were permitted to claim a more ancient descent, and they were generally traced to an obscure, or even a low origin.[2] The greater part of them had originally settled in the Campagna, but they had unhappily suffered themselves, as we before related, to be led into selling the principal portion of their estates to the pontifical houses, and had then invested the proceeds in the papal monti. This appeared, at first, to secure them no inconsiderable advantage; the papal families paid very high prices, frequently more than the value, while the interest of the luoghi di monte, drawn without need for exertion,

[1] In the Barberini Library I saw a special treatise on this subject: "Circa il fermar le carrozze per complimento e come s'introdusse in uso."

[2] Almaden: "La maggior parte delle famiglie oggi stimate a Roma nobili vengono da basso principio, come da notaro, speziale che sarebbe da sopportare, ma dell' arte puzzolente della concia di corame. Io benchè sappia particolarmente l'origine, non però lo scrivo per non offendere alcuno." [The greater part of the families now considered noble in Rome came from very base beginnings, not only from a notary or apothecary, which might be endurable, but even from the ill-odoured art of tanning leather. Although I know the origin of all particularly, yet I do not write it, that I may not offend any.]

produced a better revenue than could be derived from the most industrious cultivation of the land. But they were soon made to feel that their real estates had been transformed into fluctuating capital. Alexander VII saw himself compelled to a reduction of the monti. Credit was shaken by this proceeding, and the value of the luoghi became grievously depressed. There was no family that escaped loss by this measure.

But by the side of the old families there rose up various new ones. All the cardinals and prelates of the Curia proceeded according to the pope's example, and each in proportion to his means employed the surplus of his ecclesiastical revenue for the aggrandizement of his kindred, the foundation of a new family. There were others who had attained to eminence by judicial appointments, and many were indebted for their elevation to being employed as bankers in the affairs of the Dataria. Fifteen families of Florence, eleven of Genoa, nine Portuguese, and four French, are enumerated as having risen to more or less consideration by these means, according to their good fortune or talents; some of them, whose reputation no longer depended on the affairs of the day, became monarchs of gold; as, for example, under Urban VIII, the Guicciardini and Doni, with whom may be named the Giustiniani, Primi, and Pallavicini.[1] But even, without affairs of this kind, families of consideration were constantly repairing to Rome, not only from Urbino, Rieti, and Bologna, but also from Parma and Florence. The establishment of the monti and saleable offices contributed to invite many to the capital. The luoghi di monte, more particularly, were for a long time greatly sought for, especially the "vacabili," which were a kind of life annuity, and therefore paid ten and a half per cent., but were, nevertheless, as a rule transferred from older to younger persons;

[1] Almaden: "Non passano ancora la seconda generatione di cittadinanza Romana, — — son venute da Fiorenza e Genova coll' occasione del danaro — — molte volte mojono nelle fascie." [They have not yet passed the second generation of Roman citizenship . . . having come from Florence or Genoa about money transactions . . . such families often die in their cradles.]

or even in cases where this was not done, were directly inherited, the Curia giving its sanction to this practice without difficulty. Nor was it otherwise in regard to the saleable offices. At the death of the holder they ought to have reverted to the treasury; therefore it was that the income they produced bore so high a proportion to the capital originally paid. Yet they were in fact real and simple annuities, since the holder had rarely any official duties to perform; but even when he had such duties, a transfer could usually be effected without any great difficulty. There were many offices that had never been vacated during an entire century.

The union of the public officials and montists into colleges invested them with a sort of representative importance, and although their rights gradually became subject to grave diminutions, they nevertheless always maintained an independent position. The aristocratic principle, so remarkably mingled with the system of credit and public debt, which pervaded the whole state, was also favourable to these associations. Indeed, foreigners sometimes found them exceedingly overbearing.

Around these numerous families, so largely endowed, continually pressing forward, ever becoming more firmly established, and to whose profit came the greater part of the revenues of the Church, the lower classes fixed themselves in constantly increasing numbers and a more settled position.

Returns of the Roman population are still extant, and by a comparison of the different years, we find a most remarkable result exhibited, as regards the manner in which that population was formed. Not that its increase was upon the whole particularly rapid, this we are not authorized to assert. In the year 1600 the inhabitants were about 110,000; fifty-six years afterwards they were somewhat above 120,000, an advance by no means extraordinary; but another circumstance here presents itself which deserves attention. At an earlier period, the population of Rome had been constantly fluctuating. Under Paul IV it had decreased from 80,000 to 50,000; in a score or two of years it had again advanced to more than 100,000. And

this resulted from the fact that the court was then formed principally of unmarried men, who had no permanent abode there. But, at the time we are considering, the population became fixed into settled families. This began to be the case towards the end of the sixteenth century, but took place more particularly during the first half of the seventeenth. The inhabitants of Rome numbered in the year

Date.	Inhabitants.	Families.
1600	109,729	20,019
1614	115,643	21,422
1619	106,050	24,380
1628	115,374	24,429
1644	110,608	27,279
1653	118,882	29,081
1656	120,596	30,103[1]

We perceive that the number of the inhabitants in some years exhibits a decrease, while that of the families, on the contrary, advances without interruption. During the fifty-six years we have examined, they had gained upwards of 10,000; a fact the more remarkable, because the total increase of the population is not more than the same number. The crowd of unmarried men, merely coming and going, became less numerous; the mass of the population, on the contrary, acquired a stationary character. The proportion has continued the same to the present time, with the exception of slight variations, arising from the prevalence of disease at one time, and the natural tendency of population to repair the losses thus occasioned.

After the return of the popes from Avignon, and on the close of the schism, the city, which had seemed on the point of sinking into a mere village, extended itself around the Curia. But it was not until the papal families had risen to power and riches—until neither internal discords nor external enemies were any longer to be feared, and the incomes drawn from the revenues of the Church or State secured a life of enjoyment without the necessity for labour, that a numerous permanent

[1] These tables whence these numbers are taken will be found in MS. in the Barberini Library. A later account, from 1702 to 1816, is given in Cancellieri, Del tarantismo di Roma, p. 73.

population arose in the city. Its prosperity and possessions were always dependent on the importance of the Church and the Court, from which all wealth proceeded, whether by direct gifts or by other advantages more indirectly bestowed. All were, in fact, merely upstarts, like the pontifical families themselves.

The inhabitants already established in the city had hitherto continually received accessions from new settlers, more particularly those who crowded to the capital on the elevation of each new pontiff, from his native town or province. The form now assumed by the court caused this practice to cease. It was under the influence of the universal power and efficiency to which the Roman see had attained by the restoration of Catholicism, that the capital itself had received its essential character and magnificence: then also were those Roman families founded which are flourishing to the present day. From the time when the extension of the spiritual dominion ceased, the population no longer continued to extend. It may safely be affirmed to have been a creation and product of that period.

Nay, the modern city itself may be generally said to belong—so much of it, in any case, as still enchains the attention of the traveller—to that same period of the Catholic restoration. Let us advert for a moment to some of its more prominent characteristics.

8. ARCHITECTURAL LABOURS OF THE POPES

We have already described the magnificent architectural works completed by Sixtus V, and remarked on the views, with regard to the Church and religion, which prompted these labours.

His example was followed by Clement VIII, to whom some of the most beautiful chapels in the churches of St. John and St. Peter are attributable. It was by him that the new residential portion of the Vatican was founded: the apartments now inhabited by the pope and the secretary of state were built by Clement VIII.

But it was more especially Paul V who made it his ambition to emulate the Franciscan. "Throughout the city," says a contemporary biography of this pope, "he has levelled hills, has opened extensive prospects where before were sharp corners and crooked paths; laid out large squares, and rendered them still more stately by the erection of new buildings. The water that he has brought to the city is not the mere play of a pipe; it comes rushing forth in a stream. The splendour of his palaces is rivalled by the variety of the gardens he has laid out. The interiors of his private chapels glitter all over with gold and silver; they are not so much adorned with precious stones as filled with them. The public chapels rise like basilicas, the basilicas like temples, the temples like mountains of marble."[1]

It will be observed that the works of Paul were admired and eulogized, not for their beauty or symmetry, but for their gorgeousness and colossal proportions, which are indeed their distinguishing attributes.

In Santa Maria Maggiore, he built a chapel opposite to that erected by Sixtus V, but far more splendid; it is, indeed, entirely formed of the most costly marbles.

Paul V brought the water bearing his name, the Aqua Paolina, to the Janiculum, from a distance of five and thirty miles—a course still longer than that of the Aqua Felice, brought to the city by Sixtus V. Opposite to the fountain and the Moses of Sixtus, but distant from it and with the whole city between them—the Aqua Paolina burst forth in four powerful streams of nearly five times the volume presented by the Aqua Felice. Few fail to visit these heights of ancient renown, the site of Porsenna's attack, but now presenting vineyards, fruit-gardens, and ruins only. From this point the whole city lies open to the gaze, with the country, even to the distant hills, which evening wraps in a wondrously tinted vapour as in a transparent veil. The solitude is agreeably enlivened by the music of the rushing waters. The multitude of its fountains, and the profusion of their waters, is one of the many things by which Rome is distinguished from all other cities: the Aqua Paolina

[1] Vita Pauli V compendiose scripta. MS. Barb. See Appendix, No. 76.

contributes most richly to this charm. The incomparable fountains of the Piazza San Pietro are filled from it; it is conducted by the Sistine bridge to the city itself. The fountains of the Farnese palace, and many others, are fed from the same source.

Sixtus V had erected the cupola of St. Peter's, and Paul V undertook the general completion of the church.[1] This he accomplished on a scale of great magnitude, in accordance with the prevailing taste of that time. In the present day we should certainly prefer to have had the original plans of Bramante and Michael Angelo followed out; but the work of Paul entirely satisfied the taste of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The dimensions are, without doubt, enormous: few would assert the façade to be beautiful, but all is cheerful, appropriate, and grand. The colossal proportions of the building; the piazza, the obelisk, and all surrounding objects, when taken as a whole, produce that impression of the gigantic which was intended to be conveyed, and which fixes itself irresistibly and indelibly upon the mind.

Although the administration of the Ludovisi was but short, they have nevertheless erected an imperishable monument to themselves in the church of St. Ignatius,[2] and in their villa in the city. Niccolò Ludovisio possessed six palaces at one time, many of which he very richly adorned, and all of them were kept in good order.

We find memorials of Urban VIII, not only in various churches,—St. Bibiana, St. Quirico, and St. Sebastian on the Palatine among others,—but in accordance with his peculiar inclinations, still more frequently in palaces and fortifications. After having surrounded St. Angelo with ditches and ramparts, and after—as he boasts on one of his coins—he had fully armed, fortified, and completed this castle, he continued the defences according to a plan suggested by Cardinal Maculano (who was an accomplished military architect),

[1] Magnificentia Pauli V, seu publicae utilitatis et splendoris opera a Paulo vel in urbe vel alibi instituta, MS. "Unius Pauli iussu impensisque instructa eius templi pars cum reliquis ab omnibus retro pontificibus exstructis partibus merito conferri potest."

[2] See Appendix, No. 95.

around the Vatican and the gardens of the Belvedere, as far as the Porta Cavallegieri. At that point other fortifications commenced, which were intended to comprise the Lungara, the Trastevere, and the Janiculum, and to extend to the priory on the Aventine. Porta Portuense, at least, is principally to be attributed to Urban VIII. It was not until he had thus enclosed himself that he felt secure; he was also careful to restore the bridge, by means of which a communication was effected between the papal residence and the fortress of St. Angelo.[1]

Pope Innocent X was likewise an assiduous builder. His works may be seen on the Capitol, the two sides of which he sought to bring into harmony; in the church of the Lateran, where he had the merit of proceeding in a manner less discordant with the ancient forms than was usual at that time; but principally on the Piazza Navona. It was observed that when Pope Innocent passed across the Piazza San Pietro, he never turned his eyes from the fountain which Paul V had erected there.[2] He would gladly have emulated that pontiff and adorned his favourite piazza with one yet more beautiful. Bernini applied all the resources of his art to realize this wish. An obelisk was brought to the piazza from the Circus of Caracalla, and on it Innocent placed the arms of his house, —buildings were taken down to improve the form of the piazza. The church of Sant' Agnete was rebuilt from the foundations, while at no great distance arose the Palazzo Pamfili, richly adorned with statues, paintings, and splendid internal decorations of all kinds. The vigna which his family possessed beyond the Vatican was converted by Pope Innocent into one of the most beautiful of villas; a place comprising within itself whatever could best tend to make a country life agreeable.

[1] From the diary of Giacinto Gigli, which was unfortunately stolen from me in Rome, the most important loss my collection has sustained. Cancellieri, Del tarantismo di Roma, p. 55, has printed the passages belonging to this place from that work.

[2] Deone, Diario, 4 Luglio, 1648. He remarks, however, immediately: "La quale (la fontana di papa Paolo—there was then only one) difficilmente potrà superare nè in bellezza nè in quantità d'acque." [The fountain of Pope Paul will not readily be surpassed, whether as to beauty or quantity of water.]

The modern taste for uniformity is already to be observed in the buildings of Alexander VII. He destroyed many houses for the purpose of obtaining more regularity in the streets. The Salviati palace was demolished in order to form the square of the Collegio Romano, and the Piazza Colonna, where the palace of his own family was situated, was entirely transformed by his labours. He restored the Sapienza and the Propaganda; but the most remarkable memorial left by this pontiff is without doubt the range of colonnades which he erected around the upper part of the Piazza San Pietro,—a colossal work of two hundred and eighty-four columns and eighty-eight pilasters. Whatever may have been objected against this building, whether at the time or later,[1] it is yet impossible to deny that it was conceived in perfect harmony with the pervading thought of the whole edifice, or that it contributes an impression of its own to that mingled sense of immensity and serene cheerfulness which the whole place is so well calculated to inspire.

And thus was gradually formed that city, to which so countless a mass of strangers have since made pilgrimage. Treasures of art of every kind were at the same time accumulated within its walls. Numerous libraries were collected; not only were the Vatican, the monasteries of the Augustines and the Dominicans, and the houses of the Jesuits and Fathers of the Oratory, furnished with them, but the palaces also possessed valuable collections, one family emulating another in the accumulation of printed books, and the gathering together of rare manuscripts. Not that the sciences were very zealously cultivated; many of the Romans

[1] Sagredo: "I colonnati che si vanno intorno alla piazza erigendo, di quadro ordini di questi restar cinta dovendo, tutti in forma ovata, i quali formeranno tre portici coperti con tre magnifici ingressi, e sopra da un corridore che sarà d'altro ordine di picciole colonne e di statue adornato, il papa pretende che servir debbano per ricevere della pioggia e del sole alle carrozze." [The colonnades now in course of erection around the piazza, will be of an oval shape, and have four ranges of columns; these will form three covered porticos, with three magnificent entrances, and a corridor above, which will be adorned with another range of small columns and with statues. The pope intends them to serve as a shelter for carriages from the sun and rain.] The cost had even then attained to 900,000 scudi, which were taken from the coffers of the Fabrica di San Pietro. See Appendix, No. 133.

studied without doubt, but in a leisurely fashion, and rather with a view to the appropriation and reproduction of what was already known, than in order to make new discoveries. Among the academies that sprang up from year to year, there was one here and there which devoted its attention to some branch of natural science, such as botany, but without any particular results;[1] but all the rest,—the *Good-humoured*,[2] the *Orderly*, the *Virginal*, the *Fantastics*, the *Uniform*, or whatever other strange titles they were pleased to adopt, employed themselves with poetry and eloquence only, or with exercises of intellectual address, confined within a very narrow circle of thought, and yet consuming energies that might have produced better results. Nor were the Roman palaces adorned by books only; works of art, belonging to both earlier and later periods; antiquities of various character, statues, reliefs, and inscriptions, also embellished them. At the time we are now considering, the houses of the Cesi, Giustiniani, Strozzi, and Massimi, with the gardens of the Mattei, were the most celebrated. Collections such as that of Kircher, at the Jesuits' college, were equally the object of admiration to contemporaries. It was yet rather by curiosity, or a love of antiquarian lore, that those collections were prompted, than by any true sense of beauty, appreciation of form, or comprehension of the more profound relations of art or antiquity. It is remarkable that in reality men still thought and felt on those subjects as Sixtus V had done. The remains of antiquity were far from receiving that respectful care and attention which has been awarded to them in later times. What could be expected, when among other privileges of the Borghese we find that of being exempt from all punishment for whatever demolition they might choose to commit? It is difficult to believe that such things as were done in the seventeenth century, could have been permitted. The baths of Constantine, among others, had

[1] I refer more particularly to the Lincei, founded by Federigo Cesi in 1603, which did not, however, effect much besides the translation of Hernandez' Natural History of Mexico into Italian.—Tiraboschi, Storia della Letteratura Italiana, viii. p. 195.

[2] For so it is that we are to translate Umoristi, according to the accounts given by Erythraeus, which will be found well arranged in Fischer, Vita Erythraei, pp. 50, 51.

retained a very fair degree of preservation, during the changes of so many centuries, and it might certainly have been expected that the services of their builder in extending the dominion of the Christian church might have protected them from injury; yet under Paul V they were demolished to the very foundations, and, in accordance with the taste of those times, converted into a palace and gardens, which were afterwards exchanged for the Villa Mondragone in Frascati. Even the Temple of Peace,[1] which was then also in tolerably good preservation, found no favour at the hands of Paul V; he conceived the strange idea of casting a colossal statue in brass of the Virgin Mary with the infant Jesus, and placing this in so elevated a position that the whole city could be overlooked by its protectress. All that he required for this was a pillar of extraordinary altitude, and he found such an one at length in the Temple of Peace. Without troubling himself to consider that it was there as part of a whole, and in keeping with all around, but that when placed to stand alone, it would be strange and peculiar, rather than beautiful or appropriate, he carried it away and loaded it with the colossus which we see on it at the present day.

If it be admitted that all the charges brought against the Barberini may not be true, it is nevertheless certain that, on the whole, their proceedings were in the same spirit. Under Urban VIII, it was in actual contemplation to destroy that sole, undoubted, and unimpaired monument of republican times, the incomparable tomb of Cecilia Metella. It was to be demolished for the sake of the travertine which Bernini, the most celebrated sculptor and architect of that day, meant to use for the fountain of Trevi. The proposal was made by him to the pope, who gave permission for its execution in a brief. Already were hands laid on the tomb, when the people of Rome, who loved their antiquities, became aware of the matter and opposed a violent resistance. For the second time they rescued this their most ancient possession; it became necessary to desist from destroying it, as the only means to avoid a tumult.[2]

All these attempts at destruction were, however, entirely

[1] [The basilica of Constantine.—TRS.]

[2] This is circumstantially related in Deone.

consistent with the spirit prevailing. The epoch of the Catholic restoration had developed its own peculiar ideas and impulses; these aspired to universal dominion even in art and literature. They could not comprehend, and would not even acknowledge, what was foreign to themselves, and whatever they could not subjugate they were determined to destroy.

Notwithstanding all this, Rome still continued to be the metropolis of intellectual culture, unequalled in the variety of its learning and in the practice of art, as the taste of the age comprehended and preferred it. It was still productive as regarded music; the concerted style of the cantata was at that time arising by the side of the church style. The travellers of the day were enchanted with it. "A man must have been ill-treated by nature," exclaims Spon, who visited Rome in 1674, "who does not find his full contentment in one or other of the branches to be studied here."[1] He mentions all these branches: the libraries, where the rarest works were laid open to the student; the concerts in churches and palaces, where the finest voices were daily to be heard; the many collections of ancient and modern sculpture and painting; the numberless stately buildings of every age; villas, wholly covered with bas-reliefs and inscriptions, of which he alone had copied upwards of a thousand, not previously copied; the presence of so many strangers of all lands and tongues; the beauties of nature to be enjoyed in gardens worthy to make part of paradise; and for him who delights in the practice of piety, he adds, there are churches, relics, and processions provided, that will occupy him his whole life long.

There is no doubt, that in other parts of Europe there was at this time an intellectual movement of a grander and more liberal character; but the completeness of the Roman world, its full concentration of all life within itself, the abundance of its riches, the certain enjoyment, united to the feeling of security to be attained there, and the satisfaction derived by the faithful from the uninterrupted contemplation of the objects of their reverence, all continued to exercise a powerful attraction; appealing now to one class of motives,

[1] Spon et Wheler, Voyage d'Italie et de Grèce, i. p. 39.

now to another, and occasionally acting on all so equally, that the predominant motive was no longer to be distinguished.

Let us seek to bring clearly to our comprehension the power of this attraction as exhibited in its most striking example; one too by which a decided reaction was produced on the court of Rome.

9. DIGRESSION CONCERNING QUEEN CHRISTINA OF SWEDEN

We have had frequent occasion to direct our attention to Sweden.

In that country, where Lutheranism had first revolutionized the whole political constitution, where the anti-reformation found both representatives and opponents, in a manner so unusual, amongst personages of the highest rank; and from which the grand and final decision of the contest then dividing and occupying the world had proceeded; in this country it was that Catholicism, under the new form it had assumed, now achieved the most unexpected of conquests; winning over to itself the daughter of the great champion of the Protestants, Christina, queen of Sweden. The mode in which this was effected is remarkable in itself; and it is particularly worthy of our observation from its relation to the subject before us.

We will first consider the position which the young queen occupied in her own country.

After the death of Gustavus Adolphus, the question was for a moment agitated in Sweden, as it had been in 1619 in Austria, in 1640 in Portugal, and in so many other places at the same period, whether the country should not free itself altogether from the kingly power, and adopt the constitution of a republic.[1]

[1] La Vie de le Reine Christine faite par elle-même, in Arckenholtz, Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de Christine, tom. iii. p. 41: "On m'a voulu persuader qu'on mit en délibération en certaines assemblées particulières, s'il falloit se mettre en liberté n'ayant qu'un enfant en tête, dont il étoit aisé de se défaire, et de s'ériger en république."

It is true that this proposal was rejected; the nation paid its homage to the daughter of the deceased king, but as she was a child of six years old, and there was no one of the royal house who could seize the reins of government, the authority of the state fell into the hands of a few nobles. The anti-monarchical tendencies of the time found acceptance and applause in Sweden; even the proceedings of the Long Parliament in England were approved there, and still more were Swedish sympathies excited for the movements of the Fronde in France, since these last were so much more decidedly aristocratic. "I perceive clearly," Christina herself once declared in the senate, "that the wish is here prevailing for Sweden to become an elective monarchy, or an aristocracy."[1]

But this young princess was not disposed to suffer the decline of the royal authority in her person; she determined to be queen in the full sense of the word. From the moment when she entered on the government, in the year 1644, she devoted herself to public affairs with an admirable zeal. Never would she absent herself from the meetings of the senate: we find her suffering from fever, or are told that she had been obliged to be bled, but she was nevertheless in her place at the sittings of the senate. Nor did she neglect to prepare herself for an efficient attendance at these sittings; state papers, many sheets in length, were carefully read through for this purpose, and their contents perfectly mastered. At night, before going to rest, and on first awakening in the mornings, it was her habit to meditate on the most difficult points of the questions under consideration.[2] She possessed the power of stating the matter

[1] A remarkable proof of this aristocratical tendency is found in the decisions respecting the constitution pronounced by the greater part of the states and "good patriots" of the year 1644, which have lately come to light.—See Geijer, Schwedische Geschichte, iii. 357. Of the five highest offices of the state, none was to be filled but by the nomination of three candidates by the States, one of whom should be chosen. The grand marshal could only be elected from three proposed by the house of Knights itself. A Consistorium politico-ecclesiasticum was demanded, with a president and assessors freely chosen by the state, etc.

[2] Paolo Casati al Papa Alessandro VII sopra la regina di Suecia, MS.: "Ella m'ha più d'una volta assicurato di non aver mai portato avanti alcun negotio grave a cui non avesse quasi due anni prima

in discussion with ability and precision, never permitting the side to which she was herself disposed to be perceptible. After having heard the opinions of the senators, she gave her own, which was found to be formed on good grounds, and was for the most part adopted. The foreign ambassadors were amazed at the power she had acquired over the senate,[1] although she was herself never satisfied with its extent. She took a large personal share in the conclusion of the peace of Westphalia, an event of universal importance. The officers of the army, and even one of her own ambassadors to the congress, were not favourable to the peace; even in Sweden there were many persons who disapproved the concessions made to the Catholics, especially with regard to the hereditary dominions of Austria. But the queen was not disposed to make a further appeal to fortune; never had Sweden been so glorious or so powerful; the pride of Christina found its gratification in confirming this state of things, and in restoring peace to Christendom.

And not only did she restrain the arbitrary despotism of the aristocracy with her utmost power, she even deprived them of all hope that they might at some future period attain their object. Notwithstanding her youth, she very soon brought forward the proposal for nominating her cousin, the Count Palatine Charles Gustavus, as successor to the throne. This was a measure which she believed the prince had never ventured to hope for. It was carried through entirely by her own efforts, against the will of the

pensato, e che molte hore della mattina, dopo che s'era svegliata da quel poco sonno che era solita di prendere, impiegava nel considerare i negotii e conseguenze loro benchè lontane." [She has more than once assured me that she had never brought forward any measure of grave importance without having previously considered it for full two years, etc.] See Appendix, No. 131.

[1] Mémoires de ce qui est passé en Suède tirez des dépesches de M^r. Chanut, i. p. 245 (1648, Févr.): "Il est incroyable comment elle est puissante dans son conseil; car elle ajoute à la qualité de reine la grâce, le crédit, les bienfaits et la force de persuader." In a copy of these Mémoires, which appeared in 1675, there are marginal notes in the queen's own hand. These, it is true, express the dissatisfaction of a later period, rather than exact recollection of the earlier years of her government; but in every case the statements of Chanut are modified by them.

senate, which would not even take it into consideration, and against the will of the States, by whom it was adopted only from deference to her wishes; it was, in fact, altogether a thought of her own, and in defiance of all difficulties she carried it into effect. The succession was settled irrevocably.[1]

It is doubly remarkable, that with all this zeal for business, Christina applied herself at the same time to study, with a kind of passion. Even in the years of her childhood, no portion of her time was more agreeable to her than that of her lessons. This may perhaps have proceeded partly from the melancholy character of her residence with her mother, who had resigned herself entirely to grief for the loss of her husband. The young queen looked forward daily with impatience to the moment when she should be liberated from those gloomy chambers of mourning. But she was besides possessed of extraordinary talents, more particularly for languages; she relates that she learned most of those she was acquainted with alone and without any teacher;[2] this is the more remarkable, because in some of them she really possessed the facility of a native. As she grew up she became more powerfully fascinated by the charms of literature. It was at this time that learning gradually freed itself from the fetters of theological controversy, and that reputations, which were universally acknowledged, began to rise above the influence of both parties. The young queen was ambitious of the society of celebrated men, whom she desired to attract around her person, and by whose instructions she was anxious to profit. The first to appear, were certain German philologists and historians: among others, Freinsheim, at whose request she remitted the greater part of the contributions imposed on his native city of Ulm for the expenses of

[1] Règne de Christine jusqu'à sa résignation, in Arckenholtz, iii. 162, notes.

[2] La Vie de Christine, écrite par elle-même, p. 53: "Je savois à l'âge de quatorze ans toutes les langues, toutes les sciences et tous les exercices dont on vouloit m'instruire. Mais depuis j'en ai appris bien d'autres sans le secours d'aucun maître: et il est certain que je n'en eus jamais ni pour apprendre la langue Allemande, la Françoise, l'Italienne, ni l'Espagnole."

the war.[1] Next followed the Netherlanders. Isaac Vossius brought the study of the Greek writers into favour; the queen soon made herself mistress of the most important authors of antiquity, and even the fathers of the Church were not suffered to remain unknown to her. Nicolaus Heinsius boasts of having been born in the same age with this queen as his first good fortune; the second was, that he had been known to her; but the third, the most decided happiness, and that which he desires all future ages to know, was, that he had been not altogether displeasing to her. Christina employed him principally to procure costly manuscripts and rare books from Italy for her library: this he did conscientiously and with success. The Italians began to complain that ships were laden with the spoils of their libraries, and that all their best aids to learning were carried away from them to the remotest north.[2] In the year 1650 Salmasius appeared in Sweden. Christina had given him to understand that if he did not come to her she would be obliged to go to him: he resided in her palace for a year. At length Descartes was also induced to visit her. He had the honour of meeting her in her library every morning at five o'clock, when he is declared to have heard Christina deducing his own ideas from Plato to his infinite astonishment. There is no doubt that in her conferences with men of learning, as in her discussions with the senate, she gave proof of the most felicitous memory, with great readiness of apprehension and much penetration. "Her genius is in the highest degree remarkable," exclaimed Naudé with astonishment; "she has seen every thing, read every thing, knows every thing."[3]

The queen of Sweden was, indeed, a wonderful production of nature and fortune;—so young a woman, yet free

[1] Harangue panégyrique de Freinshemius à Christine 1647, in Arckenholtz, ii. second appendix, p. 104.

[2] Compare Grauert, Königin Christina und ihr Hof, i. pp. 379, 407.

[3] Naudé à Gassendi, 19 Oct., 1652: "La reine de la quelle je puis dire sans flatterie qu'elle tient mieux sa partie ès conférences qu'elle tient assez souvent avec messieurs Bochart, Bourdelot, du Fresne et moi, qu'aucun de la compagnie, et si je vous dis que son esprit est tout à fait extraordinaire, je ne mentirai point; car elle a tout vu, elle a tout lu, elle sait tout."

from all vanity; she never sought to conceal that one of her shoulders was higher than the other; she had been told that her principal beauty was the rich profusion of her hair, yet she did not bestow upon it the most ordinary attention. To all the more minute cares of life she was wholly a stranger: utterly regardless of what appeared on her table, she never expressed disapprobation of any kind of food that was set before her, and drank nothing but water. She never acquired or understood any sort of womanly works, but, on the contrary, delighted to be told that at her birth she had been supposed to be a boy, and that, even in her earliest infancy, she betrayed no terror at the firing of guns, but clapped her hands, and proved herself to be a true soldier's child. She was a very bold horse-woman; with one foot in the stirrup, she scarcely waited to be in her saddle before she started at full speed. In the chase, she would bring down her game with the first shot. She studied Tacitus and Plato, and not unfrequently expounded the meaning of those authors more clearly than professional philologists. In spite of her youth, she was capable of forming a sound and independent opinion even on matters of state and this she would then support and carry through among senators grown grey in experience of the world. She threw the fresh spirit of a native perspicuity and quickness into all her undertakings. Above all, she was profoundly sensible of the high importance she derived from her birth, and impressed with the necessity of governing with her own hand. Never did she refer any ambassador to her minister, nor would she ever permit a subject of hers to wear a foreign order, not choosing to endure, as she said herself, that one of her flock should be marked by the hand of a stranger. She could assume a deportment, when the occasion demanded, by which generals, who had made Germany tremble, were struck mute and confounded. Had a new war broken out, she would infallibly have placed herself at the head of her troops.

Such a disposition, so imperious a character, made the very thought of marrying, of resigning to another the right of ruling her personal proceedings, altogether unendurable to her. The obligations that she might have had to form such an alliance for the sake of her country, she believed

herself to have removed by deciding the succession. After she had been crowned, she declared that she would rather die than consent to marry.[1]

But could such a position be maintained? Was there not something in it overstrained, extravagant? Without doubt it was utterly wanting in that equipoise needful to a healthy state of existence, the tranquillity of a natural being, content with itself. It was not a real love of business that made Christina throw herself into it with so much ardour; ambition and the pride of sovereignty impelled her forwards, but she found no pleasure in it. Neither did she love her country; she had no sympathies with its customs, its pleasures, its constitution, whether civil or ecclesiastical, or even its past history. The ceremonies of state, the long harangues to which she was bound to listen, the official duties which compelled her to take a personal share in some great ceremonial observance, were abhorrent to her; the range of cultivation and learning within which her countrymen were content to confine themselves, appeared to her contemptible. If she had not possessed the Swedish throne from childhood, this might perhaps have seemed to her an object worthy of her ambition: but since she had been queen so long as she could remember, all those aspirations of the mind by which the destiny of man is prepared and fashioned, took a direction estranged from her native land. A desire for the unknown and extraordinary began to take possession of her mind; fantastic ideas gained the mastery; she was restrained by none of the ordinary considerations, nor did she set herself to resist the chance impulses of the moment, by opposing to them the superior force of that moral equilibrium that became her position. The truth is, that Christina, though bold, high-minded, energetic, and courageous, was also extravagant, ungovernable, intentionally unfeminine, and by no means amiable. Her conduct was even unfilial, not only towards her mother, but towards the sacred memory of her father also, which she never

[1] "Je me serois sans doute mariée,' she says further in her own biography, p. 57, "si je n'eusse reconnu en moi la force de me passer des plaisirs de l'amour;" and we may the more readily believe this assertion, since the work is a kind of confession.

spared, when occasion presented itself for a biting sarcasm. It seems, indeed, as if at times she knew not what she said.[1] The exalted station she held could not secure her from the natural effects of so perverse a demeanour; they recoiled by necessity on herself, and contentment with herself, attachment to her home, or love of her country, became utterly impossible.

It now followed that this dissatisfaction of spirit evinced itself most particularly in regard to religious matters, and the mode of manifestation was as follows.

In the "Recollections" of Christina, there are references to her tutor, Dr. Johann Matthiæ; she dwells on his memory with especial predilection; his simple, pure, and gentle spirit had enchained her affections from the first moment of his attendance on her, and he was her earliest confidant even in the most trifling matters.[2] When it had become obvious that neither of the existing ecclesiastical parties would overcome the other, some few right-minded men at once arose in various places to advocate the expediency of uniting them. Matthiæ was one of those who had conceived this purpose, and he published a book, wherein he discussed the question of forming the two Protestant churches into one body. The queen was decidedly favourable to the measure; she announced her intention of establishing a theological academy, which should labour for the reconciliation of the two confessions. But the unbridled zeal of certain inflexible Lutherans was immediately aroused in opposition, the work of Matthiæ was indignantly attacked by a superintendent of Calmar, and the Estates also took part against it. The bishops called on the council of state to keep watch over the national religion, and the grand chancellor repaired to the queen with representations so pressing, as to bring tears of vexation to her eyes.[3]

[1] It is impossible to deduce any other conclusion from her conversation with her mother; see Chanut, iii. 365, May, 1654.

[2] "Très-capable," she says in her autobiography, p. 51, "de bien instruire un enfant tel que j'étois, ayant une honnêteté, une discrétion et une douceur qui le faisoient aimer et estimer."

[3] Letter from Axel Oxenstierna, 2 May, 1647, in Arckenholtz, iv. App. n. 21, but particularly one from Count Brahe, Arckenholtz, iv. p. 299. The work of Matthiæ is, "Idea boni ordinis in ecclesia Christi."

She may now, perhaps, have believed herself to be certain that all this eagerness of zeal was not purely disinterested on the part of her Lutherans; she thought they were attempting to delude her into some preconceived purpose of their own by the views of God's will that they placed before her. The representations of the Divine Being, thus forced on her, appeared to her conceptions altogether unworthy of his nature.[1]

The prolixity of the discourses to which she was compelled by the national ordinances to listen, had been long most wearisome to the young queen—they now became intolerable. She frequently betrayed her impatience—moving her chair, or playing with her little dog; but the merciless preachers were but the more firmly resolved to continue their lectures, and detain her all the longer for these marks of weariness.

The disposition of mind inevitably produced by these vexations, which gradually estranged her from the established religion of her country, was confirmed by the arrival of learned foreigners. Some of these were Catholics, others Isaac Vossius, for example—gave occasion for the suspicion of infidelity; while Bourdelot, who possessed the greatest influence with her, having treated her ably and successfully in a dangerous illness, and was well fitted for a court, made a jest of every thing — national histories and religions not excepted. He was full of information, possessed extraordinary powers of entertaining, and was entirely devoid of pedantry, but was considered a direct Deist.

Gradually the young princess fell into inextricable doubts. She began to think all positive religions were but inventions of men; that an argument stated against one was equally valid against all others, and that it was, in fact, a matter of perfect indifference to which a man belonged.

Meanwhile she did not proceed to absolute irreligion; there were still certain convictions which she firmly retained. In the royal solitude of her throne she must have found it

[1] "Je crus," she says, in one of the notes given by Goldenblad, "que les hommes vous faisoient parler à leur mode et qu'ils me vouloient tromper et me faire peur pour me gouverner à la leur." In Arckenholtz, tom. iii. p. 209.

impossible to dispense with thoughts of God; nay, she even believed that her station placed her a step nearer to the Divine Presence. "Thou knowest," she exclaims, "how often I have prayed to Thee, in a language unknown to vulgar spirits, for grace to enlighten me, and have vowed to obey Thee, though I should thereby sacrifice life and fortune." This idea she soon associated with others of those peculiar to her character. "I renounced all other love," she says, "and devoted myself to this alone."

She was particularly impressed by a saying of Cicero, that all religious opinions might possibly be false, but that it was impossible for more than one to be true. But could God have left mankind without the true religion? It was surely accusing Him of tyranny to suppose that He had placed the need of religion in the minds and hearts of men, and then taken no trouble to satisfy it.[1]

But then came the question—which was the true religion? We are not now to examine the arguments, or proofs, that convinced her. She repeatedly declared that she had not discovered any essential error of doctrine in Protestantism.[2] But as her disinclination to that creed had sprung from an original feeling not clearly traceable to its cause, but which circumstances had heightened to intensity, so did she now throw herself with an inclination quite as inexplicable, but with full sympathy, within the pale of Catholicism.

She was nine years old when the doctrines of the Catholic church were for the first time expounded with precision in her hearing; among other things, the fact that the unmarried state was considered meritorious in that Church, was alluded

[1] Pallavicini, Vita Alessandri VII. For the passage, see Appendix, No. 130.

[2] During a later residence in Sweden, she was earnestly urged no longer to reject the religion for which her father had died. She replied that she did not charge Protestantism with the slightest error, to say nothing of heresy, but gave as the reason for her refusal the disgrace attendant on such a second apostasy. Wagenseil, in Arckenholtz, ii. 300: "ita respondisse reginam, non ut cuiusquam haeresios vel minimi erroris ecclesiam protestantium insimularet." The words do not seem to me to admit of an evasive explanation either philologically or historically. For what reason were they used, if that meaning were not attached to them?

to. "Ah," remarked the child, "how fine that is! It is of that religion that I will be."

For this she was gravely reprimanded, but she only persisted the more obstinately in her assertion.

At a later period other impressions of a congenial nature were added. "When one is a Catholic," she would remark, "one has the consolation of believing as so many noble spirits have believed for sixteen hundred years, of belonging to a religion attested by millions of martyrs, confirmed by millions of miracles; above all," she would add, "which has produced so many admirable virgins, who have risen above the frailties of their sex, and consecrated their lives to God."

The constitution of Sweden is based on the Protestant faith. It is on this that the glory, the power, and the political position of that country are founded. This religion was imposed on the queen as a necessity, but, untouched by its spirit, and revolted by a thousand accidental circumstances, she deliberately broke loose from its hold; the opposite doctrines, of which she had but an obscure perception, attracted her. That the popes should be invested with infallible authority appeared to her an institution in accordance with the goodness of God; she daily attached herself to the Catholic system with a more decided strength of purpose. It seemed as if she thus satisfied the desire for self-devotion natural to woman, and as if, in her heart, faith had sprung to existence, as does love in so many others—from an unconscious emotion which must be concealed, lest it be condemned by the world, but which only becomes the more deeply rooted, and which makes the happiness of the womanly heart prepared to sacrifice all for its sake.

It is at least certain that Christina, in seeking to approach the court of Rome, had recourse to a secret device, such as would commonly be resorted to only in affairs of love or ambition; she formed, as it were, an intrigue to become a Catholic. In this she proved herself a true woman.

The first person to whom she made known her inclination for Catholicism was a Jesuit, Antonio Macedo, confessor

to the Portuguese ambassador, Pinto Pereira.[1] Pereira spoke no language but Portuguese, and was always accompanied by his confessor as interpreter. The queen found a peculiar pleasure in leading the interpreter to a controversy on religious subjects during the audiences she gave the ambassador (who believed them to be occupied in the discussion of state affairs only), and thus, in the presence of a third person, who understood nothing of what was passing, confiding to Macedo her most secret thoughts and most daring speculations.[2]

Suddenly, Macedo disappeared from Stockholm. The queen pretended to have him sought for, and pursued; while she had, in fact, herself despatched him to Rome, for the purpose of explaining her wishes to the general of the Jesuits, and entreating him to send her some of the most trusted members of his order.

In February, 1652, the Jesuits demanded arrived in Stockholm accordingly; they were two young men who represented themselves to be Italian noblemen engaged in travel, and in this character were admitted to her table. The queen at once suspected their true errand, and while they walked immediately before her to the dining-hall, she observed to one of them, in a low voice, that perchance he had letters for her. He replied, without turning his head, that he had; with one rapid word she then warned him to keep silence. After dinner she sent her most trusted servant, Johann Holm, for the letters, and the following morning the same servant conducted the Jesuits themselves, in the most profound secrecy, to the palace.[3]

Thus, to the royal dwelling of Gustavus Adolphus, there

[1] The author of her conversion is sometimes said to have been a certain Gottfried Franken; but according to the account given in Arckenholtz, i. 465, the first thought of sending Franken to Stockholm was not entertained until after the return of Salmasius in 1651. Macedo was at the Swedish court in 1650; his claim is therefore undeniable.

[2] Pallavicini: "Arctius idcirco sermones et colloquia miscuit, non tunc solum quum ad eam Macedus ab legato mittebatur, set etiam ipso praesente, qui nihil intelligens animadvertebat tamen longiores inter eos esse sermones quam res ferrent ab se interpreti propositae et sibi ab interprete relatae."

[3] Relatione di Paolo Casati al Papa Alessandro VII. The extract will be found in Appendix, No. 131.

now came ambassadors from Rome, for the purpose of holding conference with his daughter, in regard to her joining the Catholic church. The charm of this affair to Christina was principally in the certainty that no one had the slightest suspicion of her proceedings.

The two Jesuits, at first, proposed to commence with the rules prescribed by the Catechism, but they soon perceived that in this case such a method was totally inapplicable. The queen proposed very different questions from any that had there been anticipated or prepared for; as, for example, whether there were any true difference between good and evil, or was all determined by the utility or injurious character of the action; how the doubts arising with regard to the existence of a Providence were to be set at rest; whether the soul of man were really immortal; whether it were not most advisable to adhere in external forms to the religion of one's native land, and to live according to the laws of reason. The Jesuits do not tell us what replies they gave to these questions; they believed that during their conference, thoughts were suggested to them, such as never had entered their minds before, and which they had immediately afterwards lost and forgotten. The queen, they think, was under the immediate operation of the Holy Spirit; the truth being, that she was under the influence of a decided predisposition which supplied whatever might be wanting in every argument, and even added force to conviction itself. They most frequently recurred to the primary assumption, that the world cannot be left without the true religion, and to this they added the assertion, that of all existing religions, the Catholic is the most reasonable. "Our chief endeavour," say the Jesuits, "was to prove that the points of our holy religion are raised above reason, but are in nowise opposed to it." The principal difficulty was the invocation of saints, and the veneration of images and relics. "But her majesty," they proceed to tell us, "apprehended with most ready penetration, the whole force of the arguments which we laid before her; otherwise, we should have consumed much time." She conversed with them also on the difficulties that must arise, in the event of her determining to become a Catholic, in bringing the matter to bear: these sometimes

appeared likely to prove insurmountable, and one day, when she again saw the Jesuits, she declared to them that they would do well to return home, that the attempt they were making was impracticable, and that, besides, she thought she could never become wholly Catholic at heart. The good fathers were amazed, they used every argument that seemed likely to keep her firm to her previous purpose, placed God and Eternity before her, and affirmed her doubts to be but suggestions and assaults of Satan. It is entirely characteristic of Christina, that she was, at this moment, more fully resolved on her conversion than at any earlier conference. "What would you say?" she asked suddenly, "if I were nearer to becoming a Catholic than you suppose?" "I cannot describe the feeling," says the Jesuit narrator, "that we experienced, —we seemed like men raised from the dead." The queen asked whether the pope could not grant permission to receive the communion, once in the year, according to the Lutheran rite. "We replied, that he could not. 'Then,' said she, 'there is no help, I must resign the crown.'"

There were, indeed, other causes which made her thoughts tend daily more and more in that direction.

The affairs of the country did not always proceed as she would have had them. Opposed to the powerful aristocracy, which always held firmly together, the queen, with her immediate circle, drawn from so many lands, with the successor to the throne that she had forced upon the people, and with Count Magnus de la Gardie, to whom she had given her confidence, but whom the old Swedish nobility would never acknowledge as their equal in point of birth, formed a party that was almost considered a foreign one. Her unbounded liberality had exhausted the finances, and the moment seemed approaching when all the resources of the country must fail. As early as October, 1651, she made known to the Estates her intention of abdicating; this was precisely at the time when she had despatched Antonio Macedo to Rome. She allowed herself, nevertheless, to be dissuaded for that time, from her purpose. The grand chancellor represented to her that the financial pressure ought not to be permitted to influence her decision, assuring

her that due care should be taken to prevent the splendour of the crown from suffering diminution.[1] She perceived, too, that her proceedings would not have so heroic an appearance in the eyes of the world, as she had at first imagined. When soon afterwards, Prince Frederick of Hesse, was proposing a similar step, she expressly advised him to the contrary, not altogether on religious grounds; she did but remind him, that whoever changes his creed is hated by those whom he deserts, and despised by the party he joins.[2] But these considerations gradually ceased to have any effect on herself. It was in vain that she endeavoured, by frequent nominations, to make herself a party in the national council, which she enlarged from twenty-eight to thirty-nine members. The credit and importance of the Oxenstierna family, which had for a time been obscured, regained all its lustre by means of its connections, by the force of habit, and especially by the talents, which in that house appeared to be hereditary. On many important questions, as, for example, the adjustment of affairs with Brandenburg, the queen remained in the minority. Count Magnus de la Gardie, too, was deprived of her confidence and favour. The want of money really began to be felt, and there was sometimes not sufficient for the daily expenses of the household.[3] Again, she asked herself, would it not be better to stipulate for a yearly revenue, wherewith she might live in a foreign land, after the desires of her own heart, and without being subjected to the interference and remonstrances of bigoted preachers, who could see nothing in her actions or motives, but a rash and romantic eccentricity, or an apostasy from the religion and customs of her native land? Business had already become distasteful to her, and she felt oppressed when her secretaries approached her; already she had become dissatisfied with all other society but that of the Spanish

[1] Puffendorf, Rerum Suecicarum, lib. xxiii. p. 477.

[2] Lettre de Christine au Prince Fréderic, landgrave de Hesse, in Arckenholtz, i. p. 218: "Pouvez-vous ignorer combien ceux qui changent sont haïs de ceux des sentiments desquels ils s'éloignent, et ne saurez-vous pas par tant d'illustres exemples qu'ils sont méprisés de ceux auprès desquels ils se rangent?"

[3] Motivi onde si crede la regina di Suezia aver presa la risolutione di rinonciare la corona. In Arckenholtz, ii. App. No. 47.

ambassador, Don Antonio Pimentelli, who took part in all her social occupations and amusements, as in the meetings of that "Order of the Amaranth," which she founded, and whose members were required to pledge themselves to a sort of celibacy.[1] Don Antonio was acquainted with her tendency towards Catholicism, of which he gave intimation to his sovereign, who promised to receive the Swedish princess into his dominions, and offered to arrange all preliminaries with the pope, for her reception into the Catholic church.[2] The Jesuits, with whom she had been in conference, had meanwhile returned to Rome, where they had already made certain preparations for that event.

Christina was now no longer to be dissuaded from her purpose by any mode of argument. Her letter to the French ambassador Chanut shews clearly how little she reckoned on approval of the step she was about to take; but she declares that this would give her no concern; she would be happy, strong in herself, without fear before God and man, and from the haven she had sought would look forth on the sufferings of those who were still beaten about by the storms of life. Her sole care now was to secure her revenues in such a manner that they could never be taken from her.

The ceremony of abdication was completed on the 24th of June, 1654. Notwithstanding the many causes of dissatisfaction presented by the government of the queen, yet all classes, from the highest to the lowest, were profoundly affected at sight of this renunciation of her country by the last scion of the race of Vasa. The aged Count Brahe refused to take the crown from her head which he had placed there three years before; he considered the bond

[1] Chanut, Négociations de Suède, iii. 316: "Ensuite prêta" (he is speaking of Montecuculi) "le serment entre les mains de sa Majesté, sçavoir que les Chevaliers d'Amaranthe qui ne sont point mariés quand ils reçoivent l'ordre, demeureroient toujours garçons, et que ceux qui ont des femmes, venant à être veufs, n'en prendront point d'autres."

[2] Pallavicini, Vita Alexandri VII: "Aulae Hispanicae administri, cum primum rem proposuit Malines (who had been sent thither), omnino voluissent ab regina regnum retineri, ob emolumenta quae tum in religionem tum in regem Catholicum redundassent; sed cognito id fieri non posse nisi laesâ religione, placuit regi patronum esse facti tam generosi."

between prince and subject to be indissoluble, and held the proceedings before him to be unlawful.[1] The queen was hereby compelled to lift the crown from her head; it was only from her hand that he would receive it. Stripped of the insignia of royalty, in a plain white dress, Christina then received the parting homage of her Estates. After the rest, appeared the speaker of the peasantry; he knelt down before the queen, shook her hand and kissed it repeatedly; tears burst from his eyes, he wiped them away with his handkerchief, and without having said one word, he turned his back on her majesty, and walked away to his place.[2]

Her thoughts, meanwhile, and all her purposes were directed towards foreign lands,—not one moment would she remain in a country of which she had resigned the supreme authority to another. She had already sent forward her more costly moveables, and while the fleet intended for her conveyance to Wismar was in preparation, she seized the first favourable moment, disguised herself, and escaped from the oppressive supervision exercised over her by her late subjects, departing with a few trusted attendants only for Hamburg.

And now commenced her travels through Europe.

On arriving in Brussels, she made private confession of the Catholic faith, and afterwards repeated it publicly at Innsbruck. Invited by the prospect of the pope's benediction, she hastened to Italy. Her crown and sceptre she offered to the Virgin Mary at Loreto. The Venetian ambassadors were amazed at the preparations made in all the cities of the Roman states for giving her a magnificent reception. Pope Alexander, whose ambition was gratified by the circumstance of so brilliant a conversion having been made during his pontificate, exhausted the apostolic treasury to celebrate the occurrence with due solemnity. It was not as a penitent, but in triumph, that the royal convert entered

[1] "It was in opposition to the will of God, to the common right of nations, and to the oath by which she was bound to the realm of Sweden and to her subjects she was no honest man who had given her majesty such counsel." Life of Count Peter Brahe, in Schlözer's Schwedische Biographie, ii. p. 409.

[2] Whitelocke's Narrative.

Rome.[1] In the first years of her new condition we find her frequently travelling; we meet her often in Germany, some few times in France, and once even in Sweden. She did not always remain so entirely estranged from political interests as she may at first perhaps have intended. She once entered into very earnest negotiations, and not without a certain prospect of success, for obtaining the crown of Poland, the possession of which would, at least, not prevent her remaining Catholic. Another time she drew on herself the suspicion of intending to attack Naples in the interest of France. The necessity of looking to the receipt of her pension, which was often but little to be depended on, rarely permitted her to enjoy undisturbed tranquillity. The fact that, though possessing no crown, she yet laid claim to the uncontrolled liberty of action and full prerogatives of a crowned head, more especially as she understood these rights, was, on some occasions, productive of very serious consequences. Who could excuse the cruel sentence she pronounced at Fontainebleau, in her own cause, on Monaldeschi, a member of her household, and which she permitted the accusers and personal enemies of the sufferer to carry into execution? She gave him one hour only to prepare for death.[2] The treachery against her, with which the unhappy man was charged, she chose to interpret as high-treason, and considered it beneath her dignity to place him before any tribunal, whatever it might be. "To

[1] Relatione de' IV Ambasciatori: "Il sospetto che prese papa Innocentio che il ricevimento dovesse costarli caro ritardò il suo arrivo in Roma; e contento quel buon pontefice del risparmio del danaro lasciò la gloria intiera al suo successore d' accomplire questa memoranda funzione. Intorno a ciò ritrovammo al nostro giongere in Roma occupate le maggiori applicationi della corte, et al ritorno ci si fece vedere tutto lo stato della chiesa involto in facende et a gara l'una città dell' altra chi sapeva fare maggiore ostentatione di pomposi accoglimenti." [Pope Innocent suspected that her reception would cost him dear, and this delayed her arrival in Rome; the good pope contented himself with saving his money, and left the entire glory of accomplishing that grand ceremony to his successor. On our arrival we found the whole court busily occupied with the affair, and on our return, all the cities of the Roman states were emulating each other, and absorbed in the attempt each to make a finer show of welcome than the other.]

[2] See Pallavicini. See Appendix, No. 130.

acknowledge no superior," she exclaimed, "is worth more than to govern the whole world." She despised even public opinion. The execution of Monaldeschi had excited universal abhorrence in Rome, where the wranglings of her household were better known to the public than to herself; but this did not prevent her from hastening to return thither. Where, indeed, could she have lived except in Rome? With any of the temporal sovereigns, whose claims were of a similar character to her own, she would have fallen into ceaseless strife and collision; even with the popes, with Alexander VII himself, whose name she added to her own on her conversion, she was very frequently involved in the most bitter contentions.

But her character became milder by slow degrees; her habits more tranquil and better regulated. She obtained some mastery over herself, suffered certain considerations of what was due to others to prevail, and consented to acknowledge the necessities incident to the peculiarities of her chosen residence, where it is indeed certain that the ecclesiastical sovereignty allowed most ample field to controversial privileges and personal independence. She took a constantly increasing part in the splendour, the life, and the business of the Curia, becoming indeed eventually altogether identified with its interests. The collections she had brought with her from Sweden, she now enlarged by so liberal an expenditure, and with so much taste, judgment, and success, that she surpassed even the native families, and elevated the pursuit from a mere gratification of curiosity, to a higher and more significant importance both for learning and art. Men such as Spanheim and Havercamp thought the illustration of her coins and medals an object not unworthy of their labours, and Santo Bartolo devoted his practised hand to her cameos. The Correggios of Christina's collection have always been the richest ornament of every gallery into which the changes of time have carried them. The MSS. of her choice have contributed in no small degree to maintain the reputation of the Vatican library, into which they were subsequently incorporated. Acquisitions and possessions of this kind filled up the hours of her daily life, with an enjoyment that was at least harmless. She also

took interest and an active part in scientific pursuits; and it is much to her credit that she received the poor exiled Borelli, who was compelled to resort in his old age to teaching as a means of subsistence. The queen supported him with her utmost power, and caused his renowned and still unsurpassed work, on the mechanics of animal motion, by which physiological science has been so importantly influenced and advanced, to be printed at her own cost. Nay, I think we may even venture to affirm, that she herself, when her character and intellect had been improved and matured, exerted a powerfully efficient and enduring influence on the period, more particularly on Italian literature. The labyrinth of perverted metaphor, inflated extravagance, laboured conceit, and vapid triviality into which Italian poetry and eloquence had then wandered, is well known. Christina was too highly cultivated and too solidly endowed to be ensnared by such a fashion; it was her utter aversion. In the year 1680, she founded an Academy in her own residence for the discussion of literary and political subjects; and the first rule of this institution was, that its members should carefully abstain from the turgid style, overloaded with false ornament, which prevailed at the time, and be guided only by sound sense and the models of the Augustan and Medicean ages.[1] When we now meet with the works of this academy, in the Albani library of Rome, the impression they produce on us is sufficiently singular;—essays by Italian abbati, with emendations from the hand of a northern queen: yet was this association not without its import and significance. From the queen's academy proceeded such men as Alessandro Guidi, who had previously been addicted to the

[1] Constituzioni dell' academia reale, in Arckenholtz, iv. p. 28, § 28: "In quest' accademia si studj la purità, la gravità e la maestà della lingua Toscana; s' imitino per quanto si può i maestri della vera eloquenza de' secoli d' Augusto e di Leone X, — — e però si dia bando allo stile moderno turgido ed ampolloso, ai traslati metafore, figure, etc." Another paragraph (11) forbids all eulogies of the queen, a prohibition most necessary at that time. In the fourth volume of Nicoletti's Life of Urban VIII, there is a description of this academy, the chief point of which is, that the principal members, Angelo della Noce, Giuseppe Suarez, Giovanni Francesco Albani (afterwards pope), Stefano Gradi, Ottavio Falconieri, and Stefano Pignatelli, had all been residents in the house of Cardinal Francesco Barberini.

style then used, but after some time passed in the society of Christina, he not only resolved to abandon it, but even formed a league with some of his friends for the purpose of labouring to abolish it altogether. The Arcadia, an academy to which the merit of completing this good work is attributed, arose out of the society assembled around the Swedish queen. On the whole, it must needs be admitted, that in the midst of the various influences pressing around her, Christina preserved a noble independence of mind. To the necessity for evincing that ostentatious piety usually expected from converts, or which they impose on themselves, she would by no means subject herself. Entirely Catholic as she was, and though continually repeating her conviction of the pope's infallibility, and of the necessity of believing all doctrines enjoined either by himself or the Church, she had nevertheless an extreme detestation of bigots, and abhorred the direction of father confessors, who were at that time the exclusive rulers of all social and domestic life. She would not be prevented from enjoying the amusements of the carnival, concerts, dramatic entertainments, or whatever else might be offered by the habits of her life in Rome; above all, she refused to be withheld from the internal movement of an intellectual and animated society. She acknowledged a love of satire, and took pleasure in Pasquin. We find her constantly mingled in the intrigues of the court, the dissensions of the papal houses, and the factions of the cardinals. She attached herself to the party of the Squadronisti, of which her friend Azzolini was the chief. Others besides the queen regarded Azzolini as the most able member of the Curia, but she considered him to be the most god-like and spiritual-minded of men. She held him to be altogether incomparable; the only person in existence whom she could place above her venerable grand chancellor, Axel Oxenstierna. She desired to erect a monument to Azzolini in her memoirs, but unhappily a small part only of this work is known to the public; a fact the more to be regretted, because this portion gives proof of earnestness and truthful uprightness of purpose in her dealings with herself, with a freedom and firmness of mind before which all calumny is silenced. The apothegms

and detached thoughts which are the results of her leisure hours, and which have come down to us, form an equally remarkable production.[1] They betoken great knowledge of the world, an acquaintance with the workings of the passions, such as could be attained by experience only, with the most refined and subtle remarks on them; but also the most positive dispositions towards the real and essential, with a vital conviction of the power of self-direction residing in the mind, and of its high nobility. A just appreciation of earthly things is also manifest; they are estimated neither by too high nor too low a standard; and the work further displays a spirit that seeks only to satisfy God and itself. The great intellectual movement which developed itself towards the end of the seventeenth century in all the departments of human activity, and which opened a new era, was at work also in the person of this princess. Her residence in one of the central points of European civilization, and the leisure of private life, if not absolutely necessary, were yet doubtless extremely favourable to the production of this result. She attached herself to the mode of life thus presented to her with a passionate love, and even thought it impossible to live if she did not breathe the atmosphere of Rome.

10. ADMINISTRATION OF CHURCH AND STATE

There was at that time scarcely another place in the whole world where so much social refinement existed as at the court of Rome,—the efforts for promoting literature and art were so manifold, the abundance of its intellectual enjoyments was so great and various, and life in general was so completely filled with interests, at once absorbing the sympathies and calling forth the powers of the mind. The

[1] We have them in two different forms, varying somewhat from each other. The first is in the appendix to the second volume of Arckenholtz, and is called "Ouvrage de loisir de Christine, reine de Suède;" the second is in the appendix to the fourth volume of Arckenholtz, and is entitled "Sentiments et dits mémorables de Christine."

government made its authority but little felt. The ruling families had, in fact, divided all power and splendour among themselves; even the spiritual claims of the papacy could no longer be enforced in their full rigour; they were already encountered by a sensible resistance from the spirit of the times. The age was rather one of enjoyment, than of self-abnegation; the personal advantages of all kinds that men had won in the course of time combined with the prevalence of intellectual pursuits to form a luxurious and harmonious tranquillity.

But then arose the question, of how the Church and State were to be governed under the existing condition of things.

For there was no doubt that the court, or rather the prelacy, which properly included only the acting and efficient members of the Curia, had the administration of both in its own hands.

The institution of the prelacy acquired its modern form as early as the pontificate of Alexander VII. To become Referendario di Segnatura, a step on which all promotion depended, a man must be doctor of laws, must have studied three years under an advocate, must be of a certain age, possess a certain amount of income, and present a character free from reproach. The age was first fixed at twenty-five years, the income at 1000 scudi per annum. Alexander introduced the change (somewhat aristocratical in its character) to twenty-one, instead of twenty-five years, but required that proof should be offered of annual income amounting to not less than 1500 scudi. Whoever fulfilled these conditions was admitted by the Prefetto di Segnatura, and appointed to plead two causes before the assembled Segnatura.[1] It was thus that he took possession, or was installed, after which he was eligible for all other offices: from the government of a town or district he rose to a nunciatura, or vice-legation, or was perhaps appointed to a seat in the rota, or the congregations; then followed the cardinalate and the rank of legate. Spiritual and temporal power were united in the administration even of

[1] Discorso del dominio temporale e spirituale del S. Pontefice Romano, 1664. MS.

the highest offices. When the legate arrived in any town, certain spiritual privileges, previously enjoyed by the bishop, were suspended; the legate bestowed the benediction on the people in like manner with the pope. The members of the Curia were in continual alternation between spiritual and temporal offices.

We will first direct our attention to their temporal occupations in the administration of the State.

All things depended on the necessities of the government, and the demands made on the people,—that is to say, on the state of the finances.

We have seen to what a ruinous pitch the system of loans had risen under Urban VIII, more especially from the war of Castro: but loans had still been effected, the luoghi di monte maintained a high price, and the popes proceeded without restraint or cessation along the beaten way.

Innocent X found 182,103¾ to be the number of the luoghi di monte in 1644; in 1655 he left it amounting to 264,129½: so that the capital which these amounts indicate, had been increased from eighteen to more than twenty-six millions. Although he had discharged some debts of another kind with this sum, and had redeemed some few loans, there was nevertheless a large increase of the general debt: the amount was computed at his death to be forty-eight million scudi. He had been so fortunate as to derive a surplus revenue from the taxes imposed by Urban VIII, and on this he founded the new monti.

When Alexander VII succeeded to the government, it was manifest that increased taxation was impracticable. Loans had now become so much a matter of course that they were altogether indispensable. Alexander resolved to seek a new source of aid from the reduction of the interests.

The "vacabili," which paid ten and a half per cent., stood at one hundred and fifty: these he determined to call in; and although he paid for them at the current price, he yet gained a great advantage, the treasury generally borrowing at four per cent., so that if they were even paid off with borrowed money, yet in future the interest to be paid would be six per cent., instead of ten and a half per cent.

Thereupon Alexander conceived the idea of reducing all

the "non-vacabili," bearing more than four cent. to that rate of interest.[1] But as on this occasion he paid no regard to the current price, which was one hundred and sixteen, but paid to the luoghi simply the one hundred required by the strict letter of his agreement, he gained from this transaction also a very important advantage. All these amounts of interest were secured, as we have seen, upon the taxes, and it may have been the original intention of Pope Alexander to repeal the most oppressive of these imposts; but as the earlier modes of management were persisted in, this intention was found impossible of accomplishment. A reduction in the price of salt was soon followed by an increase of the tax on flour; the whole sum of the pontiff's gains was absorbed in the expenses of government, or by the papal family. If we compute the savings effected by the reductions of the interest, we shall find them amount to about 140,000 scudi, the new application of which sum, as interest, would involve an augmentation of the debt by about three millions.

Nor could Clement IX carry forward the administration by any other method than that of new loans; but he soon beheld himself reduced to such an extremity that he was finally compelled to lay hands on the proceeds of the dataria, which had always hitherto been spared, and on which the daily maintenance of the papal court depended. With this he founded 13,200 new luoghi di monte. In the year 1670, the debts of the papal court had reached to nearly fifty-two million scudi.

From this state of things it followed, in the first place, that, however willing to grant relief, the Curia could effect none but the most inconsiderable and transient reductions of those burdens which, in an unproductive country, and

[1] Pallavicini, Vita di Alessandro VII: "Perciocchè in nessun altro paese d'Italia la rendita del danaro aveasi tanto pingue e tanto sicura, pian piano era succeduto che quei luoghi del primitivo lor prezzo di 100 fussero cresciuti nella piazza al valor di 116. Hor la camera valendosi del suo diritto, come avrebbe potuto qualsivoglia privato, rendeva il prezzo originario di 100, non permettendo la vastità della somma—he computes it at 26 millions—nè persuadendo la qualità de' padroni in gran parte ricchi e forastieri, che ad aggravio de' poveri, alle cui spalle stanno tutti i publici pesi, il pontefice usasse più la liberalità usata da lui nell' estintione de' monti vacabili."

one that took no share in the commercial efforts of the world, were felt to be extremely oppressive.

Another complaint was that the monti were obtained by foreigners who received the interest without contributing anything to the taxes. It was computed that 600,000 scudi were yearly sent to Genoa only, on this account. The country thus became the debtor of a foreign people, a condition that could not be favourable to the healthy development of its powers.

But a further and still more deeply important consequence was perceived to result from this system of finance.

How could these holders of annuities, the moneyed interest, fail to obtain an undue influence over the State and its administration?

The great mercantile houses became possessed of a direct participation in the business of the State;—some great commercial house was always associated with the treasurer, and here all moneys were received and paid out. The coffers of the State were, in fact, at all times in the hands of merchants, who were also farmers of the revenue and treasurers of the provinces. We have seen the many offices that were saleable; these they had the means of making their own. It required, moreover, a considerable fortune to secure advancement in the Curia. In the year 1665, we find the most important offices of the government held by Florentines and Genoese: the proceedings of the court were directed in so mercantile a spirit, that promotion gradually came to depend much less on merit than the possession of money. "A merchant with his purse in his hand," exclaims Grimani, "has always the preference in the end. The court is crowded with hirelings whose sole desire is for gain: these men feel as traders, not as statesmen, and cherish only the meanest and most sordid thoughts."[1]

And this was all the more important, from the fact that

[1] Antonio Grimani: "Per la vendita della maggior parte degli officii più considerabili si viene a riempire la corte d'uomini mercenarj e mercanti, restanti indietro quelli che potrebbero posseder tali officii per merito e per virtù, male veramente notabile che smacca il credito concepito della grandezza della corte Romana, non avendo detti mercenarj d'officii involto l'animo che in cose mecaniche e basse e più tosto mercantili che politiche."

there was no longer any independence in the country. Bologna was the only place that now opposed any effectual resistance, so that at one time the Curia thought of building a citadel there. It is true that other communities sometimes offered opposition to particular demands of the court: thus, the inhabitants of Fermo once refused to suffer the corn, which they believed to be required for their own use, to be carried out of their territory.[1] In Perugia the people would not consent to pay their arrears of taxes: but these commotions were easily put down by the commissaries-general of the court, who then imposed a still more rigorous system of subordination, until, in process of time, the administration of the communal property also was subjected to the disposal of the Curia.

A remarkable example of the course pursued by this administration is presented by the institution of the Annona. The principle generally acted on through the sixteenth century being to oppose obstacles to the export of the first necessaries of life, the popes also took measures for that purpose, more particularly with a view to the prevention of a rise in the price of bread. The powers entrusted to the prefect of the corn-laws (prefetto dell' annona), to whom this branch of the executive was committed, were originally very closely restricted; they were first enlarged by Gregory XIII. Not only was it forbidden to export the corn gathered in from the States of the Church to a foreign country, without the permission of the prefect, it was made unlawful to convey it even from one district of the States to another; and this permission was only to be obtained when corn could be bought on the first of March at a certain price,—its amount being fixed by Clement VIII at six scudi the rubbio, and by Paul V at five and a half scudi. A special tariff was established for bread, regulated by the variations in the price of corn.[2]

[1] Memoriale presentato alla Santità di N. S^re^. Papa Innocentio dalli deputati della città di Fermo per il tumulto ivi seguito alli 6 di Luglio, 1648, MS. See Bisaccioni, Historia delle Guerre Civili, p. 271, where Fermo appears together with England, France, Poland, and Naples.

[2] In the work of Niccolò Maria Nicolaj, Memorie, leggi et osservationi sulle campagne, e sull' annone di Roma, 1803, will be found (vol. ii.) the long list of papal ordinances put forth on this subject.

But it was now found that the wants of Rome increased from year to year. The number of inhabitants became greater, while the cultivation of the Campagna was falling to decay. The decline of agriculture in the Campagna, and the ruin of that district, must be referred principally to the first half of the seventeenth century, and, if I am not mistaken, may be attributed chiefly to two causes; first, to that alienation of the smaller estates to the great families which then occurred, for the land requires the most careful cultivation, and of a kind rarely given except by the small proprietor, who devotes himself and his whole income to that purpose; and secondly, to the increasing deterioration of the air. Gregory XIII had desired to extend the cultivation of corn, and to this end had caused the low-lying lands near the sea to be cleared of their trees and underwood. Sixtus V was equally anxious to destroy the lurking-places of the banditti, and had stripped the hills of their forests with that view.[1] Neither the one nor the other could now be turned to any account; the deleterious quality of the air became more obvious from year to year, and contributed to desolate the Campagna, of which the produce continually decreased.

The disproportion thus occasioned between the demand and supply induced Urban VIII to render the superintendence more rigid, and to extend the powers of the prefect. By one of his earliest enactments he absolutely prohibited the exportation of corn, cattle, or oil, not only from the States generally, but from one province to another; he also empowered the prefect to fix the price of corn on the Campofiore, according to the produce of each harvest, and to prescribe the weight of the bread to the bakers in a suitable proportion.

By these enactments the prefect was rendered all-powerful, nor did he long hesitate to use the authority thus conferred on him for the benefit of himself and his friends. He obtained a direct monopoly of corn, oil, meat, and all other principal necessaries of life. That the cheapness of these articles was much promoted by this state of things,

[1] Relatione dello stato di Roma presente, or Almaden. See Appendix, No. 123.

we are not prepared to affirm. Even the privilege of exportation was conceded to persons favoured by the prefect; the effect felt by the general purchaser was principally the oppression and vexation of the trammels imposed on all buying or selling. It was immediately remarked that agriculture declined more and more.[1]

It was at this time that complaints respecting the universal ruin of the States of the Church may be said to have commenced; nor have they ever ceased to be heard from those days. "In our journeys through the land," observe the Venetian ambassadors of the year 1621, in whose report I find the first remarks on this subject, "we have seen great poverty among the peasantry and common people, with little comfort, not to say great privations among all other classes,—a result of the manner of government, and more particularly of the scantiness of commerce. Bologna and Ferrara derive a certain degree of splendour from their palaces and nobility; Ancona still retains some traffic with Ragusa and Turkey; but all the other towns have sunk grievously low." Towards the year 1650, an opinion was everywhere entertained that an ecclesiastical government was ruinous to its subjects. The inhabitants, also, already began to bewail themselves bitterly.[2] "The imposts of the Barberini," exclaims a contemporary biographer, "have exhausted the country; the avarice of Donna Olimpia has drained the court; an amelioration was hoped for from the virtues of Alexander VII, but all Siena has poured itself over the States of the Church, and is exhausting the last remnant of their strength."[3] Still the

[1] Pietro Contarini, 1627: "Il pontefice avendo levato le tratte concesse a diversi da suoi precessori — — hora vendendole ne cava bona somma di danaro: non vole i prezzi troppo vili nè grano forestiero; l'arte del campo viene ad abbandonarsi per il poco o niun guadagno che ne traggono." See Appendix, No. III.

[2] Deone, Diario, tom. iv. 1649, 21 Ag.: "E dovere di favorir la chiesa, però veggiamo che tutto quello che passa a lei, è in pregiudicio del publico, come che le terre sue subito sono dishabitate e le possessioni mal coltivate, si vede in Ferrara, in Urbino, in Nepe, in Nettuno et in tutte le piazze che sono passate nel dominio della chiesa."

[3] Vita di Alessandro VII: "Spolpato e quasi in teschio ridotto dalle gabelle Barberine lo stato ecclesiastico e smunta la corte dall'

country obtained no remission from the demands made on it.

This administration was once compared, even by one of the cardinals, to a horse worn out by a long course, but which, spurred on afresh, makes further efforts to proceed, until he falls, utterly exhausted, by the way-side. This moment of complete exhaustion seemed now to have come.

The worst spirit that can possibly possess the officials of a government had long been too clearly manifest in Rome; each one appeared to consider the commonwealth as something to be made subservient to his own personal advancement—often as a means for the mere gratification of avarice.

With how frightful a power did corruption take possession of the land!

At the court of Innocent X Donna Olimpia provided applicants with offices on condition of receiving from them a monthly acknowledgment in money.[1] And well would it have been had she been the only person who did so! But the sister-in-law of the datary Cecchini, Donna Clementia, proceeded in a similar manner; Christmas, in particular, was the great harvest-time for presents. The refusal of Don Camillo Astalli to share these gifts on one occasion with Donna Olimpia, to whom he had given hopes that he would do so, excited her most violent anger, and was the first cause of his downfall. To what frauds and forgeries did bribery conduct Mascambruno! It was his habit to affix false summaries to the decrees that he laid before the pope, and as his holiness read only the summaries, he signed things of which he had not the slightest suspicion, and which covered the Roman court with infamy.[2] One cannot but feel pained and revolted when reading the

ingordigia di Olimpia confidavano generoso ristoro della bontà d' Alessandro."

[1] See Appendix, No. 126.

[2] Pallavicini seeks to excuse this on the grounds that the proceedings of the dataria were written "di carattere francese, come è restato in uso della dataria, dapoi che la sedia fu in Avignone" [in the French character, as has remained the custom from the time when the papal see held its court in Avignon,] and which the pope did not readily or willingly read. See Appendix, Nos. 125, 126.

remark that Don Mario, the brother of Alexander VII, became rich for this cause, among others, that the jurisdiction of the Borgo was in his hands.

For, unhappily, even the administration of justice was infected with this grievous plague.

We possess a statement of the abuses which had crept into the tribunal of the Rota, and which was laid before Alexander VII by a man who had practised in it during twenty-eight years.[1] He computes that there was no auditor of the Rota who did not receive presents at Christmas to the amount of five hundred scudi. Those who could not gain access to the person of the auditor still found means to approach his relations, his assistants, or his servants.

And no less injurious were the effects produced by the secret injunctions and influence of the court and the great. The very judges were sometimes known to apologize to the parties for the unjust judgment pronounced, declaring that justice was restrained by force.

How corrupt an administration of the laws was this! There were four months of vacation, and even the remainder of the year was passed in a life of idleness and amusement. Judgments were most unduly delayed, yet, when given, presented every mark of precipitation: appeals were altogether useless. It is true that the affair was in such cases transferred to other members of the court, but what could secure these last from being equally subject to the influences by which the former judge had been corrupted? The courts of appeal were, moreover, biassed in their decisions by the judgment previously given.

These were evils that extended from the supreme court of judicature to the very lowest of the tribunals, and equally affected the course of justice and general government in the provinces.[2]

[1] Disordini che occorrono nel supremo tribunale della rota nella corte Romana e gli ordini con i quali si potrebbe riformare, scrittura fatta da un avvocato da presentarsi alla S^ta^. de N. S^re^. Alessandro VII, MS. Rangone at Vienna, No. 23.

[2] Disordini: "Con le male decisioni di questo tribunale supremo (della rota) si corrompe la giustitia a tutti gli altri minori, almeno del stato ecclesiastico, vedendosi da guidici dare sentenze con decisioni si fatte."

In a document which is still extant we find these circumstances represented by Cardinal Sacchetti, in the most earnest manner to Alexander VII:—the oppression of the poor—who found none to help them—by the powerful; the perversion of justice by the intrigues of cardinals, princes, and dependents of the palace; the delay of business, which was sometimes prolonged for years and decades, though it might have been concluded in a few days; the violence and tyranny experienced by any one who ventured to appeal from an inferior official to one above him; the executions and forfeitures imposed for the enforcement of the levies,—measures of cruelty calculated only to make the sovereign odious to his people while his servants enriched themselves. "Oppressions, most holy father," he exclaims, "exceeding those inflicted on the Israelites in Egypt! People, not conquered by the sword, but subjected to the Holy See, either by their free accord, or the donations of princes, are more inhumanly treated than the slaves in Syria or Africa. Who can witness these things without tears of sorrow!"[1]

Such was the condition of the States of the Church even as early as the middle of the seventeenth century.

And now could it be reasonably expected that the administration of the Church should remain free from abuses of a similar kind?

That administration depended on the court, equally with the civil government, and received its impulse from the same spirit.

It is true that certain restrictions were imposed on the

[1] Lettre du Cardinal Sacchetti écrite peu avant sa mort au Pape Alexandre VII, 1663, copie tirée des "Manuscritti della regina di Suezia," in Arckenholtz, Mémoires, tom. iv. App. No. xxxii.: a very instructive document, corroborated by very many others: as, for example, by a "Scrittura sopra il governo di Roma," of the same time (Altieri Library). "I popoli, non avendo più argento nè rame nè biancherie nè matarazze per sodisfare alla indiscretione de' commissarj, converrà che si venderanno schiavi per pagare i pesi camerali." [The people having no more silver or copper, or linen, or furniture, to satisfy the rapacity of the commissaries, will be next obliged to sell themselves as slaves to pay the burdens laid on them by the camera.] See Appendix, No. 145.

Curia, with respect to ecclesiastical affairs. In France important prerogatives were possessed by the crown; in Germany the chapters preserved their independence; in Italy and Spain, on the contrary, the hands of the Curia were unfettered, and its lucrative privileges were accordingly exercised in the most unscrupulous manner.

In Spain the Roman court possessed the right of nomination to all the less important ecclesiastical employments and benefices. In Italy it appointed even to the highest. The sums that flowed into the coffers of the dataria, from Spain, are of an almost incredible amount; their principal sources were the installation to appointments, the spolia, and the revenues of vacant benefices. Yet the Curia, considered as a whole, drew still greater advantage, perhaps, from its relations with the Italian states; the richest bishoprics and abbeys, with a large number of priories, commanderies, and other benefices, went immediately to the profit of its members.

And it would have been well had the evil rested there!

But to the rights, which of themselves were of very questionable character, there were added the most ruinous abuses. I will mention one only—but that, indeed, was perhaps the worst. The practice was introduced, and by the middle of the seventeenth century was in full operation, that every benefice conferred by the Curia was burdened with a pension to one or other of the members of that body.

This practice was expressly prohibited in Spain, and there too, as the benefices themselves were to be conferred on natives exclusively, so pensions were to be granted only to them; but a device was invented in Rome for evading these enactments. The pension was made out in the name of a native or naturalized Spaniard; but this latter bound himself by a civil contract to pay a stipulated yearly amount into some Roman bank or commercial house, for the actual recipient of the pension. In Italy these considerations and contrivances were not required, and the bishoprics were often loaded with intolerable burdens. In the year 1663, Monsignor de Angelis, bishop of Urbino, complained that all he had remaining for his own share from that rich bishopric, was sixty scudi yearly; and that he had already

sent in his resignation, which the court refused to accept. The conditions annexed to the bishoprics of Ancona and Pesaro were so oppressive, that for years they were left unoccupied, because no one could be found to accept them with those impositions. In the year 1667, twenty-eight bishops and archbishops were counted in Naples, all of whom had been ejected from their offices because they did not pay the pensions imposed on them. From the bishoprics this corruption descended to the parochial benefices: the richest parishes frequently yielded their incumbents but a very slender subsistence; even the poor country priests in some places had their very fees charged with burdens.[1] Many were so much discouraged that they resigned their livings, but in time new candidates always presented themselves; nay, they sometimes outbade each other, vieing which should offer the Curia the largest pension.

But how deplorable a state of depravity in the government do these things betray! The least evil that could result from such a system was the entire corruption of the parochial clergy, and the utter neglect of their flocks.

[1] The malicious Basadona (see Appendix, No. 134) remarks: "Bisogna conchiudere che ogni beneficio capace di pensione rimanga caricato come l'asino di Apulejo, che non potendo più sostenere il peso meditava di gettarsi in terra, quando il veder caduto il compagno e tosto de' vetturini scorticato hebbe per bene di sopportare l'insopportabile soma." [To make an end, we may fairly describe every benefice, capable of bearing a pension, as loaded like the ass of Apuleius, which, unable to bear its burden, thought of throwing itself on the earth; but, seeing its fallen companion immediately flayed by the carters, he held it good to support the insupportable load.] All contemporary writers agree in the description of the evil. The practice of resigning the benefice to another while retaining a portion of the revenue, was also again introduced. Deone, Diario, 7 Genn. 1645, after alluding to the archbishopric of Bologna, transferred to Albergati by Cardinal Colonna, continues to the effect that "con questo esempio si è aperta la porta d'ammettere le risegne; e così stamane si è publicata la risegna della chiesa di Ravenna fatta dal card^l. Capponi nella persona di mons^r. Tungianni suo nipote con riserva di pensione a suo favore e dopo la morte sua d'una buona parte al card^l. Pamfilio" [by this example the door is opened for admitting the practice of transference; and, accordingly, this morning, the transfer of the bishopric of Ravenna by Cardinal Capponi to his nephew Mons^r. Tungianni, is made known; he reserves a pension to himself, which at his death goes in good part to Cardinal Pamfili.]

Much wiser had been the decision of the Protestant church in having from the first abolished all superfluities, and subjected itself to order and rule.

It is beyond doubt that the wealth of the Catholic church, and the worldly rank attached to ecclesiastical dignities, induced the higher aristocracy to devote themselves to her service. It was even a maxim with Pope Alexander to bestow Church preferment chiefly on men of good birth: he entertained the extraordinary idea that as earthly princes are fond of seeing themselves surrounded by servants of high descent, so it must be pleasing to God that his service should be undertaken by men exalted in rank above their fellows. Yet it was certainly not by such principles that the Church had raised herself in earlier ages, nor had she been restored by such in later times. The monasteries and congregations, which had contributed so largely to the restoration of Catholicism, were at this time suffered to fall into contempt. The papal families had little value for any person who was bound by conventual obligations, if it were only because men thus occupied could not be constantly paying court to themselves. Whenever there was a competition, the candidate obtaining the place was almost always of the secular clergy, however inferior his merits and talents. "The opinion seems to prevail," says Grimani, "that the episcopal office, or the purple, would be degraded by being conferred on the brother of a convent." He even thinks he perceives that monks no longer dare confidently to shew themselves at court, where they are frequently exposed to mockery and insult. It already began to be remarked that none but men of the lowest origin were now disposed to enter the monasteries. "Even a bankrupt shopkeeper," he exclaims, "considers himself too good to wear the cowl."[1]

[1] Grimani further adds: "Si toglie ad ognuno affatto la voglia di studiare e la cura di difendere la religione. Deteriorandosi il numero de' religiosi dotti et esemplari, potrebbe in breve soffrirne non poco detrimento la corte: onde al mio credere farebbono bene i pontefici di procurare di rimettere i regolari nel primo posto di stima, partecipandoli di quando in quando cariche, — — e così nelle religioni vi entrerebbero huomini eminenti." [Every desire for study and all care for the defence of religion are entirely suppressed. That the number of

Since the monasteries thus lost their intrinsic importance, it can occasion no surprise that they soon began to be considered altogether superfluous; but it is a very remarkable fact that this opinion first found expression in Rome itself, —that the necessity for restricting monastic institutions was first asserted in that court. As early as the year 1649, a bull was published by Innocent X, forbidding new admissions into any of the regular orders, until the incomes of the several convents had been computed, and the number of persons that each could maintain was determined.[1] A bull issued on the 15th of October, 1652, is still more important. In this the pope complained that there were many small convents, wherein the offices could not be duly performed, either by day or night, nor spiritual exercises practised, nor seclusion properly maintained; he declared these places to be mere receptacles for licentiousness and crime, affirmed that their number had now increased beyond all measure, and suppressed them all at one blow, with the observation that it was necessary to separate the tares from the wheat.[2] The plan was very soon suggested (and again it was first proposed in Rome) of alleviating the financial necessities, even of foreign states, by the confiscation, not of separate convents only, but of entire monastic orders.

learned and exemplary monks should diminish so rapidly, may ere long be detrimental to the court itself, whence it is my opinion that the popes would do well to take measures for the restoration of the regular clergy to their former credit, by giving them important charges from time to time: eminent men would thus be induced again to enter the orders.] See Appendix, No. 138.

[1] Our diary, 1st Jan. 1650 (Deone), describes the impression produced by this "constitution": "Non entrando quella ragione ne' cappuccini et altri riformati che non possedono entrata, temono che la prohibitione sia perpetua, e così cred'io, fin a tanto che il numero de' regolari hoggi eccessivo sia ridotto a numero competente e la republica da loro non venga oppressa." [As this cause does not affect the Capuchins and other reformed orders who possess no revenues, it is feared that the prohibition may be perpetual; and I believe it will be so, until the number of regular clergy, which is now excessive, shall be reduced to moderation, and the commonwealth be no longer oppressed by them.]

[2] Constitutio super extinctione et suppressione parvorum conventuum, eorumque reductione ad statum secularem, et bonorum applicatione, et prohibitione erigendi nova loca regularia in Italia et insulis adjacentibus. Idibus, Oct. 1652.

When Alexander VII was requested by the Venetians, shortly after his accession, to support them in the war of Candia against the Turks, he himself proposed to them the suppression of several orders in their own territories. The Venetians were averse to this plan, because these orders still afforded a provision for the poorer "nobili;" but the pope accomplished his purpose. He maintained that the existence of these convents was rather an offence than edification to the faithful, and compared his mode of proceeding to that of the gardener, who removes all useless branches from the vine, to render it more fruitful.[1]

Yet it could not be asserted that among those who now received promotion, any remarkably splendid talents were found. There was, on the contrary, a general complaint throughout the seventeenth century, of the dearth of distinguished men.[2] Men of eminent powers were, indeed, very frequently excluded from the prelacy, because they were too poor to comply with the regulations established for their admission.[3] Advancement depended almost entirely on the favour of the papal families; and this was only to be obtained by an excessive adulation and servility that could not be favourable to a free development of the nobler qualities of the intellect. This state of things affected the whole body of the clergy.

It is certainly a remarkable fact, that in the most important branches of theological study, there scarcely appeared a single original Italian author, whether as regarded exposition of scripture, on which subject nothing was presented but repetitions of works belonging to the sixteenth century, or as relating to morals,—although that subject of inquiry was much cultivated elsewhere—nor even in relation to dogmatic theology. In the congregations, foreigners alone appeared

[1] Relatione de' iv. Ambasciatori, 1656. See Appendix, No. 129.

[2] Grimani: "Tolta l'economia esteriore ogni altra cosa si deteriora; — - d'huomini di valore effettivamente scarseggia al presente la corte al maggior segno." See Appendix, No. 138.

[3] Relatione di Roma sotto Clemente IX: "Portando lo stile che le cariche si trasferiscono solamente a prelati e che la prelatura si concede solo a quelli che hanno entrata sufficiente per mantenere il decoro, ne siegue però che la maggior parte di soggetti capaci ne resta esclusa." See Appendix, No. 136.

in the arena in the disputations concerning the means of grace; in those of a later period also, concerning free will and faith, Italians took but little part. After Girolamo da Narni, no distinguished preacher appeared even in Rome itself. In the journal before referred to, and kept by a very strict Catholic, from 1640 to 1650, this fact is remarked with astonishment. "With the commencement of Lent," he observes, "comedies ceased to be performed in theatres and houses, and began in the pulpits of the churches. The holy office of the preacher is employed to secure celebrity, or made subservient to the purposes of the flatterer. Metaphysics are brought forward, of which the speaker knows very little, and his hearers nothing whatever. In place of teaching and admonition, encomiums are pronounced, solely for the furtherance of the speaker's promotion. As regards the choice of the preacher also, everything now depends on connection and favour, and no longer on the merit of the man."

To sum up the whole, that mighty internal impulse, by which the Court, Church, and State were formerly governed, and from which they had received their strictly religious character, was now extinguished. The tendency towards restoration and conquest had passed away; other motives were now predominant, urging only to the struggle for power and pleasure, and once more imparting a worldly character to spiritual affairs.

And here the question naturally presents itself, what direction was taken under these circumstances by that Society which had been so peculiarly founded on the principles of Catholic restoration: we allude to the order of Jesuits.

II. THE JESUITS IN THE MIDDLE OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

The most important change that had taken place in the constitution of the Society of Jesus, consisted in the fact that the "professed" members had become advanced to the possession of power.

Of the "professed," those who took the four vows, there were at first very few. Living apart from the colleges, and subsisting on alms, they had confined themselves to the exercise of spiritual authority. Appointments requiring the activity of men of the world, such as those of rectors and provincials, with the general management of the colleges, had formerly been in the hands of the coadjutors. But all this was now entirely changed. The "professed" themselves attained to places in the administration; they took part in the revenues of the colleges and became rectors or provincials.[1]

The most immediate consequence of this alteration was, that those severe practices of private devotion which had been maintained in their fervour, principally by the rigid separation of the "houses of the professed," now gradually declined; even at the first reception of a member into the society, it was no longer possible to examine with the minuteness first practised, into his capacity or vocation for an ascetic life. Vitelleschi, in particular, gave admission to many who were certainly without any vocation. The highest station was the object now aimed at, the rank by which its possessors at once secured ecclesiastical dignity and secular power. But this combination was, moreover, shewn to be highly prejudicial in its effects generally; formerly the coadjutors and professed had exercised superintendence over each other; but temporal importance and spiritual claims were now united in the same persons. Men of the meanest endowments considered themselves of high ability, because no one now ventured to gainsay them. Having attained exclusive dominion, they began quietly and at their ease to enjoy those large possessions which the colleges had acquired in the course of time, and to think principally of the means by which their wealth might be increased. The actual direction of business, and the duties, whether of churches or

[1] In a collection of papers entitled "Scritture politiche, morali e satiriche sopra le massime, istituti e governo della compagnia di Gesu" (MS. Rome), will be found a circumstantial treatise of nearly 400 pages: "Discorso sopra la religione de' padri Gesuiti e loro modo di governare," written between 1681 and 1686, apparently by a person deeply initiated, from which the following facts are for the most part taken. See Appendix, No. 150.

schools, were abandoned to the younger members.[1] Even as regarded the general of the order, the professed assumed a deportment of extreme independence.

That the alteration was a great and essential one, is made obvious, among other things, by the characters and fortunes of the generals, the sort of men chosen as supreme rulers, and the mode in which these chiefs were treated.

How different was Mutio Vitelleschi from his predecessor, the calm, self-ruling, crafty, and inflexible Acquaviva! Vitelleschi was by nature mild, indulgent, and conciliatory; his intimates called him the angel of peace; and he found consolation on his death-bed from the conviction that he had never injured any one. These were admirable qualities of a most amiable man, but did not suffice to fit him for the government of an order so widely extended, active, and powerful. He was unable to enforce strictness of discipline, even with regard to dress, still less could he oppose an effectual resistance to the demands of determined ambition. It was during his administration, from 1615 to 1645, that the change above referred to was effected.

His immediate successors proceeded in a similar spirit. Vincenzo Caraffa (1645–49) was a man of the utmost piety and humility;[2] he even rejected all personal attendance, and

[1] Discorso: "Molti compariscono, pochi operano; i poveri non si visitano, i terreni non si coltivano. — — Escludendo quei pochi, d'ordinario giovani, che attendono ad insegnare nelle scuole, tutti gli altri, o che sono confessori o procuratori o rettori e ministri, appena hanno occupatione di rilievo."

[2] Deone, Diario, 12 Giugno, 1649: "Martedì mattina morì il generale de' Gesuiti: fu di poche lettere, ma di santità di vita non ordinaria; quanto alla sua persona, egli non ha mai voluto carrozza al suo servigio, nè esser differentiato da qualsivoglia minimo tra di loro nel trattar del vitto o vestito; quanto agli altri, voleva che i padri Gesuiti fossero e vivessero da religiosi lasciando i trattati politici e'l frequentare le corti, nel che havendo trovato difficoltà impossibile gli hanno cagionato il sedio della morte." [On Tuesday morning died the general of the Jesuits: a man of few acquirements, but of a sanctity of life rarely witnessed. With regard to his own person, he would not have a carriage in his service, nor permit himself to be treated differently from the meanest of the order, whether in food or clothing; and as to other matters, he would have had the Jesuit fathers live as became those bound by vows of religion, not mingling in politics nor frequenting courts; but in seeking to secure that object, he found insurmountable difficulties, and these were the cause of his death.]

was in all respects most exemplary. Yet he could effect nothing, either by his example or admonitions. Piccolomini (1649-51) was by nature disposed to vigorous and decisive measures; but these he now abandoned altogether, and thought only of how he might best give satisfaction to his brethren of the order.

For it had already become manifest that an attempt at change in this respect was no longer advisable. Alessandro Gottofredi (January to March, 1651) would gladly have laboured to effect alterations, and strove at least to restrict the aspiring ambition that sought only its own advancement; but the two months of his administration sufficed to make him generally hated, and his death was hailed as the deliverance from a tyrant. A still more decided antipathy was encountered by the succeeding general, Goswin Nickel. Yet he could not be said to have contemplated any very deeply-searching reforms: he suffered things to proceed, upon the whole, as they had previously done. But it was his habit to insist with extreme obstinacy on opinions once adopted, and his manners were rude and repulsive; he did not sufficiently regard the feelings of others, and so grievously offended the self-love of many powerful members of the order, that the general congregation of 1661 adopted measures against him, such as from the monarchical character of the institution would scarcely have been supposed possible.

They first requested permission from Pope Alexander VII to associate with their general a vicar, who should have the right of succession. The permission was readily granted; the court even pointed out a candidate for the appointment, that Oliva who had first advised Alexander to call his kinsmen around him, and the order was sufficiently compliant to elect that favourite of the palace. The only question now was, as to the mode in which the power should be transferred from the general to the vicar. The members could not prevail on themselves to pronounce the word "deposition." Wherefore, to obtain the thing, and yet evade the word, they proposed the question, whether the vicar was to be invested with a cumulative power, that is, authority held in conjunction with the general; or a privative

power, one that is held apart from him. The congregation, of course, decided for the privative. They next declared expressly, and as a consequence of this decision, that the authority of the general was wholly forfeited, and was to be entirely transferred to the vicar.[1]

Thus it came to pass that the society of which the first principle was unlimited obedience, deposed even their supreme chief, and that without the commission of any real offence on his part. It is obvious that, by this proceeding, the aristocratical tendencies of the period attained decided predominance, even in the order of Jesuits.

Oliva was a man who loved external tranquillity and the luxuries of life, but was constantly involved in political intrigue. He possessed a villa near Albano, where he occupied himself with the cultivation of the rarest exotics; even when residing in the capital, he would occasionally retire to the noviciate house of St. Andrea, where he would give audience to no one. The most select delicacies only were suffered to appear on his table. He never left his residence on foot. In his house, the apartments inhabited by himself were arranged with the most refined attention to comfort: he was studious to enjoy the position that he held, the power that he had obtained; but, certainly, this was not the man calculated to revive the ancient spirit of the order.

The society was in fact continually departing more and more widely from the principles on which it had been established.

Was it not pledged to defend and uphold, above all things, the interests of the Roman see, and even founded for that especial purpose? But the intimate relations which

[1] Circumstantial narration in the contemporary Discorso: the author concludes thus: "Venendo noi, in tal tempo a Roma ed andando a fargli riverenza (a Nickel) — — conchiuse con dire queste parole: 'io mi trovo qui abandonato e non posso più niente.'" [We going to Rome at that time, and proceeding to pay our respects to Nickel, . . . he ended by saying these words: "I find myself here entirely abandoned, and have no longer the power to do any thing."] Cretineau-Joly, Histoire de la compagnie de Jésus, iv. 96, says merely: "il se sentait vieillir—il demandait aux Jésuites de le décharger d'une responsabilité trop grande." For it is unpleasant even to touch on matters of this kind.

it had formed with France and the house of Bourbon, had so modified the spirit of the order, that in all the conflicts now gradually arising between that house and the Roman court, it almost invariably took part with the French.[1] Occasionally, works of Jesuit authors were condemned by the Inquisition at Rome, because they defended the rights of the crown with too much vehemence. The principals of the French Jesuits avoided all intercourse with the papal nuncios, lest they should bring on themselves the suspicion of entertaining ultramontane opinions. Nor could the Roman see boast of any great obedience from the order at this time in other respects. In the missions more particularly, the papal enactments were almost invariably treated with total disregard.

Again, it was one of the most essential principles of the order, that all worldly connections should be renounced, and that each member should devote himself exclusively to his spiritual duties. The rule that all who entered the order should abandon every temporal possession had been strictly enforced in former times; but now the act of renunciation was either delayed for a time, or was performed under certain conditions only, on the ground that the members were at all times liable to expulsion; and, at length, the custom obtained of each member making a transfer of his property to the society itself, but with the clear understanding that this was in favour of the particular college to which he had attached himself, and even in such sort, that he frequently retained the management of his possessions in his own hands, though under a different title.[2] Nay, the members of the colleges having sometimes more leisure than their relations, who were engaged in

[1] Relatione della nuntiatura di Mons^r. Scotti, nunzio alla M^tà. del re X^mo. 1639–1641. "I Gesuiti, che dovrebbero essere come altre volte defensori della santa sede, più degli altri la pongono in compromesso.– Professano totale ritiratezza (dalla nuntiatura), dubbiosi sempre nell' accostarsi al nuntio di non perdere appresso ministri regi."

[2] Vincentii Caraffae epistola de mediis conservandi primaevum spiritum societatis: "Definitis pro arbitrio dantis domibus sive collegiis in quibus aut sedem sibi fixurus est aut jam animo fixerit; . . . anxie agunt ut, quae societati reliquerunt, ipsimet per se administrent,"

active life, undertook the agency of their affairs, collected their revenues, and conducted their law-suits.[1]

Nor did this mercantile spirit long confine itself to individuals; it became manifest among the colleges, even in their corporate character. All were anxious to secure themselves in the possession of wealth, and as the large donations of earlier times had ceased, they sought to effect this by commercial pursuits. The Jesuits held that there was no material difference between the practice of agriculture, to which the more primitive monks had devoted themselves, and the labours of commerce, in which they were engaged. The Collegio Romano possessed a manufactory of cloth at Macerata, and though at first they produced it only for their own use, yet they soon proceeded to supply all other colleges in the provinces, and ultimately the public in general, for which last purpose they attended the fairs. From the close connection existing between the different colleges there resulted a system of banking business, and the Portuguese ambassador in Rome was empowered to draw on the Jesuits of Portugal. Their commercial transactions were particularly prosperous in the colonies. The trading connections of the order extended, as it were, a net-work over both continents, having Lisbon for its central point.

This was a spirit that, when once called into action, could not fail to affect the whole internal economy of the society.

The members still retained the profession of their first essential principle, that instruction should always be given gratuitously; but they received presents when the pupil entered, and on occasion of certain festivals, occurring at least twice in the year.[2] The preference was given to pupils

[1] Epistola Goswini Nickel de amore et studio perfectae paupertatis: "Illud intolerabile, si et lites inferant et ad tribunalia confligant et violentas pecuniarum repetitiones faciant, aut palam negotiantur ad quaestum, . . . specie quidem primo aspectu etiam honesta, caritate in consanguineos, decepti."

[2] Discorso: "Per lo meno l'anno due volte, cioè al natale e nel giorno della propria festa, si fanno le loro offerte ovvero mancie, le quali ascendono a somma considerabile.—Il danaro poi di queste offerte o che venga impiegato in argenti, quadri o tapezzerie, calici o altri addobbi somiglianti, tutto ridonda in utilità de' collegi medesimi, avegna che i rettori locali se ne servono indifferentemente, dal che ne derivano

of rich families; and it followed, as a necessary consequence, that these young people, conscious of a certain independence, would no longer endure the severity of the ancient discipline. A Jesuit, who raised his stick against a pupil, received a stab from a poniard in reply; and a young man in Gubbio, who thought himself too harshly treated by the father prefetto, killed the latter in return. Even in Rome, the commotions of the Jesuits' college were a continual theme of conversation for the city and the palace. The masters were on one occasion imprisoned for an entire day by their pupils, and it was at length indispensable that the rector should be dismissed, in compliance with their demands. These things may be regarded as symptoms of a general conflict between the ancient order of things and new tendencies. The latter finally prevailed. The Jesuits could no longer maintain the influence by which they had formerly governed the minds of men.

Nor, indeed, was it now their purpose to subjugate the world, or to imbue it with the spirit of religion; their own spirit had, on the contrary, succumbed before the influence of the world. The Jesuits now laboured only to render themselves indispensable to their fellow men, by whatever means this might be effected.

And to secure this purpose, not only the rules of their institution, but even the doctrines of religion and the precepts of morality were modified and perverted. The office of confession, by means of which they maintained so immediate an influence over the most secret recesses of social and domestic life, received a direction from these fathers which will be memorable to all times.

On this subject we have unquestionable proof from authentic documents. The Jesuits have themselves expounded in many elaborate works the principles by which

infinite offensioni, poco o nulla stimano i lamenti de' proprj scolari." [Offerings are made at least twice a year,—at Christmas that is, and on their own patron saint's days, and these amount to a considerable sum. Then the money of these offerings, or whatever is employed for plate, pictures, tapestry, chalices, and other such valuables, all go to these same colleges. It sometimes happens that the local rectors use them indifferently, whence arise infinite offences; but they care little or nothing for the complaints of their own scholars.]

they were guided in confession and absolution, and what they recommended to others. These are in general essentially the same as those which they have so frequently been accused of prescribing. Let us endeavour to comprehend at least the leading principles from which they proceeded to make the whole domain of the confessional their own.

It is manifest that in the confessional every thing must infallibly depend on the conception formed of transgression and of sin.

The Jesuits define sin to be a voluntary departure from the commands of God.[1]

But what, we inquire further, does this word "voluntary" imply? Their answer is,—a clear perception and understanding of the sin, as sin, and the perfect consent of the will.[2]

They adopted this principle from the ambition of propounding something new, and further impelled by their wish to be prepared for all the usages of common life; with scholastic subtlety, and with a widely comprehensive consideration of all cases that could occur, they carried it out, even to its most revolting consequences.

According to their doctrine, it is sufficient if we do not will the commission of sin, as sin. We have the better ground of hope for pardon, the less we thought of God during the commission of our evil deed, and the more violent the passion was by which we were impelled to its commission. The force of habit, nay, even a bad example, suffice to exculpate the sinner, inasmuch as they restrict the freedom of the will. How closely are the limits of transgression thus narrowed! For certainly no man will love sin merely for its own sake. But they also acknowledged grounds of exculpation of a different character. Duelling, for example, is without doubt prohibited by the Church; yet the Jesuits consider, that if a man were in danger of being accused of

[1] Definition by Fr. Toledo: "Voluntarius recessus a regula divina."

[2] Busembaum, Medulla theologiae moralis, lib. v. c. ii. dub. iii., expresses himself thus: "Tria requiruntur ad peccatum mortale (quod gratiam et amicitiam cum Deo solvit), quorum si unum desit, fit veniale (quod ob suam levitatem gratiam et amicitiam non tollit): 1. Ex parte intellectus, plena advertentia et deliberatio: 2. Ex parte voluntatis, perfectus consensus: 3. Gravitas materiae."

cowardice because he refused to fight a duel, or of losing his office, or the favour of his sovereign, then he was not to be condemned though he should fight.[1] To take a false oath is in itself a deadly sin, but the man who only swears outwardly, say the Jesuits, without inwardly intending to do so, is not bound by his oath: he does not swear, he only jests.[2]

These doctrines are to be found in books that make positive profession of moderate views. But now that these times are gone by, we should profit but little by a more minute search for the still wider deviations from rectitude of a subtlety whose reasonings were subversive of all morality, and in which one teacher sought to surpass another, as in a contest for literary pre-eminence. But it cannot be denied that the most perverse tenets of certain among their doctors became extremely dangerous in connection with another principle of the Jesuits—their doctrine of "Probability." They maintained that in doubtful cases a man might follow an opinion of the soundness of which he was not himself convinced, provided always that the said opinion were defended by some author of repute.[3] They not only considered it allowable to be guided by the most indulgent teachers, but they even recommended that practice. Scruples of conscience were to be disregarded; nay, the proper method of freeing oneself from their influence was to follow the most tolerant opinions, even though they might be less sound.[4] How completely were the profound and secret monitions of self-government and self-judgment thus lowered into a mere external act! In the manuals of the Jesuits all possible contingencies of

[1] "Privandus alioqui ob suspicionem ignaviae, dignitate, officio vel favore principis." Busembaum, lib. iii. tract. iv. cap. i. dub. v. art. i. n. 6.

[2] "Qui exterius tantum juravit, sine animo jurandi, non obligatur, nisi forte ratione scandali, cum non juraverit sed luserit." Lib. iii. tract. ii. cap. ii. dub. iv. n. 8.

[3] Em. Sa.: Aphorismi Confessariorum s. v. dubium: "Potest quis facere quod probabili ratione vel autoritate putat licere, etiamsi oppositum tutius sit: sufficit autem opinio alicujus gravis autoris."

[4] Busembaum, lib. i. c. iii.: "Remedia conscientiae scrupulosae sunt, 1, Scrupulos contemnere; 4, Assuefacere se ad sequendas sententias mitiores et minus etiam certas."

life are treated of, much in the method usually adopted for systems of civil law, and appreciated according to the degrees of their veniality. A man has but to look out the cases supposed in these books, and, without any conviction on his own part, to regulate himself according to their directions, and he is then certain of absolution before God and the Church; a slight turn of the thoughts sufficed to exonerate from all guilt. The Jesuits themselves, with a certain sort of honesty, sometimes express surprise on perceiving how light and easy their tenets render the yoke of Christ.

12. THE JANSENISTS

All life must have been utterly extinct in the Catholic church had not an opposition instantly arisen against doctrines so pernicious, and against every cause producing, as well as every consequence resulting from, them.

Already most of the other orders were on bad terms with the Jesuits—the Dominicans, because of their dissent from Thomas Aquinas; the Franciscans and Capuchins, on account of the exclusive authority which they arrogated to themselves in the missions of Asia, beyond the Ganges. They were not unfrequently assailed by the bishops, whose powers they restricted; and were occasionally attacked by the parish priests, upon whose duties they encroached. In the universities also—at least in those of France and the Netherlands—they frequently provoked antagonists. But all these things formed no effective resistance, which could, indeed, arise only from a more vigorous spirit, and more profound convictions.

For after all, the moral laws of the Jesuits were entirely consistent with their dogmatical tenets. In the former, as in the latter, they allowed ample scope to the freedom of the will.

It was, however, precisely against this point that the most important opposition ever experienced by the Jesuits as a body was directed. It arose and was developed in the following manner:—

During those years when the whole theological world of

the Catholic church was held in a state of incessant warfare by the controversies respecting the Means of Grace, two young men were studying at Louvain—Cornelius Jansen of Holland, and Jean Duvergier de Hauranne, a Gascon, both of whom had adopted, with equally profound conviction, those more rigid doctrines which had indeed never been wholly discarded in that university, and both conceived an extreme antipathy to the Jesuits. Duvergier was the superior in rank and fortune, and took his friend with him to Bayonne. They here plunged themselves into a deep and constantly repeated study of the works of St. Augustine, conceiving for the doctrines of that father of the Church, in relation to grace and free will, an enthusiasm which determined the course of their whole future lives.[1]

Jansen, who became professor in the University of Louvain, and bishop of Ypres, attached himself more particularly to theoretical asceticism, as a means of reviving the spirit of these doctrines, while Duvergier, who obtained the abbacy of St. Cyran, pursued the same object by a path equally ascetic, and more practical.

Yet the book entitled "Augustinus," in which Jansen has circumstantially and systematically expounded his convictions, is of great value, not only because it so boldly attacks the Jesuits both in their doctrines and moral tendencies, but also because it does this in a manner tending to restore their original vitality of thought to the doctrines of grace, sin, and remission.

Jansen proceeds from the principle that the will of man is not free, being fettered and held in bondage by the desire after earthly things. Of its own strength it is not able to raise itself from this condition; grace must first come to the aid of the will—grace, which is not so much the forgiveness of sins, as the deliverance of the soul from the bonds of earthly desires.[2]

[1] Synopsis vitae Jansenii, prefixed to the "Augustinus": "In Cantabriam deinde migravit, ubi eruditissimorum virorum consuetudine et familiari studiorum communione in SS. Patrum et praesertim Augustini intelligentia magnos progressus fecisse, saepe testatus est."

[2] Corn. Jansenii Augustinus, tom. iii. lib. i. c. ii.: "Liberatio voluntatis non est peccati remissio, sed relaxatio quaedam delectabilis vinculi concupiscentialis, cui innexus servit animus, quoad per gratiam

And here his own peculiar views are immediately presented. He considers grace to be made manifest in the higher and purer happiness obtained by the soul from heavenly things. He declares the effectual grace of the Saviour to be no other than a spiritual delight, by which the will is moved to desire and to perform what God has decreed. It is the involuntary impulse communicated by God to the will, and by means of which man finds happiness in good, and labours to obtain it.[1] He repeatedly inculcates the truth, that good is to be sought, not from fear of punishment, but from love of righteousness.

And from this point he proceeds to the higher question, What is this righteousness?

He answers,—God himself.

For man must not think of God as if he were a corporeal being, nor under any form whatever—not even under that of light. God must be thought of and loved as the eternal truth,—as the source whence all wisdom and truth proceeds,—as righteousness, not in its acceptation of a quality or attribute of the soul, but in its predominance as an idea, a supreme inviolable rule. The rules of our actions proceed from the eternal law; they are a reflection from its light: whoever loves righteousness, loves God himself.[2]

Man does not become good from the fact of his directing his efforts to the acquirement of any particular virtue; it is by fixing his eyes firmly on the one unchangeable supreme good, which is truth, which is God himself. Virtue is the love of God.

And in this love it is that the freedom of the will consists; its inexpressible sweetness extinguishes the pleasure derived from earthly gratifications: there then ensues a

infusa coelesti dulcedine ad suprema diligenda transferatur." It is thus that Pascal also understands this doctrine: "Dieu change le coeur de l'homme par une douceur céleste qu'il y répand." Lettres Provinciales, xviii. tom. iii. p. 413.

[1] Tom. iii. lib. iv. c. i.

[2] Tom. iii. lib. v. c. iii.: "Regulae vivendi et quasi lumina virtutum immutabilia et sempiterna non sunt aliud quam lex aeterna, quae in ipsa Dei aeterni veritate splendet, quam proinde diligendo non aliud diligit nisi ipsum Deum seu veritatem et justitiam ejus incommutabilem, a qua promanat et ex cujus refulgentis lucis fulget quidquid velut justum et rectum approbamus."

voluntary and ineffably blessed necessity not to sin, but to lead a good life.[1] That is the true free will,—a will freed from evil and replete with good.

It is to be remarked, and is worthy of admiration, that throughout this work, the development of the doctrinal views is followed out with a high degree of philosophical clearness, even in the midst of zealous and hostile polemical discussion. The essential groundwork of the book is at once moral and religious, speculative, and practical. To the mere external forms and self-seeking of the Jesuit doctrines, it opposes an upright and strict internal discipline, the ideal of an activity, the primary origin, as well as the ultimate expression, of which is love to God.

And while Jansen was still occupied with the preparation of this work, his friend was already seeking first to shew forth in his own life the ideas on which it was founded, and then to extend their influence practically on all within his reach.

St. Cyran, for so was Duvergier now called, had established for himself a learned and ascetic hermitage, even in the midst of Paris. By an unwearied study of the Holy Scriptures and fathers of the Church, he laboured to imbue his own mind with their spirit. That peculiarity of doctrine, in which he agreed with Jansen, immediately conducted him of necessity to the sacrament of penance. The penitential ordinances of the Church did not suffice him; he was indeed heard to say that the Church has been purer in her earlier ages, as streams are clearer near their source, but that too many of the truths of the gospel were now obscured.[2] His own demands, on the contrary, had the appearance of extreme rigour. To practise deep humility and long endurance, to depend wholly on God, utterly to renounce the world,[3] to devote every thought, every effort, the whole being, to the love of God,—this alone appeared to him to be

[1] Tom. iii. lib. vii. c. ix.: "Voluntas felix, immutabilis et necessaria, non peccandi recteque vivendi."

[2] Extracts from his trial in Reuchlin, Geschichte von Port-Royal, I. p. 451.

[3] "S'humilier, souffrir et dépendre de Dieu est toute la vie chrétienne."

Christianity. So profound was his conception of the necessity for an inward change, that, according to his views, grace must precede repentance. "When it is the will of God to save a soul, the work is commenced from within; when the heart is once changed, then is true repentance first experienced: all else follows. Absolution can do no more than indicate the first beam of grace. As a physician must observe and be guided by the movements and internal operations of nature only, so must the physician of the soul proceed according to the workings of grace." He often repeats the declaration that he had himself passed through the whole course,—from temptation and sin, to contrition, prayer, and exaltation. There were few to whom he communicated his thoughts, and when he did so, it was with few words and the most serene tranquillity of expression; but since his whole soul was filled with the truth of what he uttered, and as he always awaited the proper occasion and a befitting frame of mind, both in himself and others, so the impressions he produced were irresistible, his hearers felt themselves affected by an involuntary change, tears sometimes burst from their eyes before they could think of repressing them.[1] Many distinguished men soon attached themselves to his tenets and became his decided proselytes. Among their number was Arnauld d'Andilly, who lived in close intimacy with Richelieu and Anne of Austria, and was employed in the most important offices, together with his nephew Le Maitre, who was at that time admired as the most eloquent orator of the Parliament, and who had before him a career of the utmost brilliancy, yet now at once retired to the closest seclusion in a hermitage at no great distance from Paris. Angélique Arnauld, whom we have already named, with her nuns of Port-Royal, attached themselves to St. Cyran, with all the unlimited devotion which pious women are wont to feel for their prophet.

Jansen died before he had seen his book printed. St. Cyran, by the influence of Father Joseph, who thought that he discovered heresies in his teaching, was thrown into prison by the French government immediately after his first

[1] Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de Port-Royal, par M. Fontaine, I. p. 225. Racine: Histoire de Port-Royal, p. 134.

conversions; but these misfortunes did not prevent the diffusion of their doctrines.

Jansen's book gradually produced a general and profound impression, as well by its intrinsic merits, as by the boldness of its polemical character.[1] St. Cyran actively continued to effect conversions even from his prison. The undeserved sufferings inflicted on him, which he bore with the utmost resignation, exalted him in the public regard, so that when he regained his liberty on the death of Father Joseph and Richelieu, he was looked upon as a saint—a John the Baptist. It is true that his death followed a few months afterwards, October 11th, 1643, but he had founded a school, wherein the doctrines of himself and his friend were regarded as the gospel. "His disciples," remarks one of their body, "went forth like young eagles from under his wings; heirs of his virtue and piety, what they had received from him, they transmitted to others; Elijah left behind him Elisha to prosecute his work."

If we attempt to define the relation in which the Jansenists stood to the predominant Church parties in general, we at once perceive a close analogy to Protestantism, and are strongly reminded of the early Protestants. They insisted with equal zeal on pure holiness of life, and laboured with similar earnestness to impart a new and more perfect form to their system of faith, by rejecting the interpolations of the schoolmen. But these things are by no means sufficient, in my opinion, to warrant our declaring them a kind of unconscious Protestants. The grand distinction, considered historically, consists herein, that they voluntarily admitted a principle to which Protestantism from the first refused to be reconciled. They remained firmly devoted to those most eminent fathers of the Latin church, whose authority had been rejected in Germany, from the year 1523, St. Ambrose, St. Augustine, and St. Gregory; nay, they even added certain fathers of the Greek church, and above all, St. Chrysostom, in whose works they believed

[1] Gerberon, Histoire du Jansénisme, i. 63: "Les théologiens de Paris s'appliquèrent tellement à l'étude de l'Augustin d'Ipres, où ils reconnoissoient celui d'Hippone, — — qu'on commençoit à n'entendre plus parmi ces théologiens que les noms de Jansenius et de S. Augustin."

they possessed a pure and unaltered tradition, from which, down to St. Bernard, no deviation had been made. He too, they maintained, held fast by it, but after that "last of the fathers," the intrusion of Aristotelian tenets had obscured its light. This then was very far from the energetic zeal with which the Protestants went directly and immediately back to the doctrines of holy writ; the perceptions of the Jansenists were satisfied with those primary formations which served as the groundwork of the later system.

They believed that St. Augustine had been inspired by God to communicate to the world in its utmost fulness the doctrine of grace, which constitutes the life and essence of the new covenant. In his person Christian theology received its completion. This they only desired to comprehend to its very root, to examine and understand even to its innermost centre; for Pelagian opinions had often been mistaken for those of St. Augustine. So far the Jansenists. But Luther, though also first awakened by St. Augustine, had then returned direct to the true sources of instruction, the scriptures—the word of God; while in contrast to this, Catholicism clung firmly to the entire system, as it had been formed in the course of ages. The Jansenists sought to enforce the creed of St. Augustine, as that which first comprehended all that had preceded, and laid the basis for all that was to follow. The Protestants rejected tradition, the Catholics held it fast. Jansenism endeavoured to purify it, to restore it to its original character.

And since the Jansenists were convinced that the visible Church, notwithstanding momentary obscurations and disfigurements, is still one with Christ, not one in spirit only, but one in body also,—infallible, immortal, and imperishable, they adhered most earnestly to the episcopal hierarchy. St. Cyran is one of the foremost upholders of the divine right of bishops. They hoped to regenerate Christian life and doctrine by true repentance and the true regulation of the Church.

There was already gathered about Le Maître, in the hermitage of Port-Royal des Champs, to which he had retired, a society of persons by no means inconsiderable, who were all devoted to these doctrines. It is not to be denied that this company was at first somewhat closely limited,

consisting principally of members and friends of the Arnauld family. Le Maître had drawn four of his brothers around him,—their mother, from whom they had received their religious tendencies, was an Arnauld. The oldest friend of St. Cyran, and the person to whom he bequeathed his heart, was Arnauld d'Andilly, and he also finally joined this society. His youngest brother, Antoine Arnauld, produced the first considerable work written in its favour. They were followed by many other connections and friends. The convent of Port-Royal, in Paris, was likewise almost exclusively in the hands of this family. Andilly relates that his mother, who also finally retired thither, beheld herself surrounded by twelve daughters and grand-daughters.[1] We are here reminded, that it was principally by the agency of the elder Antoine Arnauld, from whom all these descended, that the Jesuits were expelled from Paris, in the year 1594, —their banishment was the result of his powerful and brilliant pleading against them. Aversion to that order seemed as it were hereditary in the Arnauld family.

But this narrow circle of friends was very soon largely extended.

They were joined by many who were attracted by no other sympathy than that of similar opinions. A very influential preacher of Paris—Singlin, an adherent of St. Cyran, was particularly active in the cause. There was in Singlin the remarkable peculiarity, that while he could not express himself without positive difficulty in the common affairs of life, he had no sooner ascended the pulpit than he displayed the most overpowering eloquence.[2] Those whom he saw most earnestly attached to himself he sent to Port-Royal, where they received a cordial welcome. These persons were, for the most part, young priests and scholars; wealthy merchants; physicians, who had already attained a good position; persons of the most distinguished families, and members of different religious orders; but all, men who were led to take this step by an inward impulse, governed by no unworthy motive, and guided only by their fixed and unbiassed convictions.

[1] Mémoires d'Arnauld d'Andilly, i. p. 341.
[2] Mémoire de Fontaine, ii. p. 283.

In this retirement, which resembled a convent held together voluntarily, and fettered by no vows, many religious exercises were zealously performed. The churches were sedulously visited; prayer was frequently offered, both in common and in private; agricultural labours were undertaken, and certain handicrafts were engaged in by some of the members, but the principal occupation of the place was literature. The company of Port-Royal was, at the same time, a sort of literary academy.

While the Jesuits heaped up learning in unwieldy folios, or lost themselves in the perverse scholasticism of an artificial system, applied both to morals and theology, the Jansenists addressed themselves to the nation.

They began by translating the Holy Scriptures, the Fathers of the Church, and Latin Prayer-books. In these labours they were happily careful to avoid the old Frankish forms which had previously disfigured works of this character, and expressed themselves with an attractive clearness; an educational institution, which they established at Port-Royal, gave them occasion to compose school-books, in ancient and modern languages, logic, and geometry. These works, proceeding from a more liberal mode of viewing the object to be attained, presented new methods, the merits of which were universally acknowledged.[1] Works of a different character were also produced at intervals; as, for example, controversial writings, the acuteness and precision of which reduced their enemies to silence; with others of the most profound piety, such, for example, as the "Heures de Port-Royal," which were received with an eager welcome, and even after the lapse of a century, were as much valued and sought for as on the first day. From this society proceeded men of scientific eminence, such as Pascal; of high distinction in poetry, such as Racine; or of the most comprehensive range in learning, such as Tillemont. They extended their efforts, as we see, very far beyond the circle of theology and asceticism marked out by Jansen and Duvergier. We shall not go too far if we assert, that this community of men, animated by the most noble purposes, endowed with

[1] Notice de Petitot, prefixed to the Memoirs of Andilly. In other respects this work is surprisingly full of party spirit.

the highest intellect, and who by their own unassisted efforts, and in their intercourse with each other, produced a new method of conveying knowledge, and originated a new tone of expression, exercised an extensive and beneficial influence on the literature of France, and through that medium, on the whole of Europe. The literary splendour of the age of Louis XIV may, in some measure, be traced back to Port-Royal.

How was it possible that the spirit by which all these labours were prompted, and from which such results were obtained, should fail to make itself a path through the whole nation? The members of Port-Royal found adherents in all quarters, but more particularly among the parochial clergy, to whom the confessional system of the Jesuits had long been an object of abhorrence. Occasionally also it appeared probable, as under Cardinal Retz, for example, that they would also penetrate among the superior clergy; and some of the members did obtain important offices. We find them ere long, not in France and the Netherlands only,—they possessed adherents in Spain also; and during the pontificate of Innocent X, a Jansenist divine might be heard publicly preaching from the pulpits of Rome.[1]

[1] Deone, tom. iv.: Fu citato per il sant' officio monsieur Honorato Herzan (Hersent), dottor della Sorbona di Pariggi, per la predica che fece in San Luigi nel giorno della festa, nella quale sostenne e difese l'opinione di Jansenio con esaltarlo per unico interprete di S. Agostino, non specificandolo, ma però delineandolo che da ciascheduno era inteso. Egli si retirò in casa dell' ambasciator di Francia e di là a Pariggi. Il suo libro è prohibito, et il maestro del sacro palazzo ne ha havuto qualche travaglio per haverne permessa la stampa; egli si scusa con dire che veniva dedicato al papa et era in lingua francese, la quale egli non intende, però contenendo il libro l'opinione favorevole all' opinione loro contro l'opinione de' Gesuiti." [There was cited before the holy office Monsieur Honorato Herzan (Hersent), doctor of the Sorbonne in Paris, to answer for the sermon that he preached in San Luigi on the day of the festa, in which he maintained and defended the opinion of Jansen, upholding him to be the only expositor of St. Augustine; not, indeed, specifying him, but so pointing him out that he was understood by all present. He retired to the house of the French ambassador, and thence departed to Paris. His book is prohibited, and the master of the sacred palace has had some trouble for permitting it to be printed: he excuses himself by saying that it was dedicated to the pope and was in the French tongue, which he does not understand. But the book contained opinions favourable to the Jansenists and opposed to the Jesuits.]

There, the question, above all others, most interesting now was, in what light these opinions would be regarded by the Roman see.

13. POSITION OF THE CURIA WITH REGARD TO THE TWO PARTIES

There was in fact a revival, though under somewhat altered circumstances, of that contest which, forty years earlier, neither Clement VIII nor Paul V had ventured to decide.

I know not whether Urban VIII or Innocent X would have been more determined, had there not unhappily appeared a passage in the work of Jansen, at which the Roman see took grave offence on other grounds.

In his third book, on the State of Innocence, Jansen adverts to a position laid down by St. Augustine, which he could not but admit to have been condemned by the court of Rome. For a moment he hesitates as to whom he shall follow, the father of the Church, or the pope. After some deliberation, however, he remarks,[1] that the Roman see sometimes condemned a doctrine merely for the sake of peace, without therefore intending to declare such doctrine absolutely false; he then positively determines in favour of the tenet of St. Augustine.

His antagonists naturally availed themselves of this passage. They pointed it out as an attack on the papal infallibility, and Urban VIII was induced to express his disapprobation of a book which, to the disparagement of the Apostolic dignity, contained principles already condemned by former pontiffs.

He nevertheless effected very little by this declaration of opinion. The Jansenist tenets extended themselves none the less effectually. France was the scene of a general

[1] De statu naturae purae, iii. c. xxii. p. 403. "Quodsi," he adds, "vel tunc ostendi potuisset hanc aliasque nonnullas propositiones ab Augustino doctorum omnium coryphaeo traditas, nunquam, arbitror, huiusmodi decretum ab apostolica sede permanasset."

schism; the adversaries of Port-Royal considered it necessary to elicit another and more decided condemnation from the Roman see. For that purpose they embodied the essential doctrines of Jansen, as they understood them, into five propositions, and required Pope Innocent X to pronounce upon them his apostolic judgment.[1]

A formal investigation was consequently entered upon at the court of Rome; a congregation of four cardinals was formed, under whose supervision thirteen theological consultors proceeded to the examination.

Now these propositions were so framed, that at the first glance they seemed to present pure heterodoxy, but when examined with greater care, might be explained, at least in part, to convey an orthodox meaning.[2] There instantly arose a diversity of opinion among the consultors. Four among them, two Dominicans, a Minorite, Luca Wadding, and the general of the Augustinian order, thought the condemnation unadvisable, but the remaining nine were in favour of it.[3] The question now was, whether the pope would take part with the majority.

The subject was altogether repulsive to Innocent X. He detested all abstruse theological investigations; but in the present case he perceived, besides, that in whatever sense he might declare himself, none but the most injurious consequences could ensue. In the face of the opinion pronounced by so large a majority, the pontiff could not resolve on giving his decision. "When he came to the edge of the chasm," says Pallavicini, "and measured the greatness of the leap with his eyes, he held back, and was not to be moved to any further advance."

But these scruples were not shared by the whole court. Immediately beside the pope stood a secretary of state, Cardinal Chigi, who was continually urging him to a

[1] Pallavicini, Vita di Alessandro VII: "acciochè ben informato dichiarasse ciò che dovea permettersi o proibirsi intorno cinque principali propositioni di quell' autore."

[2] Racine, Abrége de l'histoire ecclésiastique, tom. xi. p. 15.

[3] Pallavicini, who was himself among the consultors, supplies us with these details. Of the pope he says, "Il suo intelletto alienissimo delle sottigliezze scolastiche." [The character of his intellect is most averse to these scholastic subtleties.]

decision. While at Cologne, Chigi had met with and read this book, of which that very passage had even then so powerfully awakened his orthodox indignation that he had cast it in fury from his hands. His aversion had been further strengthened by some of the monastic orders of Germany; he had taken a very earnest part in the congregation of cardinals appointed to examine the wŏrk, and had largely contributed to bring about the adverse result. He now pressed the pope to remain no longer silent; to do so, he maintained, would now be called a sanction of the propositions; he ought not to suffer that the doctrine of the pope's infallibility should fall into discredit. It was unquestionably one of the highest vocations of the Apostolic See to give a decision when the faithful were in doubt.[1]

We have already seen that Innocent was a man who permitted himself to be guided by sudden impressions. In a luckless hour he was overcome by the representation made to him of the danger to which the papal infallibility was exposed. He was the more inclined to think this warning an inspiration from above, because it was given on the day of St. Athanasius. On the 1st of July he published his bull; and in this he condemned the five propositions as heretical, blasphemous, and accursed. He declared that by this means he hoped to restore the peace of the Church. There was no wish that lay nearer his heart than that of seeing the bark of the Church sail onwards as in tranquil waters, and arrive in the haven of salvation.[2]

But how entirely different was the result to prove from what the pontiff had desired!

The Jansenists denied that the propositions were to be found in Jansen's book; and much more earnestly still did they deny that they understood them in the sense in which they had been condemned.

The false position in which the Roman court had placed itself, was now first made manifest. The French

[1] Statements of Pallavicini.

[2] In Cocquel. vi. iii. 248. We discover from Pallavicini that this bull was prepared partly by Chigi, but principally by Albizi, an assessor of the Inquisition.

bishops were urgent for a declaration from Rome that those propositions were really condemned in the sense given to them by Jansen. Chigi, who had meanwhile ascended the throne under the name of Alexander VII, was the less prepared to refuse this, since he had himself taken so active a part in securing their condemnation. He declared therefore, formally, and in unequivocal terms, "that the five propositions were assuredly extracted from the book of Jansen, and were condemned in the sense that he had given to them."[1]

But even against this attack, the Jansenists had prepared their defence. They replied that a declaration of such a character exceeded the limits of the papal power; that the infallibility of the pope did not extend to a judgment respecting facts.

A question as to the limits of the papal authority was thus added to the dispute concerning doctrine. In their undeniable opposition to the papal see, the Jansenists yet always claimed themselves as good Catholics.

Their affair formed the focus of all the inner movements and conflicts in France. Occasionally measures were taken on the side of the crown; formularies, in accordance with the bull of condemnation, were propounded, with command that they should be subscribed by all ecclesiastics, and even by schoolmasters and nuns. The Jansenists did not hesitate to condemn the five propositions, which admitted, as we have said, of a heterodox interpretation; they merely refused to acknowledge, by an unconditional subscription, that the tenets condemned were contained in Jansen, or that they were the doctrines of their master; no persecution could bring them to that admission. The effect of this steadfast deportment was, that their numbers and credit increased from day to day; they had on their side several of the most distinguished members of the court, both men and women, a strong party in parliament, many doctors of the Sorbonne, and some of the most respected and efficient

[1] Cocquel. vi. iv. 151: "Quinque illas propositiones ex libro praememorati Cornelii Jansenii, episcopi Iprensis, cui titulus Augustinus, excerptas ac in sensu ab eodem Jansenio intento damnatas fuisse declaramus et definimus."

of the bishops; even outsiders found fault with the treatment shown to them by the Roman court.[1]

In the year 1668, Clement IX, for the purpose of restoring peace, at least externally, was obliged to declare himself satisfied with such a subscription as even a Jansenist could offer. He contented himself with a condemnation of the five propositions in general, without insisting on their being actually taught by the Jansenists;[2] and this was in fact a material concession on the part of the Roman court, which not only suffered its claims to decide on matters of fact to drop, but also acquiesced in the tacit arrangement that its sentence of condemnation pronounced against Jansenius should remain without effect.

From that time the party of St. Cyran and Jansen increased in strength and importance—the well-known minister Pomponne was a son of Andilly. Its literary activity worked undisturbed upon the nation. But with the progress of this society, there grew also a most animated opposition to the Roman see. They knew full well, that their existence would have been brought to an early close, had the course of things proceeded in accordance with the designs of the Curia. Under the protection of this settlement, however, the opinions of the Jansenists, who were for some time tolerated, if not welcomed, at court, took even deeper root.

[1] Letter from nineteen bishops to the pope, 1st Dec. 1667: "Novum et inauditum apud nos nonnulli dogma procuderunt, ecclesiae nempe decretis, quibus quotidiana nec revelata divinitus facta decidiuntur, certam et infallibilem constare veritatem." And yet this is, without doubt, the received solution of the question of "droit" and "fait."

[2] The last formulary of Alexander VII (15th Feb. 1665) is thus expressed: "Je rejette et condamne sincèrement les cinq propositions extraites du livre de Cornelius Jansenius intitulé Augustinus, et dans le sens du même auteur, comme le saint siége apostolique les a condamnées par les susdites constitutions." The more circumstantial declaration of peace, on the contrary, runs thus: "Vous devez vous obliger à condamner sincèrement, pleinement, sans aucune réserve ni exception tous les sens que l'église et le pape ont condamnés et condamnent dans les cinq propositions." A second article follows: "Déclarons que ce seroit faire injure à l'église de comprendre entre les sens condamnés dans ces propositions la doctrine de St. Augustin et de St. Thomas touchant la grâce efficace par elle-même nécessaire à toutes les actions de la piété chrétienne et la prédestination gratuite des élus."

14. RELATION OF THE PAPAL SEE TO THE TEMPORAL POWER

An opposition, which, to say the least, was no less perilous, had also arisen from a different quarter, and was continually increasing in vehemence as well as extent.

The papal see began to assert its jurisdictional rights in the seventeenth century, I will not say with more energy and effect, but certainly with a more systematic rigour and inflexibility than had previously been known. Urban VIII was indebted for his elevation to the fact, among other things, that he had gained distinction as the zealous defender of these rights,[1] and he now established an especial "Congregation of Immunities." The cardinals forming this body were selected from such as, being young prelates, might hope to obtain advancement in proportion to the degree of zeal they exhibited in this matter. They had, for the most part, formed relations with foreign courts, and to them he entrusted the charge of keeping vigilant watch over all encroachments of temporal princes on the spiritual jurisdiction. The attention devoted to this department was from that period much more earnest and regular; the admonitions in cases of transgression became more urgent,—personal interest was combined with official zeal. In the public opinion of the court it was held as a proof of piety, to

[1] Relatione de' quattro Ambasciatori, 1625: "Professa sopra tutte le cose haver l'animo inflessibile e che la sua independenza non ammetta alcuna ragione degl' interessi de' principi. Ma quello in che preme con insistenza et a che tende l'impiego di tutto il suo spirito è di conservare e di accrescer la giurisdittione ecclesiastica. Questo medesimo concetto fu sempre sostenuto dal pontefice nella sua minor fortuna, e ciò è stato anche grandissima causa della sua esaltatione. [He professes, above all things, independence of mind and an inflexibility of soul that is not to be moved by any argument concerning the interests of princes; but that on which he insists most earnestly, and towards which he bends all his efforts, is the preservation and augmentation of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction. This same idea was always upheld by the pontiff in his less exalted station, and was, indeed, the great cause of his exaltation.] See Appendix, No. 104.

maintain a jealous guard over every point of these old traditional rights.[1]

But were the temporal states likely to be equally well pleased with this more vigilant supervision? The feeling of religious union which had been excited in the conflict with Protestantism had again become cold. All nations were labouring to increase their internal strength: the general effort was towards political concentration and compactness; the first consequence therefore was, that the court of Rome found itself involved in rancorous dissensions with all the Catholic states.

The Spaniards themselves attempted occasionally to restrict the interference of Rome—as, for example, at Naples, where they sought to add certain assessors on the part of the civil power to the tribunal of the Inquisition! The Roman curia had not admitted the claims of the emperor to the patriarchate of Aquileia, without some hesitation, from the fear that he might avail himself of its possession to secure himself an increased extension of ecclesiastical independence. The estates of the German empire made efforts in the capitularies of election for 1654 and 1658, to limit the jurisdiction of the nuncios and the Curia by more stringent regulations. Venice was in ceaseless commotion with regard to the influence exercised by the Roman court on the appointments to ecclesiastical offices in that state, and in relation to the pensions and arrogant proceedings of the papal kinsmen. At one time Genoa would find occasion to recall her ambassador from the court of Rome; at another, the same step was taken by Savoy; but the most vigorous opposition of all was that presented by the church of France, as might, indeed, have been expected from the principles involved in its restoration.[2] The nuncios

[1] Joh. Bapt. de Luca, S. R. E. Cardinalis; Relatio curiae Romanae, 1683. Disc. xvii. p. 109: "Etiam apud bonos et zelantes ecclesiasticos remanet quaestio, an hujus congregationis erectio ecclesiasticae immunitati et jurisdictioni proficua vel praejudicialis fuerit, potissime quia bonus quidem, sed forte indiscretus vel asper zelus aliquorum, qui circa initia eam regebant, aliqua produxit inconvenientia praejudicialia, atque asperitatis vel nimium exactae et exorbitantis defensionis opinionem impressit apud seculares." A very important confession from a cardinal.

[2] Relatione della nuntiatura di Mons. Scotti, 1641, 5 Aprile. He

gave no truce to the complaints they considered it necessary to make, chiefly in regard to the restrictions imposed on the spiritual jurisdiction. Before they had taken a single step, they say, appeals were entered against them. Questions concerning marriages were removed from their control, under the pretext that some abduction was involved; they were excluded from all jurisdiction in criminal trials, and on some occasions, ecclesiastics had been executed without having been previously degraded; further, the king sent forth edicts concerning heresy and simony, without consideration for them; and the tenths required from the clergy had gradually become a permanent impost. The more observing and apprehensive adherents of the Curia already beheld in these encroachments the precursors of a schism.

The peculiar relations consequent on these disputes were necessarily connected with other circumstances, and more particularly with the political dispositions exhibited by the court of Rome.

From deference to Spain, neither Innocent nor Alexander had ventured to acknowledge Portugal, which had separated itself from that monarchy; nor had they granted canonical institution to the bishops appointed in that country. Almost the whole legitimate episcopacy of Portugal died out; ecclesiastical property had fallen to a great extent into the hands of military officers. Their previous habit of submissiveness to Rome was abandoned by king, clergy, and laity.

But in addition to this, the popes immediately succeeding Urban VIII again inclined to the party of Spain and Austria.

This can scarcely be matter of surprise, since the predominant power of France so early displayed a character menacing to the general freedom of Europe; but these popes were, moreover, indebted to Spanish influence for their elevation, and were both personal opponents of

has a distinct section, dell' impedimenti della nuntiatura ordinaria: "Li giudici regj si può dire che levino tutta la giurisdittione ecclesiastica in Francia alli prelati." [It may be truly said that the king's judges take the whole ecclesiastical jurisdiction of France out of the hands of the nuncios.]

Mazarin.[1] In the case of Alexander, this animosity displayed itself with constantly increasing force; he could not forgive the cardinal for having allied himself with Cromwell, nor for having been long induced, by motives simply personal, to impede the conclusion of peace with Spain.

But from this state of things it further resulted, that the opposition of France to the papal see became even more and more deeply rooted, and from time to time broke out in violent outbursts. How severely was Alexander made to experience this!

A dispute which had broken forth between the followers of the French ambassador Créquy and the Corsican city-guard, in which Créquy was at last personally insulted, furnished the king with an opportunity for interfering in the dissensions of the papal see with the houses of Este and Farnese, and at length afforded a pretext for marching troops directly upon Italy. The unfortunate pontiff sought to aid himself by means of a secret protest; but in the eyes of the world he was compelled to concede all that the king demanded in the treaty of Pisa. The love of the popes for inscriptions in their own honour is well known; no stone can be placed in a wall, according to the popular remark, but they will have their name inscribed on it. Yet Alexander was compelled to endure the erection of a pyramid in his own capital—nay, in one of its most frequented places, on which was an inscription intended to perpetuate his own humiliation.

The act was of itself sufficient to cause a deep injury to the papal authority.

But from other causes also, the dignity of the papacy had already begun to decline about the year 1660. At

[1] Deone, Ottobre, 1644: "Si sa veramente che l'esclusione di Panfilio fatta da cardinali Francesi nel conclave non era volontà regia nè instanza del C^l. Antonio, ma opera del C^l. Mazzarini, emulo e poco ben affetto al C^l. Panziroli, il quale prevedea che doveva aver gran parte in questo ponteficato." [It is known to a certainty that the exclusion of Panfili by the French cardinals in the conclave, was not in compliance with the royal wish, nor at the instance of Cardinal Antonio, but was the work of Cardinal Mazarin, the rival and enemy of Cardinal Panzirolo, who foresaw that the latter was likely to hold an important position in that pontificate,] as was in fact the case.

the peace of Vervins, the papal see was still sufficiently influential to take the first steps on the occasion; the Curia had, indeed, negotiated and brought it to a conclusion. Even at that of Westphalia, the pope's ambassadors were present, but were already compelled to protest against the conditions agreed on. At the peace of the Pyrenees, however, he did not even take an ostensible share; his emissaries were not invited to the conference: he was scarcely even referred to in the course of the proceedings.[1] Nay, treaties of peace were soon afterwards concluded, in which papal fiefs were brought into question, and disposed of without so much as requiring the consent of the pontiff.

[1] Galeazzo Gualdo Priorato, della pace conclusa fra le due corone, 1664, has, p. 120, "Osservationi sopra le cause per le quali si conclude la pace senza intervento del papa." It is manifest that the unfriendly feeling existent between the pope and Cardinal Mazarin was a well-known fact at the time.

BOOK IX

LATER EPOCHS

LATER EPOCHS

INTRODUCTION

It must ever be considered a remarkable fact, and one that affords us an insight into the general course of human affairs, that the papacy, at the moment of failure in the accomplishment of its plans for the recovery of supreme dominion over all nations, began also to exhibit symptoms of internal decline.

During the period of progress to which our attention has been directed, the restoration was fully established; at that time the tenets of the Church had been strengthened, ecclesiastical privileges more powerfully centralized, alliances had been formed with temporal monarchs, the ancient orders had been revived and new ones founded, the political energies of the papal states had been consolidated and converted into an instrument of ecclesiastical activity, the Curia had been reformed, both intellectually and morally, and all was directed to the one purpose of restoring the papal power and the Catholic faith.

This, as we have seen, was not a new creation, it was a reanimation brought about by the force of new ideas, which, annihilating certain abuses, did but carry forward with a fresh impulse the existing elements of social life.

But it is clearly obvious that a renovation of this kind is more liable to experience a decline of the animating principle than a perfectly new creation.

The first impediment opposed to the Catholic restoration was presented by France. The papal authority could not penetrate into that country by the beaten track; it was condemned to behold a Church, which, though Catholic, was not subjected to the rule that Rome was seeking to

enforce, arise into form and consistency, and was further compelled to resolve on accepting a compromise with that Church.

Other events of similar character also took place; internal dissensions convulsed the papacy—controversies respecting the most essential points of doctrine, and touching the relation of the spiritual to the temporal authority. In the Curia, nepotism assumed its most dangerous form; the financial resources, instead of being wholly applied to their legitimate purposes, were diverted for the most part to the aggrandizement of individual families.

There was nevertheless one grand and general aim towards which the papal see continually pressed forward with extraordinary good fortune. In favour of this supreme object, all contradictions were reconciled; disputes concerning single points of doctrine, and questions of conflicting spiritual and temporal claims, were silenced; the discords of sovereign powers were composed; the progress of common enterprises was sustained; the Curia was the guide and centre of the whole Catholic world, and the work of conversion proceeded in the most imposing manner.

But we have seen how it happened that the end was yet not attained, but that, on the contrary, the aspiring papacy was thrown back upon itself by internal discords, and by opposition from without.

Thenceforward, all the relations of the state, as well as its social development, assumed a different aspect.

With the spirit of conquest and acquisition that aims at the attainment of a great object, there must be associated an earnest devotedness; with the narrowness of self-seeking it is incompatible. But the desire for enjoyment—the love of gain—had invaded the Curia; that body had resolved itself into a company of annuitants, conceiving themselves entitled to the revenues of the state, and to all that could be extracted from the administration of the Church. This right they abused in the most ruinous manner, yet clung to it at the same time with a zeal and tenacity that could not have been exceeded had the whole existence of the faith been bound up with it.

But it was precisely on this account that an implacable opposition to the Curia arose, at one and the same time, from many different quarters.

A doctrine had been propounded, which, proceeding from new perceptions of the more profound truths of religion, was condemned and persecuted by the Roman court, but was not to be suppressed by the utmost exertion of its power. The several states assumed a position of independence, and freed themselves from all subservience to the papal policy; in their domestic affairs they claimed a right of self-government, by which the influence of the Curia was more and more closely restricted, even as regarded ecclesiastical matters.

It is on these two important points that the interest of the papal history henceforth depends.

Periods succeed, in which, far from evincing any spontaneous activity, the papacy was rather occupied with the sole thought of how it should best defend itself from the various antagonists who assailed it now on the one side, and now on the other.

It is by force and energy of action that the attention of mankind is usually attracted, and events are understood only by the consideration of their efficient causes: nor does it come within the purpose of this work to describe in detail the more recent epochs of the papacy. The spectacle they present is nevertheless highly remarkable, and since we commenced with a review of the earlier ages, we cannot well close the subject without making an attempt, though but by a few slight sketches, to place the later periods before the eyes of the reader.

Our consideration is first engaged by the attack from the side of the temporal states. This is most immediately connected with the division of the Catholic world into two hostile portions—the Austrian and French parties, which the pope had no longer power either to overrule or to pacify. The political position assumed by Rome determined the degree of spiritual devotion accorded to her. We have already marked the mode in which this state of things began; we will now seek to make ourselves acquainted with its further progress.

1. LOUIS XIV AND INNOCENT XI

Louis XIV was without doubt much attached to the Catholic faith, yet he found it insufferable that the Roman see should pursue a policy not only independent of, but also frequently in direct opposition to, his own.

As Innocent X and Alexander VII had allied themselves to the cause of Spain (as indeed did the court and dependents of Clement IX, if not that pontiff himself), so now Clement X (1670–1676), with his nephew Pauluzzi Altieri, was disposed in like manner to the side of the Spaniards.[1] Louis XIV avenged himself for this by perpetual encroachments on the spiritual authority.

He confiscated ecclesiastical property by acts of arbitrary power, was continually oppressing one or other of the monastic orders, and arrogated to himself the right of loading Church benefices with military pensions. The claim which had become so notorious under the name of *regale*,—the right, namely, of enjoying the revenues of all vacant bishoprics, and of appointing to all their dependent benefices, Louis XIV sought to extend over provinces where it had never previously been asserted. He further inflicted the most severe injury on the holders of Roman annuities, by subjecting all funds remitted to the Curia to a closely restrictive supervision.[2]

This mode of proceeding he continued during the

[1] Morosini, Relatione di Francia, 1671: "Conosciuta naturale partialità del card^l. Altieri per la corona cattolica rende alla christianissima sospetta ogni sua attione. Il pontefice presente è considerato come un imagine del dominio, che risiede veramente nell' arbitrio del nipote." [Every action of Cardinal Altieri is rendered suspicious to the most Christian king by the known partiality of his eminence to the Catholic crown. The present pontiff is looked upon as the mere representative of the papal authority, which resides really in the will of his nephew.]

[2] Istruzione per Mons. Arcivescovo di Patrasso, 1674: "Questo fatto arrivato alla corte, siccome eccitò lo stupore e lo scandalo universale, così pervenuto alla notitia di N. S^re. mosso un estremo cordoglio nell' animo di S. Beat^ne." [When this fact became known to the court, it excited universal astonishment and scandal; so when it became known to our lord the pontiff, it gave his holiness extreme affliction.]

pontificate of Innocent XI,[1] who pursued on the whole a line of policy similar to that of his predecessor; but from him Louis encountered resistance.

Innocent XI, of the house of Odescalchi, of Como, had entered Rome in his 25th year, furnished only with his sword and pistols, for the purpose of employing himself in some secular office, or perhaps of devoting himself to the military service of Naples. By the advice of a cardinal, who looked more deeply into his character than he had himself been able to do, he was induced to change this purpose for the career of the Curia. He conducted himself in that employment with so earnest a zeal, and gradually obtained so high a reputation for ability and uprightness of purpose, that the people shouted forth his name beneath the porticos of St. Peter during the sitting of the conclave, and the feeling of satisfaction was very general, when he proceeded from that assembly adorned with the tiara: this took place on the 21st of September, 1676.

The manners of this pontiff were remarkable for humility; even when calling for his servants, he would do so under the condition that they were at leisure to attend him, and his confessor declared that he had never discovered in him any one thing that could estrange the soul from God. He was most gentle and placid in disposition; but the same conscientiousness by which his private life was governed, now impelled him to the fulfilment of his official duties without any regard to mere expedience.

How earnestly did he at once attack the abuses of government, more particularly those of the financial administration. The expenditure had risen to 2,578,106 scudi 91 bajocchi annually, while the receipts, including the dataria and spolia, amounted to no more than 2,408,500 scudi 71 bajocchi. So considerable a deficiency, 170,000 yearly, threatened to occasion a public bankruptcy;[2] and that matters did not proceed to this extremity must, without doubt, be attributed to the meritorious conduct of Innocent XI. By him the practice of nepotism was at length altogether abolished; he declared

[1] See Appendix, No. 146.

[2] Stato della camera nel presente pontificato di Innocenzo XI MS. (Bibl. Alb.). See Appendix, No. 149.

that he loved his nephew Don Livio, whose diffident virtues well deserved his affection, but for that very reason he would not have him in the palace. All those offices and revenues which had heretofore been conferred on the papal kinsmen, he caused at once to be applied to the public service, and abolished many other places of which the existence was rather a burden than benefit to the public. Innumerable abuses and exemptions also were set aside by this pontiff; and at the first moment when the state of the money-market rendered a change practicable, he reduced the monti without hesitation from four to three per cent.[1] After the lapse of some years, Innocent did, in fact, succeed in again raising the revenues to a not inconsiderable sum above the expenditure.

And with similar firmness of resolution, the pope now opposed the attacks of Louis XIV.

Certain bishops of Jansenist opinions, who had resisted the above-named extension of the "regale," were subjected to vexations and oppressions by the court on that account. The bishop of Pamiers was for some time reduced to live on alms. They appealed to the pontiff, and Innocent adopted their cause without delay.[2]

Once, and a second time, he admonished the king to lend no ear to flatterers, and to refrain from laying hands on the immunities of the Church, lest he should cause the fountains of divine grace to be dried up from his kingdom. Receiving no reply, he repeated his admonitions for the third time, but he now added, that he would write no more, nor yet content himself with simple admonitions, but would employ every resource of that power which God had intrusted to his hands. In this he would suffer no danger, no storm to appal him; he beheld his glory in the cross of Christ.[3]

[1] In a manuscript of the year 1743, containing 763 pages, "Erettione et aggionte de' monti camerali," we find the decrees and briefs relating to this matter. In a brief of 1684, to the treasurer Negroni, Pope Innocent first declares his determination, "d'andar liberando la camera del frutto di 4 p.c.—che in questi tempi è troppo rigoroso" [to proceed towards the liberation of the treasury from the interest of 4 per cent. . . . which in these times is too oppressive].

[2] Racine, Histoire ecclésiastique, x. p. 328.

[3] Brief of the 27th Dec., 1679.

It has always been the maxim of the French court, that the papal power is to be restricted by means of the French clergy, and that the clergy, on the other hand, are to be kept in due limits by means of the papal power. But never did a prince hold his clergy in more absolute command than Louis XIV. A spirit of submission without parallel is evinced in the addresses presented to him by that body on solemn occasions. "We hardly dare venture," says one of them,[1] "to make requests, from the apprehension lest we should set bounds to your majesty's zeal for religion. The melancholy privilege of stating our grievances is now changed into the sweet necessity of expressing the praises of our benefactor." The prince of Condé declared it to be his opinion, that if it pleased the king to go over to the Protestant church, the clergy would be the first to follow him.

And certainly the clergy of France did support their king without scruple against the pope. The declarations they published were from year to year increasingly decisive in favour of the royal authority. At length there assembled the convocation of 1682. "It was summoned and dissolved," remarks a Venetian ambassador, "at the convenience of the king's ministers, and was guided by their suggestions."[2] The Four Articles drawn up by this assembly have from that time been regarded as the manifesto of the Gallican immunities. The first three repeat assertions of principles laid down in earlier times; as, for example, the independence of the secular power, as regarded the spiritual authority; the superiority of councils over the pope; and the inviolable character of the Gallican usages. But the

[1] Remontrance du clergé de France (assemblée à St. Germain en Laye en l'année 1680), faite au roi le 10 juillet par l'ill^me^. et rév^me^. J. Bapt. Adheimar de Monteil de Grignan.—Mém. du clergé, tom. xiv. p. 787.

[2] Foscarini, Relatione di Francia, 1684: "Con non dissimile dipendenza segue l'ordine eccl^co^. le massime e l'interesse della corte, come l'ha fatto conoscere l'assemblea sopra le vertenze della regalia, unita, diretta e disciolta secondo le convenienze ed ispirationi del ministero politico. Provenendo dalla mano del re l'esaltatione e fortuna de' soggetti che lo compongono, dominati sempre da nuove pretensioni e speranze, si scorgono più attaccati alle compiacenze del monarca che gli stessi secolari,"

fourth is more particularly remarkable, since it imposes new limits even to the spiritual authority of the pontiff. "Even in questions of faith, the decision of the pope is not incapable of amendment, so long as it is without the assent of the Church." We see that the temporal power of the kingdom received support from the spiritual authority, which was in its turn upheld by the secular arm. The king is declared free from the interference of the pope's temporal authority; the clergy are exempted from submission to the unlimited exercise of his spiritual power. It was the opinion of contemporaries, that although France might remain within the pale of the Catholic church, it yet stood on the threshold, in readiness to step beyond it. The king exalted the propositions above named into a kind of "Articles of Faith," a symbolical book. All schools were to be regulated in conformity with these precepts; and no man could attain to a degree, either in the faculties of law or theology, who did not swear to maintain them.[1]

But the pope also was still possessed of a weapon. The authors of this declaration—the members of this assembly—were promoted and preferred by the king before all other candidates for episcopal offices; but Innocent refused to grant them spiritual institution. They might enjoy the revenues of those sees, but ordination they did not receive; nor could they venture to exercise one spiritual act of the episcopate.

These complications were still further perplexed by the fact that Louis XIV at that moment resolved on the relentless extirpation of the Huguenots, to which he proceeded chiefly for the purpose of proving his own perfect orthodoxy. He believed himself to be rendering a great service to the Church. It has indeed been also affirmed that Innocent XI[2] was aware of his purpose and had approved it, but this was not the fact. The Roman court would not now hear of conversions effected by

[1] See my "Französiche Geschichte," iii. (Sämtliche Werke, x.), p. 368.

[2] Bonamici, Vita Innocentii, in Lebret, Magazin viii. p. 98; also Lebret's note, "Also ist es nicht zu widersprechen," &c.

armed apostles. "It was not of such methods that Christ availed himself: men must be led to the temple, not dragged to it."[1]

New dissensions continually arose. In the year 1687, the French ambassador entered Rome with so imposing a retinue, certain squadrons of cavalry forming part of it, that the right of asylum, which the ambassadors claimed at that time, not only for their palace, but also for the adjacent streets, could by no means have been easily disputed with him, although the popes had solemnly abolished the privilege. With an armed force the ambassador braved the pontiff in his own capital. "They come with horses and chariots," said Innocent, "but we will walk in the name of the Lord." He solemnly censured the ambassador; and the church of San Luigi, in which the latter had attended a solemn high mass, was laid under interdict.[2]

The king also then proceeded to extreme measures. He appealed to a general council, took possession of Avignon, and caused the nuncio to be shut up in St. Olon: it was even believed that he had formed the design of creating for Harlai, archbishop of Paris, who, if he had not suggested these proceedings, had approved them, the appointment of patriarch of France. So far had matters proceeded: the French ambassador in Rome excommunicated; the papal nuncio in France detained by force; thirty-five French bishops deprived of canonical institution; part of the territory of the Holy See occupied by the king:

[1] Girolamo Venier, Relatione di Francia, 1689: "Nell' opera tentata nella conversion degli Ugonotti dispiacque al re, non riportar dal pontefice lode che sperava, e ricevè il papa in mala parte che fosse intrapresa senza sua partecipatione et eseguita con i noti rigori, — — — publicando che non fosse proprio fare missioni d'apostoli armati, e che questo metodo nuovo non fosse il migliore, giachè Christo non se n'era servito per convertire il mondo; in oltre parve importuno il tempo di guadagnar gli eretici all' ora che erano più bollenti le controversie col papa."

[2] Legatio Marchionis Lavardini Romam ejusque cum Romano pontifice dissidium, 1697, a refutation of Lavardin, which investigates this affair with much calmness and judgment: it belongs to the series of excellent political papers called forth by the pretensions of Louis XIV in Germany, the Netherlands, Spain, and Italy. See my "Englische Geschichte," vi. (Sämtliche Werke, xix.), p. 154.

it was, in fact, the actual breaking out of schism; yet Pope Innocent refused to yield a single step.

If we ask to what he trusted for support on this occasion, we perceive that it was not to the effect of the ecclesiastical censures in France, nor to the influence of his apostolic dignity, but rather, and above all, to the universal opposition which had been aroused in Europe to the enterprises of Louis XIV that were menacing the existence of its liberties. To this general opposition the pope now also attached himself.

He supported Austria in her Turkish war to the best of his ability,[1] and the successful issue of that conflict placed the whole party, and with it the pontiff himself, in an altered position.

It would, without doubt, be difficult to prove that Innocent was in direct alliance, as has been asserted, with William III, and had a personal knowledge of his designs upon England;[2] but it may be affirmed, with the utmost confidence, that his minister was aware of them. The pope was informed merely that the prince of Orange would take the command on the Rhine, and would defend the rights of the empire as well as those of the Church against Louis XIV. Towards that purpose he engaged to contribute considerable subsidies. But so early as the end of the year 1687, the pope's secretary of state, Count Cassoni, had positive information that the plan of the malcontent English was to dethrone King James, and transfer the crown to the princess of Orange. But the count was not faithfully served: the

[1] Relatione di Roma di Giov. Lando, 1691. The subsidies are here computed at two million scudi. See Appendix, No. 151.

[2] This assertion is also made in the "Mémoires sur le règne de Frédéric I, roi de Prusse, par le comte de Dohna," p. 78. The letters are said to have passed through the hands of Queen Christina to his father, "qui les fesoit passer par le comté de Lippe, d'où un certain Paget les portoit à la Haye," but notwithstanding the details of this account, it must still be considered doubtful, when it is remembered that, during the whole of the period in question, Queen Christina was at variance with the pope. From her position as set forth in her correspondence, I consider it impossible that the pope should have entrusted such a secret to her, of whom he one day said, shrugging his shoulders, "è una donna." There may, for all that, have been secret Roman despatches.

French had found a traitor among his household. From the papers which this man had the opportunity of examining in his master's most secret cabinet, the courts of France and England received the first intelligence of these plans. It was a strange complication! At the court of Rome were brought together the threads of that alliance which had for its aim and result the liberation of Protestantism from the last great danger by which it was threatened in western Europe, and the acquisition of the English throne to that confession for ever.[1] Admitting that Innocent XI was not, as we have said, acquainted with the entire purpose in contemplation, it is yet undeniable that he allied himself with an opposition arising from Protestant impulses, and sustained for the most part by Protestant resources.[2] His resistance to the appointment of the candidate favoured by Louis to the archbishopric of Cologne, was set on foot in the interests of that opposition, and contributed largely to the breaking out of the war, a war which, nevertheless, helped to restore the papal authority in regard to France. If the pope had promoted the interests of Protestantism by his policy, the Protestants on their side, by maintaining the balance of Europe against the "exorbitant Power," also contributed to force the latter into compliance with the spiritual claims of the papacy.

It is true that Innocent XI did not live to see this result; but the first French ambassador who appeared in Rome after his death (10th of August, 1689) renounced the right of asylum: the deportment of the king was altered; he restored Avignon, and entered into negotiations.

[1] A document which is decisive in this affair has yet been but little remarked; it is the "Lettre écrite par M. le Cl. d'Etrées, ambassadeur extraord. de Louis XIV à M. de Louvois," 18th Dec., 1687.—Œuvres de Louis XIV, tom. vi. p. 497. This shews how early James II was informed on the subject. Norfolk, who was then in Rome incognito, instantly despatched a courier to him. Mackintosh (History of the Revolution, ii. 157) believes that James was aware of the prince's views on England early in May, 1688; but even on the 10th or 11th of March, he remarked to the papal nuncio, "il principe avere in principal mira l'Inghilterra" [that the prince's chief aim was England]. (Lettera di Mons. d'Adda, ibid., p. 346.) His misfortune was that he did not believe in himself.

[2] For the relations between Innocent XI and King James II, see "Englische Geschichte," vi. p. 151.

And that was all the more needful, since the new pope, Alexander VIII, however widely he may have departed from the austere example of his predecessor in other respects,[1] adhered firmly to his principles as regarded the spiritual claims of the Church. Alexander proclaimed anew that the decrees of 1682[2] were vain and invalid, null and void, having no power to bind even when enforced by an oath. "Day and night," he declares that he thought of them "with bitterness of heart, lifting his eyes to heaven with tears and sighs."

After the early death of Alexander VIII, the French made all possible efforts to secure the choice of a pontiff disposed to measures of peace and conciliation;[3] a purpose that was indeed effected by the elevation of Antonio Pignatelli, who assumed the tiara with the name of Innocent XII, on the 12th of July, 1691.

But this pope was not by any means more inclined to compromise the dignity of the Holy See than his predecessors had been, neither did there exist any pressing motive for his doing so, since Louis XIV was supplied with the most serious and perilous occupation by the arms of the allies.

The negotiations continued for two years. Innocent more than once rejected the formulas proposed to him by

[1] See Appendix, No. 152. Confession of Pope Alexander VIII.

[2] "In dictis comitiis anni 1682, tam circa extensionem juris regaliae quam circa declarationem de potestate ecclesiastica actorum ac etiam omnium et singulorum mandatorum, arrestorum, confirmationum, declarationum, epistolarum, edictorum, decretorum quavis autoritate sive ecclesiastica sive etiam laicali editorum, necnon aliorum quomodolibet praejudicialium praefatorum in regno supradicto quandocunque et a quibusvis et ex quacunque causa et quovis modo factorum et gestorum ac inde secutorum quorumcunque tenores." 4th Aug., 1690. Cocquel. ix. p. 38.

[3] Domenico Contarini, Relatione di Roma, 1696: "Tenendosi questa volta da Francesi bisogno d'un papa facile e d'animo assai rimesso e che potesse facilmente esser indotto a modificare la bolla fatta nell' agonia di Alessandro VIII sopra le propositioni dell' assemblea del clero dell' anno 1682, diedero mano alla elettione di esso." [The French gave their assistance to the election of this pope, because they had need of a pontiff sufficiently placable and easy-minded to be led into the modification of the bull which Alexander VIII had issued in his dying moments, as to the propositions of the French clergy in the assembly of 1682.] See Appendix, No. 153.

the clergy of France, and they were, in fact, compelled at length to declare that all measures discussed and resolved on in the assembly of 1682 should be considered as not having been discussed or resolved on: "casting ourselves at the feet of your holiness, we profess our unspeakable grief for what has been done."[1] It was not until they had made this unreserved recantation that Innocent accorded them canonical institution.

Only under these conditions was peace restored. Louis XIV wrote to the pope that he retracted his edict relating to the four articles.[2] Thus we perceive that the Roman see once more maintained its prerogatives, even though opposed by the most powerful monarchs.

But was it not a grievous disadvantage that assertions of so decidedly hostile a character should, for a certain time, have been sanctioned by the laws and government? The offensive articles had been proclaimed with loud and ostentatious publicity, as decrees of the empire; but it was privately, and in the most silent manner, that they were revoked; in the form of letters, that is, which were, moreover, the act of a few persons only, individuals who were just then in particular need of favour from the Roman court.

[1] It has been affirmed, and among others, Petitot (Notice sur Port-royal, p. 240) is of opinion that this formula was invented by the Jansenists, "pour répandre du ridicule et de l'odieux sur les nouveaux évêques;" but, in the first place, no other formula has ever been brought forward by the opposite party; and secondly, the above has been always acknowledged, at least indirectly, by the Roman writers, — by Novaes, for example, Storia de' Pontefici, tom. xi. p. 117; and finally, it was universally considered genuine at the time, and received no contradiction even from the French court. Domenico Contarini says, "poco dopo fu preso per mano da Francesi il negotio delle chiese di Francia proponendo diverse formule di dichiarazione, — — materia ventilata per il corso di due anni e conclusa ed aggiustata con quella lettera scritta da vescovi al papa che si è difusa in ogni parte" [a short time after the French took in hand the affairs of the church of France, proposing various forms of declaration, a thing talked of for two years, and eventually concluded and adjusted by that letter, written by the bishops to the pope, which has been circulated in all quarters]. This letter is the very formula in question; no other has ever been known. Daunou also, Essai historique sur la puissance temporelle des papes, ii. p. 196, communicates this letter as authentic.

[2] See p. 463.

Louis XIV suffered these forms to proceed, but it must not be supposed that he really recalled the four articles, although the affair was sometimes regarded in that light in Rome. He would not endure at a much later period that the Roman court should refuse institution to the clergy who adhered to the four articles. He affirmed that he had only removed the obligation to teach them, but that there would be manifest injustice in preventing those who desired it from acknowledging those propositions.[1] There is, moreover, another observation to be made. It was in no wise by any power of its own that the court of Rome had maintained its ground; that consequence resulted solely from a great political combination; it occurred only because France had been forced on all hands to retire within closer limits. What then was to be expected, supposing these relations altered, and if the time should come when there was no longer any one who would protect the Roman see from its aggressors?

2. THE SPANISH SUCCESSION

The fact that the Spanish line of the house of Austria became extinct, was also an event of the utmost importance to the papacy.

[1] The words of the king in his letter to Innocent XII, dated Versailles, Sept. 14, 1693, are as follows: "j'ai donné les ordres nécessaires afin que les choses contenues dans mon édit du 22 Mars 1682 touchant la déclaration faite par le clergé de France (à quoi les conjonctures passées m'avoyent obligé) ne soyent pas observées." In a letter of the 7th of July, 1713, which we find in Artaud, Histoire du Pape Pie VII, 1836, tom. ii. p. 16, are the following words: "on lui (au pape Clément XI) a supposé contre la vérité, que j'ai contrevenu à l'engagement pris par la lettre que j'écrivis à son prédécesseur; car je n'ai obligé personne à soutenir contre sa propre opinion les propositions du clergé de France; mais il n'est pas juste que j'empêche mes sujets de dire et de soutenir leurs sentiments sur une matière qu'il est libre de soutenir de part et d'autre." It is obvious, then, that Louis XIV was not so devoted to Rome, even in his last years, as is frequently assumed. He says, decidedly, "je ne puis admettre aucun expédient."

To the condition of rivalry constantly maintained between France and the Spanish monarchy, and by which the character of European policy was chiefly determined, the papacy also was finally indebted for its freedom and independence of action; for a century and a half the principles adopted by the Spaniards had preserved the States of the Church in peace. Whatever might be the general result, there was always danger to be apprehended when an order of things with which all the customs of political existence were bound up, should be reduced to a state of uncertainty.

But the peril became much more urgent from the fact that disputes arose with regard to the succession, which threatened to burst forth in a general war; a war, moreover, of which Italy must be the principal battle-ground. Even the pope would with difficulty secure himself from the necessity of declaring for one of the parties, although he could not hope to contribute any thing essential towards the success of the cause he espoused.

I find it asserted by a Venetian, though somewhat doubtfully,[1] that Innocent XII, who had become reconciled to France, had recommended Charles II of Spain to appoint the French prince as his successor, and that the provisions of the will, on which so much depended, had been materially influenced by this advice of the holy father.

This statement is so far well grounded, that Charles II, disgusted with the plans of the European powers for the partition of the monarchy, and already confirmed by his council of state in the idea of recognizing the French claims, appealed to the pope, in order to quiet his conscience in the matter. Innocent expressed his entire approval of

[1] Morosini, Relatione di Roma, 1707: "Se il papa abbia avuto mano o partecipatione nel testamento di Carlo II, io non ardirò d'asserirlo, nè è facile di penetrare il vero con sicurezza. Bensì addurrò solo due fatti. L'uno che questo arcano, non si sa se con verità, fu esposto in un manifesto uscito alle stampe in Roma ne' primi mèsi del mio ingresso all' ambasciata, all' ora che dall' uno e l'altro partito si trattava la guerra non meno con l'armi che con le carte. L'altro che il papa non s'astenne di far publici elogj al christ^mo, d'essersi ritirato dal partaggio ricevendo la monarchia intiera per il nepote." See Appendix, No. 155.

the step, and even brought forward further reasons for it besides those adduced by Charles.[1]

The papal see at that time was on good terms with Louis XIV, having relinquished the policy adverse to France, which it had almost invariably pursued from the time of Urban VIII. Since a strong Protestant influence was to be expected on the other side, it seemed to him to be to the advantage of religion that the monarchy should devolve without partition on a prince belonging to a house which was at that time so pre-eminently Catholic. In the commission which sat to examine the matter, Cardinal Giovan Francesco Albani had taken part; and he it was who was elected to the papal throne (16 Nov. 1700). Clement XI—for so he styled himself—did not conceal his opinions for a moment. He openly approved the determination of Louis XIV to accept the succession. He sent a letter of congratulation to Philip V, and granted him subsidies raised on ecclesiastical property, precisely as if no doubt prevailed with regard to his rights.[2] Clement XI might be considered the very creation and true representative of the court of Rome, which he had never quitted. The affability of his manners, his literary talents, and irreproachable life, had secured him universal approbation and popularity.[3] He had found means to ingratiate himself with the three last popes, different as they were in character, and even to make himself necessary to them; he had risen to eminence by practical and useful, but never inopportune talents. If, as he once observed, he had known how to give good advice as cardinal, but as pope he knew not how to guide himself, this may imply that he felt himself better qualified to seize and carry forward an impulse already communicated, than to originate and give effect to an independent determination. As an example of this, it may be remarked, that

[1] Französische Geschichte, iv. 108.

[2] Buder, Leben und Thaten Clemens XI, tom. i. p. 148.

[3] Erizzo, Relatione di Roma, 1702: "Infatti pareva egli la delizia di Roma, e non eravi ministro regio nè natione che non credesse tutto suo il cardinale Albani. Tanto bene," he adds, "sapeva fingere affetti e variare linguaggio con tutti."

in taking up the jurisdictional question with renewed vigour immediately after his accession, he did no more than follow in the path pointed out by public opinion, and by the interests of the Curia. In like manner, he believed in the fortune and power of the "great king," and had no doubt but that Louis XIV would ultimately obtain the victory. The success of the French arms in the expedition undertaken against Vienna by Germany and Italy in the year 1703, which seemed likely to bring all to a conclusion, occasioned the pope so much satisfaction, that the Venetian ambassador assures us he found it impossible to conceal his gladness.[1]

But at that very moment fortune took a sudden turn. The German and English antagonists of Louis, with whom Innocent XI had been allied, but from whose party Clement XI had gradually estranged his interests, achieved unprecedented victories: the imperial troops, conjoined with those of Prussia, poured down upon Italy. Towards a pope, whose proceedings had been so equivocal, they were but little disposed to shew forbearance, and the old pretensions of the empire, which had never been referred to since the times of Charles V, were now again renewed.

We do not here purpose to enter into all the bitter contentions in which Clement XI became involved.[2] The imperialists at length appointed a fixed term within which he must decide on their proposals for peace: among these proposals the most important condition was his acknowledgment of the Austrian pretender to the crown of Spain. Vainly did the pope look around him for assistance. He waited till the day appointed (15th January, 1709), after the lapse of which, without a final decision, the imperialists had threatened hostile invasion of his states and capital; nay, it was not till the last hour of that day—eleven in the evening

[1] See Appendix, No. 154.

[2] For example: In regard to the troops quartered in Parma and Piacenza, where the clergy were compelled to pay their contingent of military contributions. "Accord avec les députés du duc et de la ville de Plaisance, 14 déc., 1706, art. 9,—que pour soulager l'état tous les particuliers, quoique très-privilegiés, contribueroient à la susdite somme." To this the pope would not submit, and the imperial claims were thereupon renewed with redoubled violence.—Contre-déclaration de l'empereur, in Lamberty, v. 85.

—that he at length affixed his signature. Clement had previously congratulated Philip V; he now saw himself compelled to acknowledge his rival Charles III as Catholic king.[1]

By this event a severe blow was inflicted, not only on the authority of the papacy as supreme arbiter, but also on the political freedom and independence of the Apostolic See; the latter was, indeed, virtually despoiled of all liberty. The French ambassador left Rome, declaring that it was no longer the seat of the Church.[2]

The position of European affairs in general had indeed assumed a new aspect. It was at length by Protestant England that the ultimate destiny of the Spanish and Catholic monarchy was decided. In this state of things what influence could the pope exercise over the great events of the period?

By the peace of Utrecht, countries which the pope regarded as his fiefs, such as Sicily and Sardinia, were consigned to new sovereigns without his advice or consent being even requested.[3] In the place of the infallible decision hitherto awaited from the supreme spiritual pastor, there now ruled the convenience and interests of the great powers.

Misfortunes were, indeed, occasioned by these arrangements, of which the effect was more immediately and peculiarly felt by the Roman see.

One of the most prominent objects of the Roman policy had ever been the acquirement and maintenance of influence over the remaining states of Italy: the Curia sought, indeed, to exercise an indirect sovereignty over them all whenever it was possible to do so.

But at this time, not only had German Austria established herself in Italy, while in a state of almost open warfare with the pope, but even the duke of Savoy had attained to royal power and a large extension of territory, in defiance of the papal opposition.

Other affairs were regulated in a similar spirit.

[1] This, which was at first kept secret, was made known by a letter of the Austrian ambassador to the duke of Marlborough (Lamberty, v. 242).

[2] Lettre du maréchal Thessé au pape, 12 juillet, 1709.

[3] How suspicious the conduct of Savoy was, we learn from Lafitau, Vie de Clément XI, tom. ii. p. 78.

For the better arrangement of disputes between the house of Bourbon and that of Austria, the European powers acceded to the wish of the Spanish queen, that Parma and Piacenza should be allotted to one of her sons. The feudal sovereignty of the popes over that duchy had not been called in question for two centuries,—each successive prince had received investiture and had paid tribute; but now that this right was assuming a new importance, and that the male line of the house of Farnese was manifestly on the point of becoming extinct, no further consideration was given to the claims of the papacy. The emperor bestowed the country as a fief on an Infant of Spain, and nothing remained to the pope but to issue protests, to which no one paid the slightest attention.[1]

But the peace between the two houses was only of momentary duration. In the year 1733, the Bourbons renewed their pretensions to Naples, which was at that time in the hands of Austria. The Spanish ambassador was also instructed to offer the palfrey and payment of tribute to the pope. Clement XII would now willingly have suffered matters to remain as they were: he appointed a committee of cardinals, who decided in favour of the imperial claims; but the fortune of war, on this occasion also, was adverse to the papal decision,—the Spanish arms obtained the victory. In a short time, Clement was compelled to grant the investiture of Naples and Sicily to the same Infant whom, with so much mortification, he had seen enter on the possession of Parma.

It is true that the ultimate consequence of all these struggles was not materially different from that originally contemplated by the court of Rome. The house of Bourbon extended its rule over Spain and a great part of Italy; but under circumstances how entirely different had all this occurred from those at first designed and hoped for by the Holy See!

The word by which that great contest was decided at the most critical moment had proceeded from England. It

[1] Protestatio nomine Sedis Apostolicae emissa in conventu Cameracensi, in Rousset, Supplément au corps diplomat. de Dumont, iii. ii. p. 173.

was in open contradiction to the Papal see that the Bourbons had forced their way into Italy. The separation of the provinces, which Rome had decided to avoid, was, nevertheless, accomplished, and had filled Italy and the States of the Church with the ceaseless shock of hostile weapons. The temporal authority of the Apostolic See was by this means annihilated even in its most immediate vicinity.[1]

An important effect could not fail to be produced by these changes on the controversies touching the ecclesiastical rights of Rome, which were so closely connected with her political relations.

How severely had Clement XI been already made to feel this!

More than once was his nuncio sent out of Naples, and in Sicily, on one occasion, the whole of the clergy whose views were favourable to Rome, were seized in a body and sent into the States of the Church.[2] Throughout the Italian states an intention was made manifest to confine the gift of ecclesiastical dignities exclusively to natives.[3] Even in Spain the nuntiatura was closed;[4] and Clement XI at one time believed that he should be compelled to summon Alberoni, the most influential of the Spanish ministers, before the Inquisition.

These dissensions became more and more serious, the differences extending from year to year. The Roman court no longer possessed within itself the power and energy required for the preservation of union even among those holding its own creed.

"I cannot deny," says the Venetian ambassador Mocenigo, in the year 1737, "that there is something unnatural in the sight of all the Catholic sovereigns placing themselves in hostility to the court of Rome, and

[1] See Appendix, Nos. 155, 156, and 157.

[2] Buder, Leben und Thaten Clemens XI, tom. iii. 581.

[3] We perceive from the remarks of Lorenzo Tiepolo, Relatione di Roma, 1712, that the imperialists in Naples as well as Milan had already formed the design, "che li beneficii ecclesiastici siano solamente dati a nationali, colpo di non picciolo danno alla corte di Roma se si effettuasse."

[4] San Felipe, Beiträge zur Geschichte von Spanien, iii. 214.

the altercations are now so violent that there can be no hope of any reconciliation by which that court would not be injured in some vital part. Whether this proceed from the diffusion of more enlightened ideas, as many people think, or from a disposition to oppress the weaker party, it is certain that the sovereigns are making rapid progress towards depriving the Roman see of all its secular prerogatives."[1]

A merely superficial observation made in Rome itself at that time, sufficed to render obvious the fact that all was at stake; that her existence depended on the immediate conclusion of peace.

The memory of Benedict XIV—Prospero Lambertini (1740–1758)—is blessed, because he resolved on making the indispensable concessions.

How little Benedict XIV permitted himself to be dazzled, or rendered self-confident by the dignified elevation of his office, is well known; he did not even abandon his good-humoured facetiousness, or forego his Bolognese witticisms, because he was pope. He would rise from his occupation, join such members of the court as were in immediate attendance, impart to them some fancy or idea that had just occurred to him, and return to his desk.[2] He constantly maintained himself superior to events. With a bold and comprehensive glance he made himself master of the relations in which the papal see was placed to the powers of Europe, discerning clearly what it was possible to retain, and what must be abandoned. He was too sound a canonist, and too thoroughly a pope, to permit himself to be carried too far on the path of concessions.

There is no doubt that the most remarkable act of his pontificate was the concordat which he concluded with Spain

[1] Aluise Mocenigo IV, Relatione di Roma, 16 Aprile, 1737. See Appendix, No. 162.

[2] Relatione di F. Venier di Roma, 1744: "Asceso il papa al trono di S. Pietro, non seppe cambiare l'indole sua. Egli era di temperamento affabile insieme e vivace e vi resto; spargeva fin de prelato li suoi discorsi con giocosi sali, ed ancor li conserva;— — dotato di cuore aperto e sincero trascurò sempre ogn'una di quelle arti che chiamano romanesche."

in the year 1753. He prevailed on himself to renounce the right of appointment to the smaller benefices of that country which the Curia still retained, though it was at that time vehemently contested. But was the court to be deprived of the large sums it had hitherto received from that source without any compensation? Was the papal authority thus at once to abandon its influence on the clergy personally? Benedict adopted the following compromise:—of these benefices fifty-two were specified, and these were reserved for the nomination of the pope, "that by their means he might reward such members of the Spanish clergy as should acquire a claim to preferment by their virtues, purity of life, or learning, or by services rendered to the Roman see."[1] The loss in revenue sustained by the Curia was then computed,—it was found to be 34,300 scudi annually. The king therefore engaged to pay a sum of 1,143,330 scudi, the interest of which at 3 per cent. would amount to that income. Thus did all-compensating gold attest its conciliatory influence and mediating power in the final arrangement, even of these ecclesiastical difficulties.

In like manner Benedict XIV concluded with most of the other courts arrangements involving concessions. To the king of Portugal an extension was granted of the right of patronage he had previously possessed, and to the earlier spiritual privileges and distinctions acquired by his house the title of "most faithful" was added. The court of Sardinia, doubly dissatisfied because the concessions which it had obtained at favourable moments had been revoked under the last pontificate, was appeased by the instructions, tantamount to concordats, that were issued in the years 1741 and

[1] "Acciò non meno S. S^ta. che i suoi successori abbiano il modo di provedere e premiare quegli ecclesiastici che per probità e per illibatezza de' costumi o per insigne letteratura o per servizi prestati alla s. sede se ne renderanno meritevoli." These are the words of the concordat. See, among other authorities, the Report of the English Committee, 1816, p. 317. From an Instruction of Caravajal (printed in Cantillo, Tratados de Paz, p. 425), it appears that the intentions of the Spanish Government originally went still further. But the confidential minister, Enseñada, was carrying on secret negotiations, concurrently with those which were officially reported. The pope himself revised the concordat; Enseñada transmitted the money even before it was signed.

1750.[1] In Naples, where, under the auspices of the imperial government, and by the exertions of Gaetano Argento, a school of jurisprudence had been established, which made the disputed points of ecclesiastical law its chief study, and opposed earnest resistance to the claims of the papacy,[2] Benedict XIV permitted the rights of the Curia to be materially restricted, and suffered the clergy to be subjected to the payment of a share in the public imposts. To the imperial court the pontiff conceded a diminution of the appointed holy days, and this was a concession that caused many remarks at the time; for whereas Benedict had merely granted permission that work might be done on those days, the imperial court did not scruple to exact labour by force, and make it compulsory as a general rule.

By these measures the Catholic courts were again reconciled to their ecclesiastical chief, and peace was once more restored.

But could reasonable hope be entertained that all contentions were thus brought to an end? Was it to be expected that the conflict between the State and the Church, which seems to be almost a matter of necessity in Catholicism, should be set at rest by these slight transactions? It was not possible that these should suffice to maintain peace beyond the moment for which they had been adopted. Already were the excited deeps giving token that other and far more perilous storms were fast approaching.

3. ALTERED STATE OF EUROPE—INTERNAL COMMOTIONS—SUPPRESSION OF THE JESUITS

Important changes had been accomplished, not only in Italy and the south of Europe, but in the political condition of the world generally.

Where were now the times in which the papacy might

[1] Risposta alle notizie dimandate intorno alla giurisdittione ecclesiastica nello stato di S. M^tà. Torino, 5 Marzo, 1816. Report of Committee, p. 250.

[2] Giannone, Storia di Napoli, vi. 387.

entertain the hope, and not indeed without apparent grounds, of once more subjecting Europe and the world to its dominion?

Of the five great powers by which, even so early as the middle of the eighteenth century, the course of the world's destinies was determined, three had risen to influence which were not of the Catholic faith. We have alluded to the attempts made by the popes in earlier times to subdue Russia and Prussia by means of Poland, and to overcome England by the forces of France and Spain. These very powers were now taking prominent part in the dominion of the world; nay, we may even affirm, without fear of deceiving ourselves, that they had at this time obtained the preponderance over the Catholic portion of Europe.

It was not that one system of doctrine had gained a triumph over the other—that the Protestant theology had prevailed over Catholicism; this was no longer the field of conflict: the change had been brought about by the action of national interests and developments, the principles of which we have noticed above. The non-Catholic states displayed a general superiority over the Catholic. The monarchical and concentrating spirit of the Russians had overpowered the disunited factions and aristocracy of Poland. The industry, practical sense, and nautical skill of England had obtained the supremacy, naturally resulting from those qualities, over the careless indolence of the Spaniards and the vacillating policy of the French, which was ever contingent on the accidents of their domestic affairs. The energetic organization and military discipline of Prussia had in like manner procured her the advantage over those principles of federative monarchy which were then predominant in Austria.

But although the superiority obtained by these powers was in nowise of an ecclesiastical character, yet it could not fail to exercise an immediate influence on ecclesiastical affairs.

This occurred in the first place, because religious parties advanced to power with the states professing their opinions; Russia, for example, placed Greek bishops, without hesitation,

in the united provinces of Poland.[1] The elevation of Prussia gradually restored a consciousness of independence and power to the German Protestants, such as they had long been deprived of; and the more decided the naval supremacy acquired by the Protestant government of England became, so much the more did the Catholic missions necessarily fall into the shade, while their efficiency, which had in earlier times been upheld and increased by political influence, became diminished proportionately.

But more extensive causes were in action. So early as the second half of the seventeenth century, when England had attached herself to the policy of France, when Russia was in a position equivalent to separation from the rest of Europe, and the Prussian monarchy of the house of Brandenburg was but just rising into importance, the Catholic powers, France, Spain, Austria, and Poland, had governed the European world, even though divided among themselves. It appears to me that the consciousness of how greatly all this was changed, must now have forced itself on the general conviction of the Catholic community, and the proud self-confidence inspired by a politico-religious existence, unrestricted by any superior power, must now have been destroyed. The pope was now first made aware of the fact that he no longer stood at the head of the powers by whom the world was ruled.

But finally, would not the question of whence this change arose, present itself? When the conquered party does not utterly despair of its own fortunes, every defeat, every loss, will necessarily occasion some internal revolution, some attempt at imitation of the antagonists who have evinced their superiority,—an emulation of their efforts. Thus, the strictly monarchical, military, and commercial tendencies of the non-Catholic nations now pressed themselves upon the Catholic states; but since it could not be denied that the disadvantageous position into which the latter had fallen was connected with their ecclesiastical constitution, the first efforts of the movement were directed towards that point.

[1] Rulhière, Histoire de l'anarchie de Pologne, i. 181.

But here they came into contact with other powerful commotions which had meanwhile taken possession of the domain of faith and opinion within the pale of Catholicism itself.

The Jansenist contentions, to the origin of which we have already given our attention, had been renewed with redoubled vehemence in the beginning of the eighteenth century. They proceeded from men of the most exalted positions. The highest influence in the supreme ecclesiastical council of France had most commonly been divided between the king's confessor, usually a Jesuit, and the archbishop of Paris, and thence it was, that La Chaise and Harlai, who lived in the closest alliance, had directed the enterprises of the crown against the papacy. So good an understanding did not exist between their successors, Le Tellier and Noailles. Their disunion may have been occasioned, in the first place, by slight differences of opinion, the more rigid adherence of the one to the Jesuit and Molinist views, and the more tolerant inclination of the other to the Jansenist ideas. Gradually, however, these differences led the way to an open rupture, and the conflict thus arising, and proceeding from the cabinet of the king, produced a schism throughout the nation. The confessor succeeded not only in maintaining himself in power, and winning Louis to his side, but he also prevailed on the pope to issue the bull Unigenitus, in which the Jansenist tenets of sin, grace, justification, and the church, were condemned, even in their most modified expression, and in some instances as their defenders considered them to be given verbatim by St. Augustine. They were, nevertheless, denounced and anathematized even more decidedly than the five propositions mentioned in our earlier allusions to the Jansenist doctrines.[1] This was the final decision of these questions of

[1] The Mémoires secrets sur la bulle Unigenitus, i. p. 123, describe the first impression produced by it. "Les uns publioient qu'on y attaquoit de front les premiers principes de la foi et de la morale ; les autres qu'on y condamnoit les sentiments et les expressions des saints pères ; d'autres qu'on y enlevoit à la charité sa prééminence et sa force ; d'autres qu'on leur arrachoit des mains le pain céleste des écritures ;—les nouveaux réunis à l'église se disoient trompés, etc."

faith, so long before agitated by Molina. The papal see, after a delay thus prolonged, at length adopted the Jesuit tenets without reserve or ambiguity. It is certain that the papacy thereby succeeded in attaching to its interests that powerful order, which from that time proved itself the most vigorous defender of ultramontane doctrines and the papal claims, which, as we have seen, it had by no means invariably upheld in preceding periods. The pope also succeeded in maintaining friendly relations with the French government, which had, indeed, contributed to elicit the above-named decision, and by which such persons as submitted to the bull were very soon promoted, to the exclusion of all others. But these measures aroused the most powerful opposition from the adverse party; among the learned, who were followers of St. Augustine, among the orders, who adhered to St. Thomas Aquinas, and in the parliaments, by whom a violation of the Gallican rights was discovered in every new act of the Roman court. And now, at length, the Jansenists stood forth as the earnest advocates of these immunities; with ever-increasing boldness they now announced doctrines regarding the Church, which were entirely at variance with those of Rome on the same points,—nay, they proceeded, under the protection of a Protestant government, to carry their tenets into effect, and established an archiepiscopal church in Utrecht, which, though Catholic in its general principles, yet maintained a complete independence of Rome, and waged incessant war upon the ultramontane tendencies of the Jesuits. It would be well worth while to investigate the formation, extension, and practical influence of these opinions over the whole of Europe. In France, the Jansenists were oppressed, persecuted, and excluded from public employments; but as usually happens, this did them no injury on essential points. A large proportion of the public declared in their favour during these persecutions, and they might have succeeded still more extensively had they not brought discredit even on their more rational tenets by their superstitious extravagance. This deeply injured their cause; yet the superior purity of their moral system, and the approximation they made to a more profound faith, secured them entrance into most Catholic countries. We find traces

of them in Vienna and Brussels, in Spain and Portugal,[1] and through all Italy.[2] They diffused their tenets throughout Catholic Christendom, sometimes publicly, but more frequently in secret.

There can be no doubt that this dissension among the clergy was one cause, among others, by which the way was prepared for the progress of opinions much more perilous than those here in question.

The peculiar character of the influence produced on the French mind, nay, on that of all Europe, by the exertions of Louis XIV in the name of religion, is a phenomenon that will ever be remarkable. In his eager determination to root out the Protestant creed, and to annihilate every dissenting opinion intruding within the pale of Catholicism, he had employed the utmost excess of violence, had outraged the laws of God and man, directing his every effort to the production of complete and orthodox Catholic unity throughout his kingdom. Yet scarcely had he closed his eyes, before all was utterly changed. The spirit so forcibly repressed broke forth in irresistible movement.

The disgust and horror awakened by the proceedings of Louis XIV led, without doubt, directly to the formation of opinions making open war on Catholicism, nay, on all other positive religion of whatever name. From year to year, these opinions gained internal force, and outward diffusion. The kingdoms of southern Europe were founded on the most intimate union of Church and State. Yet it was among these that a mode of thinking was matured, by which aversion to the Church and religion was organized into a system, affecting all ideas relating to God and his creation, every principle of political and social life, and all science. A literature of opposition to all notions hitherto received was formed, by which the minds of men were irresistibly captivated, and subjected to indissoluble fetters.

The absence of harmony between these tendencies is

[1] Llorente, Histoire de l'Inquisition, iii. pp. 93-97, acquaints us with the continual occupation furnished by real or supposed Jansenists to the Inquisition under Charles III and IV.

[2] For example, they were to be found very early in Naples; so early as the year 1715 it was believed that the half of those Neapolitans who were of reflective habits were Jansenists.—Keyssler, Reisen, p. 780.

manifest; the reforming spirit was by its very nature monarchical, but this could by no means be asserted of the philosophical, which very soon opposed itself to the State as well as to the Church. The Jansenists adhered to convictions, which were indifferent, if not odious, to one party as well as to the other; yet at first they all worked together. They called into existence that spirit of innovation, the extent of whose grasp is in exact proportion with the uncertainty of its aim; which lays bolder claim to futurity the less definite its comprehension of its own purpose; and which daily derives fresh force from the abuses existing in the common order of things. This spirit now seized the Catholic peoples. There is no doubt that its basis was, for the most part, either consciously or unconsciously, in what has been called the philosophy of the eighteenth century. The Jansenist theories imparted to it an ecclesiastical form and deportment; its activity was promoted by the necessities of governments, and by the events of the moment. In every country, and at all the courts, two parties were formed; one making war on the Curia, the accredited constitution and established doctrines of the time; while the other laboured to maintain things as they were, and to uphold the prerogatives of the universal Church.

The last was more particularly represented by the Jesuits; that order stood forth as the chief bulwark of the ultramontane principles, and it was against them that the storm was first directed.

The Jesuits were still very powerful in the eighteenth century, and, as in earlier times, their influence was chiefly attributable to the fact that they were still the confessors of princes and nobles, while they also conducted the education of youth. Their enterprises, whether religious or commercial, still comprehended the whole world within the scope of their views, though the former were no longer pursued with the energy of older times. They now adhered without wavering to the doctrines of ecclesiastical orthodoxy and subordination; whatever was in any manner opposed to

these, whether positive unbelief, Jansenist tenets, or theories of reform, were all included by the Jesuits in one common sentence of condemnation and anathema.

They were first attacked in the domain of opinion and of literature; and here it must be admitted that to the numbers and power of the assailants pressing round them, they opposed rather a persistent tenacity in opinions already adopted, an indirect influence with the great and a sweeping consignment of all their antagonists to perdition, than the fair weapons of intellectual warfare. It is almost incomprehensible that neither the Jesuits themselves, nor any of those allied with them in modes of belief, produced one single original and effective book in their defence, while the works of their opponents deluged the world, and fixed the character of public opinion.

But after they had thus been once defeated on the field of doctrine, science, and intellect, they found it impossible to maintain themselves in the possession of power and influence.

In the middle of the eighteenth century, and during the conflict of these two classes of opinion, reforming ministers were directing the helm of state in almost all Catholic countries. In France Choiseul,[1] in Spain Wall and Squillace, in Naples Tanucci, and in Portugal Carvalho, all men who had made it the leading thought of their lives to diminish the preponderance of the ecclesiastical element. In their persons the opposition to clerical ascendancy obtained representatives, and became powerful; their position depended on their adherence to it; and open hostility was all the more inevitable from the fact that the designs of these ministers were in continual danger of subversion from the personal efforts of the Jesuits to counteract them, and from the influence possessed by the order in the highest circles of the several kingdoms.

[1] In the appendix to the Mémoires of Madame du Hausset will be found an essay, "De la déstruction des Jésuites en France," wherein the aversion of Choiseul to the Jesuits is attributed to the fact that the general of the order had once given him to understand in Rome that he knew what had been said at a certain supper in Paris; but this is a story that has been repeated in various forms, and cannot be allowed much weight: the causes, doubtless, lay deeper than this would imply.

The first thought did not proceed to the length of annihilating the Society of Jesus; it was originally intended to do no more than remove them from the courts, to deprive them of their influence, and if possible of their riches. To secure these objects, it was even thought probable that the Roman court would lend its aid; for the schism by which the Catholic world was divided had made itself manifest under a certain form there also. A more rigid and a more tolerant party existed in the metropolis of Catholicism likewise; Benedict XIV, who represented the latter, had long been dissatisfied with the Jesuits, and had often loudly condemned their conduct, more particularly in regard to the missions.[1]

When Carvalho, in defiance of the turbulent factions dividing the Portuguese court, and in despite of the Jesuits who had earnestly sought to effect his downfall, had made himself absolute master, not only of the powers of the state, but of the king's will, he demanded a reform of the order from the pope.[2] He took the obvious course of putting prominently forward that point in the case which was most clearly open to censure—the mercantile direction taken by the society, by which moreover he was continually impeded in his projects for the promotion of the national commerce. The pope did not hesitate to proceed in the matter. The worldly eagerness and assiduity of the Jesuits in their secular occupations was an abomination to the pontiff; and at the suggestion of Carvalho, he committed the visitation of the order to Cardinal Saldanha, a Portuguese, and personal friend of the minister. In a short time this visitor published a decree, severely reprobating the commercial pursuits of the Jesuits, and empowering the royal authorities to confiscate all merchandise belonging to these ecclesiastics.

The society had, meanwhile, been attacked in France on the same account. The bankruptcy of a mercantile house in Martinique, with which Father Lavallette was in

[1] This he had done while Cardinal.—Mémoires du Père Norbert, ii. 20.

[2] On the Jesuit side, this conflict of factions has been described with extreme animation in a "History of the Jesuits in Portugal," translated from an Italian manuscript, by Murr.

connection, and which involved a large number of commercial dealers in its fall, gave occasion for those who had suffered by the failures to bring their complaints before the tribunals, and by these courts the affair was very zealously taken in hand.[1]

Had longer life been accorded to Benedict XIV, there is reason to suppose that although he would probably not have abolished the order, he would yet have subjected it gradually to a searching and complete reform. But at the critical moment he expired, and at the next conclave (July 6th, 1758) a man of opposite opinions, Clement XIII, was elected pope.

Clement was pure in soul and upright of purpose; he prayed much and fervently; his highest ambition was to obtain the glory of canonization. At the same time he held the conviction that all the claims of the papacy were sacred and inviolable, and lamented deeply that any one of them had ever been relinquished. He was resolved that no concession should be obtained from himself; nay, he lived in the persuasion that all might yet be regained, and the diminished splendour of Rome restored to its earlier glories by a steadfast and determined pertinacity.[2] In the Jesuits he beheld the most faithful defenders of the papal see and of religion; he approved of them as they were, and did not consider them in any need of reform. In all these modes of thinking he was confirmed by those of his immediate circle, who shared in his devotions.

We cannot affirm that Cardinal Torregiani, to whose hands the administration of the papal authority was principally consigned, was equally influenced by spiritual considerations. He had the reputation, on the contrary, of taking a personal interest in the farming of the papal revenues, and was said to be generally fond of power for its own sake. But would not motives and purposes even of this kind be forwarded and promoted by the maintenance of the order in

[1] Vie privée de Louis XV, iv. p. 88.

[2] Sammlung der merkwürdigsten Schriften, die Aufhebung der Jesuiten betreffend, 1773, i. p. 211. How decidedly public opinion was opposed to it, may be seen in Winckelmann's letters, among other places.

its utmost integrity? All the influence, all the riches, and all the authority for which the Jesuits were so profoundly detested by the jealous viceroys in America, and by the ambitious and power-seeking ministers of Europe, were finally laid by the Society of Jesus at the feet of the papal throne. Torregiani adopted their cause as his own, and by doing so he further increased the strength of his own position at court. The only man who might have been able to overthrow him, Rezzonico, nephew of the pontiff, would have feared to do so, lest by effecting his ruin he might cause injury to the church of God.[1]

But as matters now stood, the zeal evinced on behalf of the order could produce no other effect than that of further exasperating its assailants, and eventually attracting their animosity towards the Roman see itself.

In Portugal the Jesuits were implicated in the judicial investigations resulting from an attempt on the life of the king.[2] It is difficult to ascertain clearly whether they were

[1] Carattere di Clemente XIII e di varj altri personaggi di Roma, MS. in the British Museum, 8430: "La diffidenza che (il papa) ha di se medesimo e la soverchia umiliazione che lo deprime lo fa differire ai sentimenti altrui che sono per lo più o scioccbi o interessati o maligni. — — Chi lo dovrebbe scuotere non si move — — —." [The distrust that he feels of himself, and the excess of humility by which he is depressed, makes him defer to the opinions of others, who are, for the most part, either incapable, interested, or ill-intentioned. The person who ought to influence him never moves.]

[2] In the sentence given on the 12th of January, 1759, the point principally insisted on seems to be certain "legitimate suspicions" against "the perverse regular clergy of the Society of Jesus;" of these the most important are, their ambitious purpose of making themselves masters of the reins of government (§ 25); their arrogance previous to the criminal attempt, and their despondency after its failure (§ 26); finally, and certainly a far more serious charge, their intimate connection with the chief of the accused, Mascarenhas, with whom they had formerly been at variance. Father Casta was reported to have declared that a man who should murder the king "would not be guilty of even a venial sin" (§ 4). But, on the other side, it has been remarked that the confessions on which these statements were founded were extorted by the rack, and that the documents relating to the trial betray marks of undue haste, and are full of informalities. In a judicial point of view, the sentence certainly never can be justified. Compare Von Olfers on the attempt to assassinate the king of Portugal, 3rd Sept., 1758. Berlin, 1839. In a letter inserted by Smith in his Memoirs of the Marquis de Pombal, i. 287, Cardinal Acciajuoli is made to declare

guilty or not; but be this as it may, they were visited by one blow after another, and were finally driven from the kingdom with merciless violence, being transported directly to the coasts of the States of the Church.

In consequence of the lawsuit above mentioned, the Jesuits of France had, meanwhile, fallen into the power of the parliament, by which they had from the first been detested. The affair was treated with the utmost noise and publicity, and the whole order was at length condemned to fulfil the engagements of Lavallette. Nor was this all: the constitution of the society was again subjected to scrutiny, and the legality of its existence generally was called into question.

The points on which the decision of this affair turned are exceedingly remarkable and characteristic.

The charges more particularly pressed against the order were two; the persistent opposition it evinced towards the four Gallican propositions, and the unlimited powers of the general.

But the first of these accusations did not present an insurmountable obstacle. The general of the Jesuits was not opposed to the members of his order, being at least tacitly permitted to abstain from calling the four propositions in question; and, accordingly, we find that in the negotiations of the French clergy in 1761, they offered to regulate their expositions of doctrine in accordance with these very propositions.

But the case was wholly different with regard to the second objection.

The parliaments, a commission appointed by the king, and even the majority of the French bishops, who were assembled by Cardinal Luynes,[1] had unanimously decided that the obedience which the general, resident in Rome, was empowered to demand by the statutes of the order, was incompatible with the laws of the kingdom, and with the general duties of the subject to his sovereign.

expressly, on his return from Portugal, "that the Jesuits were undoubtedly the authors of the attempted assassination of H.M. Dom Joseph."

[1] St. Priest, Chute des Jésuites, p. 54.

It was not with the intention of destroying the order, but rather with the hope of saving it if possible from ruin, that the king caused proposals to be made to the general for the appointment of a vicar for France, who was to fix his residence in that country, and be pledged to render obedience to its laws.[1]

Had there been a man like Acquaviva at the head of the order, there is no doubt that some expedient would have been discovered, some compromise attempted, even at this moment. But the Jesuits had at that time a most inflexible chief in the person of Lorenzo Ricci, who felt nothing but the injustice that was done to his society. The point assailed appeared to him the most important of all, whether ecclesiastically or politically. His encyclical letters are still extant, and these prove the immeasurable value he conceived the duty of obedience, in all the rigour of its inculcation by Ignatius, to possess in its relation to personal discipline. But in addition to this, a suspicion was awakened in Rome that the sole object of the different kingdoms was to render themselves independent of the universal government of the Church; they thought this proposal to the general of the Jesuits had some secret connection with that design.

Ricci therefore replied, that so essential a change in the constitution was not within the limits of his power. Application was then made to the pope, and the answer of Clement XIII was, that this constitution had been so distinctly approved by the council of Trent, and confirmed by so many solemn edicts from his predecessors, that he could not venture to change it.[2] They rejected every kind of modification; Ricci's entire mode of thought was expressed in his words, "Sint ut sunt, aut non sint."

The result was, that they ceased to be. The parliament, which had now no further obstacle in its way, declared (August 6, 1762), that the institute of the Jesuits was opposed to all authority, spiritual and temporal, ecclesiastical and civil, and was designed with a view, first, to render

[1] Letter from Praslin, 16th Jan., 1762, in Flassan, Histoire de la Diplomatie Française, vi. 498. The whole account is very instructive.

[2] Narrative of the Jesuits in Wolf, Geschichte der Jesuiten, iii. 365. This book is useful only as regards the suppression of the order.

them entirely independent of such authority by means, secret and open, direct and indirect; and finally, even to favour their usurpation of the government: it therefore decreed that the order should be excluded from the kingdom, irrevocably and for ever. It is true that in a consistory the pontiff declared this decision to be null and void;[1] but things had already proceeded to such a length that he could not venture to publish the allocution in which this declaration was made.

And this movement against the order now extended through all countries subject to the rule of the house of Bourbon. Charles III of Spain became persuaded that it was one of the purposes of the Jesuits to raise his brother Don Luis to the throne in his place.[2] Thereupon, with that determined silence and secrecy which so frequently distinguished his proceedings, he caused every thing to be prepared; and in one and the same day, every house of the Jesuits throughout Spain was closed. In Naples and Parma this example was followed without delay.

The admonitions, entreaties, and adjurations of the pope, were altogether vain. At length he tried a different expedient. When the duke of Parma proceeded so far as even to forbid all recourse to the Roman tribunals, as well as all nomination of foreigners to the benefices of the duchy,

[1] "Potestatem ipsam Jesu Christi in terris vicario ejus unice tributam sibi temere arrogantes totius societatis compagem in Gallico regno dissolvunt," etc. This document is given in Daunou, ii. 207.

[2] Letter from the French ambassador, quoted in Lebret's History of the Bull "In coena Domini," iv. 205, from the Italian work, "Delle cagioni dell' espulsione de' Gesuiti." The extracts from the diplomatic correspondence in St. Pri st are unfortunately too incomplete to clear the matter up. A Relazione al conte di Firmian, 1767, 7 Apr. (MS. in the Brera) affirms that the Jesuits had some anticipation of what was approaching. "Non fu senza forte motivo che poco prima di detta espulsione dimandarono al re la confirma de' loro privilegi e del loro istituto, il che solamente in oggi si è saputo." [It was not without a powerful motive that they required of the king, but a short time before the said expulsion, a confirmation of their privileges and of their institute, a fact that has only been now made known.] They had removed their money and papers. But the advantage to the crown appeared so great to Charles III that when the affair was successfully completed, he exclaimed that he had conquered a new world.

the pope summoned courage for the publication of a monitorium, wherein he pronounced the ecclesiastical censures against the duke his vassal.[1] Once more he seized his spiritual weapons and attempted to defend himself by attacking his opponent. But the most disastrous consequences followed; the duke replied in a manner that the most powerful monarchs of earlier ages would not have dared to attempt, and the whole house of Bourbon made common cause with him. Avignon, Benevento, and Pontecorvo were immediately occupied by their forces.

The hostility of the Bourbon courts did not end here. From the persecution of the Jesuits, they proceeded to a direct attack on the Holy See. It was proposed to invade the States of the Church and starve Rome out.

To whom could the pope now turn for aid? Genoa, Modena, Venice—nay, all the Italian states—took part against him. Once more he directed his eyes towards Austria; he wrote to the empress, Maria Theresa, that she was his only consolation on earth; she would surely not permit his old age to be oppressed by violence.

The empress replied, as Urban VIII had once replied to the emperor Ferdinand, that the affair was one concerning state policy, not religion, and that she could not interfere without injustice.

The spirit of Clement was broken. In the beginning of the year 1769, the ambassadors of the Bourbon courts appeared one after another,—first the Neapolitan, next the Spanish, and finally the French—to demand the irrevocable suppression of the whole order.[2] The pope called a consistory for the 3rd of February, in which he seemed to purpose taking the matter at least into consideration; but he was not doomed to suffer so profound a humiliation. On the evening preceding the day on which that consistory was to assemble, he was seized by a convulsion, in which he expired.

The position assumed by the courts was too menacing, their influence too powerful, to allow of any idea of preventing them from ruling the succeeding conclave. They

[1] Botta, Storia d' Italia, tom. xiv. p. 147.

[2] Continuazione degli annali d' Italia di Muratori, xiv. i. p. 197.

could not fail to secure that the triple crown should be conferred on such a man as they required.

Of all the cardinals, Lorenzo Ganganelli was, without doubt, the mildest and most moderate. One of his masters had said of him in his youth, that it was no wonder if he loved music, seeing that every thing in his own character was harmony.[1] And thus he grew up in blameless companionship, retirement from the world, and solitary study, which led him more and more deeply into the mysteries of true theology. As he had turned from Aristotle to Plato, from whom he derived a more complete satisfaction of soul, so he passed from the schoolmen to the fathers of the Church, and from these to the holy scriptures, to which he clung with all the fervour of a mind convinced of the revelation of the Word, imbibing from them that silent, pure, and calm devotion, which sees God in every thing, and consecrates itself to the service of humanity. His religion was not zeal, persecution, desire of dominion, or polemical violence, but peace, humility, and internal union. These unceasing contentions of the papal see with the Catholic governments, by which the Church was convulsed to her centre, were the object of his utter abhorrence. His moderation did not proceed from weakness, nor from necessity;

[1] Aneddoti riguardanti la famiglia e l'opere di Clemente XIV, in the "Lettere ed altre Opere di Ganganelli," Firenze, 1829. As regards these short works and letters themselves, they may very possibly be interpolated; but in the main facts I believe them to be authentic, —first, because the defence of them in the "Ringratiamento dell' editore all' autore dell' anno literario" is, on the whole, natural and satisfactory, although previous to their publication an unjustifiable use had been made of them; secondly, because trustworthy men—as, for example, Cardinal Bernis, among others—have assured us that they had seen the originals. The real collector was the Florentine man of letters, Lami; and, according to a letter of the Abbé Bellegarde in Potter, Vie de Ricci, i. p. 328, those who possessed the originals and furnished the copies confirmed their authenticity; thirdly, because they bear the impress of originality, and have peculiar characteristics, which preserve their consistency in every circumstance and condition of life, such as no pretender could have fabricated: there is the living man to be seen in them. Least of all can these letters have proceeded from Caracciolo. One needs only to read his Vie de Clément XIV in order to be convinced how greatly inferior are his remarks to those of Clement XIV. Whatever of good is in the work reflects the spirit of Ganganelli.

it was the result of his unbiassed wishes and genial kindliness of heart.

Thus from the bosom of religion there proceeded a tone of thought which, however different in its origin from the worldly tendencies of courts, yet helped to corroborate them in certain of their effects.

The Roman Curia was divided, as we have remarked, like other courts, into two parties: the Zelanti, who laboured to maintain all ancient privileges in their integrity and full extent; and the Regalisti, or adherents of the crowns, who considered that the welfare of the Church must be sought in wise concessions to the civil power. The struggle in the conclave lasted long. Finally, it became evident to the Zelanti that the election of any of their candidates was impossible. It is easy to understand that, of their opponents, they should choose the one who was considered the most religious and the most guileless. By agreement between the two parties Ganganelli was elected as pope, May 9th, 1769. He assumed the name of Clement XIV, in honour of his predecessor; but he did not leave it for a moment in doubt that he represented diametrically opposite principles.

Ganganelli began by prohibiting the reading of the bull "In coena Domini;" the concessions which Benedict XIV had made to the king of Sardinia, and which his successors had refused to recognize, were still further extended; on the very day of his installation he announced that he would send a nuncio to Portugal; and he suspended the action of the monitorium issued against Parma. The various Catholic states demanded privileges, which were granted one by one, with slight modifications. The most important matter, however, which he had to settle was the question of the Jesuits. The adherents of the Jesuits asserted that Ganganelli had given a definite promise in the conclave to suppress the order; his election was the price of this pledge—his elevation had been polluted by the crime of simony. It is true that they were unable to produce any proof of this very serious accusation; but it cannot be denied that Ganganelli had expressed himself in such a manner as to lead the minister of the Bourbons to expect that he would act

according to their wishes.[1] He belonged to the order of the Franciscans, which had always been at war with the Jesuits, especially in the missions; he was, besides, a follower of the Augustinian and Thomist doctrines, which were entirely at variance with those of the Society of Jesus; nor was he altogether free from Jansenist opinions. And in the investigations which, as Pope, he instigated or caused to be instigated, most of the accusations so frequently brought against the order were found to be well grounded: interference in secular affairs; in ecclesiastical matters, discords and wrangling both with the regular and secular clergy; toleration of heathen customs in the missions; the inculcation of scandalous maxims generally; and the acquisition of great wealth, more particularly by commerce. For some time Clement XIV entertained the idea of settling the matter by means of a reform which would have consisted of forbidding all objectionable practices, and placing the order under the control of the local ecclesiastical authorities. Apparently the Bourbon powers were to be satisfied if their conduct was approved by the papal throne. The pope was afraid lest by suppressing the order he should come into conflict with the other Catholic powers. It gave him cause for reflection, when at the first partition of Poland a misunderstanding seemed unavoidable between France and Austria, which might have reacted upon this matter. As a matter of fact, however, not one of the other Catholic princes and states had at that time espoused the cause of the Jesuits. On the other hand, the king of Spain produced declarations from his clergy which entirely upheld him and his demands.

Against any enactment dealing with the order as a whole, the argument had often been advanced that the institute had been approved by the council of Trent; but when the commission examined the canon, it was found that there

[1] Bernis mentions in one of his despatches, "les espérances qu'il me donna dans les derniers jours du conclave de satisfaire les souverains sur l'affaire des Jésuites." — — "J'ai reconnu que le pape s'étoit encore moins enragé du côté d'Espagne, que du nôtre, et que nous n'avions d'autres ressources avec lui, que les espérances générales, qu'il m'avoit données dans le conclave." See Theiner, Histoire du pontificat de Clément XIV, i. 261.

was merely an allusion to the order and no direct ratification of it. Clement XIV had no doubt but that he had power to revoke, in his day, what one of the pontiffs preceding him had decreed in times of a different character; and although it is true that the decision cost him a severe struggle, and he was even led to believe that it might endanger his life, yet he felt convinced of what was repeatedly urged, namely, that the peace of the Church could be restored by no other means than the submersion of the society. The court of Spain was most especially pressing in its demands for the abolition of the order; the restitution of the occupied territories was not to be hoped for unless these demands were complied with.

On the 21st of July, 1773, the pope pronounced his decision: "Inspired, as we trust, by the Divine Spirit; impelled by the duty of restoring concord to the Church; convinced that the Society of Jesus can no longer effect those purposes for which it was founded; and moved by other reasons of prudence and state policy, which we retain concealed in our own breast, we do abolish and annul the Society of Jesus, its offices, houses, and institutions."[1]

This was a decision of immeasurable importance.

Firstly, in its relation to the Protestants. It was for the conflict with them that the institute was originally calculated. Even its system of doctrine was based principally on opposition to that of Calvin. And this was the character which the Jesuits had renewed and confirmed even at the close of the seventeenth century, during the persecutions of the Huguenots. But that conflict was now at an end; the most determined self-delusion could no longer hope to derive any essential effect from its revival. The non-Catholic countries had acquired an undeniable superiority in the great political relations of the world; and the Catholic states were now rather seeking an approximation to the Protestant potentates, than hoping to draw the latter within their own pale. And herein, as I think, lay the principal and most profound reason for the suppression of the order. It was an institution contrived for the purposes of war, and which, in

[1] Brief, "Dominus ac redemptor," Continuazione degli annali d'Italia di Muratori, tom. xiv. ii. p. 167.

a state of peace, was no longer in its place. Since, then, it would not yield a single hair's breadth of its constitution, and obstinately rejected all reform, greatly as this was needed on other grounds also, it may be said to have pronounced sentence on itself. It is a fact of the highest moment, that the papal see could not succeed in upholding an order which had been founded for the purpose of opposing the Protestants—that a pope deprived it of existence, by an act of his unbiassed will.

But this event produced its first and most immediate effect on the Catholic countries. The Jesuits had been assailed and overthrown, principally because they asserted the supremacy of the Roman see, in its most rigorous acceptation; thus, when the order was abandoned by the papacy, the latter resigned its previous rigid views of ascendancy by the same act, with all the consequences those views involved. The efforts of the opposition achieved an unquestionable victory. The annihilation at one blow, and without the slightest preparation, of the society which had made the education of youth its chief employment, and which had extended its operations over so wide a field, could not fail to convulse the world of Catholicism to its very foundations, even to the basis of society whereon the new generations are formed.[1] Since the outworks had been taken, a more vigorous assault of the victorious opinions on the central stronghold would inevitably follow. The commotion increased from day to day, the defection of men's minds took a constantly widening range, and what could be expected when the general ferment had made its way, even into Austria, that empire, of which the existence and the power were most closely associated with the results of Catholic efforts during the period of ecclesiastical restoration?

4. JOSEPH II

It was the ruling principle of Joseph II to combine all the powers of the monarchy, and to unite them without control in his own hand. It was thus impossible that he

[1] Montbarey, Mémoires, p. 225.

should approve or sanction the influence of Rome on his subjects, or be satisfied with the connection existing between them and the pontiffs. Whether his immediate circle presented a majority of Jansenists or infidels,[1]—for without doubt they made common cause here also, as in the attack on the Jesuits,—may be matter of question; but it is certain that the emperor waged incessant and exterminating war on all institutions professing a common object, and seeking to maintain the external unity of the Church. Of more than two thousand monasteries, he suffered only seven hundred to retain their existence. Of the congregations of nuns, those of the most immediate and obvious utility alone found favour at his hands; nay, even while sparing their existence, he forbade even these to hold intercourse with Rome. He considered papal dispensations as so much foreign merchandise, for which he would not permit money to be sent out of the country; and openly announced himself to be the administrator of all temporal affairs connected with the Church.[2]

It soon became obvious to the successor of Ganganelli (Pius VI), that the only means of restraining Joseph from proceeding to extreme measures, perhaps even with regard to doctrine, must now be sought in the impression he might hope to make on him in a personal interview; he therefore repaired to Vienna, where it would be too much to say that his mildness of manner, dignity of appearance, and grace of deportment, were altogether without influence.[3] Yet in all essential matters, the emperor continued his course without hesitation or respect of persons. Even the monastery wherein he had taken a solemn farewell of the pope, received intimation immediately afterwards that its suppression was determined on. Pius VI beheld himself finally compelled to resign to the emperor the nomination to episcopal sees, even to those situated in Italy.

[1] What Van Swieten believed must remain uncertain. But it is obvious that a very decided tendency to Jansenism existed in Vienna, as we find from the life of Fessler, among other things. Fessler's Ruckblicke auf seine siebzigjahrige Pilgerschaft, pp. 74, 78, and other passages. Compare Schlözer's Staatsanzeigen, ix. 33, p. 113.

[2] Compare "Die deutschen Mächte und der Fürstenbund," i. p. 67 (Sämtliche Werke, vol. 31/32, p. 51 ff.).

[3] Ibid., i. p. 76.

Thus did the conflict of the temporal power with the papacy extend itself, from the Austrian side also, into Italy. Leopold, who, so far as we can judge, was himself of Jansenist opinions, reformed the church of Tuscany, without any consideration for the papal see; while at no great distance from the capital of Christendom, the synod of Pistoia propounded, in its decrees, a complete manifesto of union between the Jansenist and Gallican principles; and Naples, which was in close alliance with this party, through the medium of Queen Caroline, obliterated the last remaining traces of feudal connection with the papal see.

On the German church, also, an indirect effect was produced by the measures of the emperor; the spiritual electors, after so long a period of friendly understanding with Rome, likewise placed themselves in opposition to her authority. They combined the interests of sovereign princes, desiring to put an end to the drain of money from their dominions, with those of spiritual dignitaries, labouring to restore their own authority.[1] According to the declaration of Ems,[2] which was "written," says a Roman prelate, "with a pen dipped in the gall of Paolo Sarpi," the Roman primate was, in future, to content himself with the rights accorded to him in the earliest ages of the Church.[3] The labours of the German canonists had admirably prepared the way for these proceedings of the electoral princes, and to these were now added the efforts of other learned jurists, by whom the entire fabric of the Catholic church in Germany was assailed, —the political power of the hierarchy in general, no less than its civil administration in particular.[4] An eager desire for innovation had seized on men of learning as well as on the laity at large: the inferior clergy opposed the bishops; the bishops were at strife with the archbishops, who, in their

[1] Compare the Coblentz Article of the year 1769, in the journal Deutsche Blätter für Protestanten und Katholiken. Heidelberg, 1839, Heft i. p. 39.

[2] Compare "Die deutschen Mächte und der Fürstenbund," i. p. 357.

[3] Bartolomeo Pacca, Memorie storiche sul di lui soggiorno in Germania, p. 33.

[4] Friedrich Carl von Moser, for example, on the government of the Ecclesiastical States in Germany, 1787. His principal proposition (p. 161) is, that "prince and bishop should again be separated."

turn, were at variance with the sovereign pontiff. In Germany, as elsewhere, all things gave evidence of approaching change.

5. THE REVOLUTION

But before this purpose of change could be realized,—before the Emperor Joseph had brought his reforms to completion, the most fearful explosion burst forth from the abyss of elements that had been fermenting in the bosom of France.

It is manifest that the event by which the character of modern times has been determined—the French revolution—was immeasurably promoted and contributed to by the antagonism of two hostile parties on every question touching religion,—by the incapacity of the dominant party to maintain itself on the field of opinion and literature, and by that general aversion which, not without having in some measure deserved it, this party had brought upon itself. The spirit of opposition, whose origin must be sought in the discords prevailing within the pale of Catholicism itself, had continually increased in force, and had become ever more firmly consolidated. Step by step it pressed constantly forward, and during the stormy period of the year 1789 it attained to the possession of power—a power which believed itself called on for the utter subversion of all established institutions and the creation of a new world. In the general overthrow, by which the most Christian monarchy was menaced, its ecclesiastical constitution was necessarily subjected to the most violent convulsions.

All things concurred to the production of one and the same result,—financial embarrassment, interests of individuals and of municipalities, with indifference or hatred to the existing religion; finally, the proposal made, and by a member of the higher clergy, to acknowledge the right of the nation, that is, of the secular power, but more particularly of the National Assembly, to dispose of ecclesiastical property. Up to this period that property had been regarded, not as the special possession of the French church

alone, but as belonging to the Church universal, and as requiring the assent of the sovereign pontiff for its alienation. But how far remote were the times and the ideas in which convictions of that character had originated! Now, but a short debate was entered into before the Assembly assumed itself to possess the right of legislation concerning all Church lands—the power, that is, of absolute alienation, and with an authority more unconditional than had been contemplated by the first proposition. Neither was it possible that these measures should stop at the point thus attained. Since by the sequestration of Church property, which was carried into effect without delay, the continued subsistence of the established order of things was rendered impossible, it became needful at once to proceed to new arrangements; and this was effected by the Civil Constitution of the Clergy. The principle of the revolutionized state was extended to ecclesiastical affairs.[1] Priests were no longer to be installed as prescribed by the concordat, but to be chosen by popular election, and a salary from the government was substituted for the independence conferred by the possession of real estates. The disposition of all the dioceses was changed, the religious orders were suppressed, vows were dissolved, all connection with Rome was interrupted; even the reception of a brief was now regarded as one of the most criminal offences. The attempt of a Carthusian to maintain the sole and absolute supremacy of the Catholic religion had no other effect than that of accelerating these edicts. The whole body of the clergy was compelled to affirm its adhesion to these resolutions by a solemn oath.

It is not to be denied that this order of things was completed with the co-operation of the French Jansenists, and the approval of those holding Jansenist opinions in other countries. They saw with pleasure, that the power of Babel, as in their hatred they called the Roman Curia, had suffered so grievous a blow, and that the clergy, at whose hands they

[1] This was done quite systematically, and in accordance with the tenets of the older Church historians. "Tota ecclesiarum distributio ad formam imperii facta est."—Camus, Opinion sur le projet de constitution du clergé, 31 Mai, 1790.

had endured so many persecutions, were overthrown. Even their theoretical convictions were in accordance with this state of things, for they maintained that "by depriving the clergy of their wealth, the members of the body were compelled to seek for the acquirement of real merit."[1]

The Roman court still flattered itself for a moment that these movements would be arrested by an internal reaction, and the pope neglected nothing that might tend to the promotion of that event. He rejected the new constitution, passed censure on the bishops who had given in their adhesion to it, laboured to confirm, by exhortations and praises, the opposition of the still numerous party which had assumed an attitude of resistance, and finally pronounced the ban of the Church against the most influential and distinguished members of the constitutional clergy.

But all these efforts were now vain; the revolutionary tendencies maintained their ground: the civil war which had been kindled principally by the fervour of religious impulse, resulted in the advantage of the innovators and their new arrangements. And well would it have been for the pope had the matter rested there,—had France aimed at nothing more than separation from Rome.

But the general war by which the whole aspect of European affairs was to be so entirely changed, had meanwhile burst forth in all its violence.

With the irresistible fury, compounded of enthusiasm, rapacity, and terror, which had been displayed in the internal conflict, the torrent of revolutionary forces rushed beyond the French confines, and poured itself over the neighbouring countries.

All that came within its influence was now brought into a state analogous to its own. Belgium, Holland, the Upper Rhineland of Germany, where the ecclesiastical constitution had its principal seat, all were revolutionized; the campaign of 1796 secured the mastery of Italy to the new form of

[1] Letters from Gianni and certain other abbés in Potter, Vie de Ricci, ii. p. 315. In Wolf, Geschichte der katholischen Kirche unter Pius VI, there is a chapter, book vii. p. 32, on the part taken by the Jansenists in the arrangement of the new constitution; but the subject is not very forcibly treated.

things. Revolutionary states arose in all directions; the pope was already threatened by them, not only in his territories, but in his capital also.

Without having taken what could be called an active part, the pontiff had yet ranged himself on the side of the Coalition, though using his spiritual weapons only; but it was in vain that he sought to gain advantage from this neutrality.[1] His states were invaded, his people incited to revolt, exorbitant contributions, such as he found it impracticable to raise, were imposed on him, and concessions were extorted from him to an extent never demanded from any of his predecessors.[2] Neither were these the sum of the evils inflicted on his head. The pope was not an enemy like any other; he had found courage, even during the war, to reprobate the Jansenist and Gallican doctrines of Pistoia by the bull "Autorem fidei." The unyielding attitude he maintained, and the condemnatory briefs he published, had produced and continued to exercise a powerful effect on the internal economy of France. The French, therefore, now demanded as the price of peace his revocation of these edicts, and an acknowledgment of the civil constitution.

But to compliance with these exactions Pius VI was not to be moved; acquiescence would have seemed to him a departure from the very principle of the faith—an act of treason to his office. His reply to these proposals[3] was, that "after having implored the assistance of God, and inspired, as he believed, by the Holy Spirit, he refused to accede to those conditions."

For a moment the revolutionary authorities seemed to acquiesce in this decision; a compact was formed even

[1] Authentische Geschichte des französischen Revolutionskrieges in Italien, 1797. The pope had affirmed that religion forbade a resistance by which the shedding of blood would be occasioned.

[2] In the Mémoires historiques et philosophiques sur Pie VI et son Pontificat, tom. ii., the losses of the Roman states are computed at 220 million livres.

[3] Memoria diretta al Principe della Pace, in Tavanti, Fasti di Pio VI, tom. iii. p. 335: "S. Santità rimase stordita, veggendo che si cercava di traviare la sua conscienzia per dare un colpo il piu funesto alla religione."

without these concessions, but it was only for a moment. From the purpose of separating themselves from the pope, they advanced to the idea of directly annihilating him. The Directory found the rule of priests in Italy incompatible with its own. At the first pretext, afforded by a mere accidental commotion among the populace, Rome was invaded, and the Vatican occupied by the French. Pius VI entreated his enemies to let him die where he had lived: he was already eighty years old. They replied that he could die anywhere. The room he was seated in was plundered before his eyes; they deprived him of even the trifles required for his personal comfort, and drew the ring he wore from his finger: finally, they took him to France, where he died in the month of August, 1799.

It might, in fact, have now seemed that the papal power had been brought to a final close. The spirit of enmity to the Church of which we have perceived the birth and progress, had now attained a degree of strength that might well embolden it to aim at securing such a result.

6. TIMES OF NAPOLEON

But succeeding events effectually prevented the realization of any such purpose.

One of the most immediate consequences of the hostility experienced by the papal see at the hands of the revolutionary governments was, that the remaining powers of Europe, whatever might be their general dispositions towards the papacy, now took it under their protection. The death of Pius VI occurred precisely at a time when the Coalition had again achieved the victory. It was thus rendered possible for the cardinals to assemble in the church of San Giorgio at Venice, and proceed to the election of a pope (Pius VII, chosen 13 March, 1800).

It is true that the revolutionary power was soon afterwards again triumphant, and obtained a decided preponderance even in Italy. But at this time that power itself had

undergone a material change. After so many metamorphoses, effected amidst the storms of that momentous period, it assumed a direction towards monarchy. A ruler appeared who was filled with the idea of a new universal empire; beholding the general destruction and ruin prevailing, and profiting by his experience obtained in the East, he had arrived at the conclusion, which is the principal matter for our present consideration, that to secure his end, besides many other institutions of older states, unity of religion and hierarchical subordination were imperatively required.

Even on the very battle-field of Marengo, Napoleon deputed the bishop of Vercelli to enter into negotiations with the pope, in regard to the re-establishment of the Catholic church.

This was a proposal in which there was doubtless much to allure and tempt, but it also involved much that was dangerous. It was manifest that the restoration of the Catholic church in France, and its connection with the pope, could be purchased only by extraordinary concessions.

To these Pius VII resolved to submit. He assented to the alienation of Church property, a loss of four hundred million francs in real estates,—being influenced to this, according to his own declaration, by the conviction that his refusal would occasion new outbreaks of violence, and feeling disposed to yield on all points, where he could do so without offence to religion. He acquiesced in a new organization of the French clergy, who were to be paid and nominated solely by the government, and was content to receive the restoration of the right to grant canonical institution, without limitation of the right of veto, and to the same extent as enjoyed by earlier popes.[1]

There now followed what a short time before could by no means have been expected,—the restoration of Catholicism in France, and the renewed subjection of that country to ecclesiastical authority. The pope was transported with joy, "that the churches were purified from profanation, the

[1] Lettera Apostolica in forma di breve, in Pistolesi, Vita di Pio VII, tom. i. p. 143, with a complete collation of the variations exhibited in this document as published in France.

altars raised anew, the banner of the cross once more unfurled, legitimate pastors set over the people, and so many souls that had strayed from the right way, restored to the unity of the Church, and reconciled to themselves and to God." "How many causes," he exclaimed, "for rejoicing and thankfulness!"

But could it be reasonably concluded that by the concordat of 1801, a close and cordial alliance was indeed and at once effected between the ancient spiritual power and the new revolutionary state?

Concessions were made on both sides; but in despite of these each party remained firmly adherent to its own principles.

It was by the restorer of the Catholic church in France that, immediately afterwards, the most efficient aid was contributed towards the destruction of the German church. The complete and final ruin of that stately fabric was attributable chiefly to his agency: the transfer of its possessions and sovereign powers to secular princes, indifferent whether Catholic or Protestant, was effected by his means. Inexpressible was the astonishment and confusion occasioned to the Roman court by these events. "According to the old decretals, heresy had entailed the loss of property, but the Church must now endure to see its own possessions parcelled out among heretics."[1]

And meanwhile a concordat of similar spirit to that with France was also prepared for Italy. There, too, the pope was called on to sanction the sale of ecclesiastical property, and resign the nomination to benefices to the temporal power; nay, there were so many new restrictive clauses, all for the advantage of one side, annexed to this agreement, that Pius VII refused to publish it in the form proposed.[2]

But it was in France itself that Napoleon most effectually asserted the claims of the civil power in opposition to those of the Church. He regarded the declaration of 1682 as a fundamental law of the realm, and caused it to be expounded

[1] Instructions to a nuncio at Vienna, unfortunately without date, but probably of 1803, in Daunou, Essai ii. p. 318.

[2] Coppi, Annali d'Italia, tom. iii. p. 120.

in the schools. He would permit no vows, and would suffer no monks. The ordinances of his civil code with relation to marriage were altogether at variance with the Catholic principle of the sacramental significance of that rite: the organic articles which from the very first he appended to the concordat, were constructed in a spirit essentially adverse to Rome.

When the pope, notwithstanding all these things, resolved to cross the Alps at the emperor's request, and give the spiritual sanction of the holy oil to his coronation, he was influenced to do so by the hope he entertained, however little this was countenanced by the aspect and conduct of France, "that he might effect something for the advantage of the Catholic church, and complete the work he had commenced."[1] Pius herein relied much on the effect of personal intercourse: he took with him the letter of Louis XIV to Innocent XII, for the purpose of convincing Napoleon that the declaration of 1682 had already been abandoned even by that sovereign. In the first remonstrance, therefore, drawn up in Italian, that he presented in Paris, he formally contested that declaration, and endeavoured to release the new concordat from the limitations of the organic articles.[2] Nay, his views and expectations went still further: in a minutely-detailed memorial, he made manifest the exigencies of the pontificate, and enumerated the losses it had sustained during the fifty years preceding. He exhorted the emperor to follow the example of Charlemagne and restore the territories which had been occupied, to the possession of the Church.[3] So highly did he estimate the value of the service that he had rendered to the revolutionary monarchy.

But how completely did he find himself deceived! Even

[1] Allocutio habita in consistorio secreto, 29 Oct., 1804. Pistolesi gives the Italian version, Vita di Pio VII, tom. i. p. 193.

[2] Extrait du Rapport de M. Portalis, in Artaud, Pie VII, tom. ii. p. 11.

[3] Printed in Artaud, p. 31. Compare Napoleon's letter of the 22nd July, 1807. "Le pape s'est donné la peine de venir à mon couronnement. J'ai reconnu dans cette démarche un saint prélat; mais il voulait que je lui cédasse les légations." In Bignon, Histoire de France sous Napoléon, Deuxième époque, i. p. 158.

during the ceremony of the coronation, a shade of melancholy was observed to cross his countenance. Of all that he desired and contemplated he did not obtain the smallest portion, either at that time or subsequently; nay, it was rather at this very moment that the designs of the emperor were first revealed in their whole extent.

The Constituent Assembly had laboured to detach itself from the pope; the Directory had desired to annihilate him. Bonaparte's idea was to preserve his existence, but at the same time to subjugate him completely to his purposes —to make him the mere instrument of his own unlimited power.

He caused proposals to be made, even at that time, to the pope, if we are rightly informed, that he should remain in France and fix his residence either at Avignon or Paris.

To these the pope is said to have replied, that to provide for the contingency of his being imprisoned he had executed an abdication in all due form, and had deposited that act in Palermo, beyond the reach of the French decrees.

There was at that moment no place where the pope could have found effectual shelter or protection, but one that was under the dominion of the British navy.

It is true that the pontiff was permitted to return to Rome, and was suffered to retain a seeming possession of his previous independence, but there instantly commenced a series of the most perplexing misunderstandings.

Napoleon very soon declared without circumlocution that, like his predecessors of the second and third dynasties, he was the eldest son of the Church, who bore the sword for her protection, and could not endure that she should remain associated with heretics or schismatics, as were the English and Russians. He was particularly desirous of being considered as the successor and representative of Charlemagne; but the consequences that he deduced from that assumption were altogether different from those contemplated by the Roman court. Napoleon assumed that the States and the Church were a gift from Charlemagne to the pope, but that from this circumstance the pontiff was placed under the obligation of never separating his policy from that

of the empire; he was, moreover, resolved not to suffer him to do so.[1]

The pope was amazed at the demand that he should consider the antagonists of another as his own enemies; he replied, that he was the universal pastor, the father of all, the servant of peace, and that the very mention of such a demand inspired him with horror. "It was his part to be Aaron, the prophet of God—not Ishmael, whose hand was against every man, and every man's hand against him."

But Napoleon proceeded directly forwards to his purpose; he caused Ancona and Urbino to be occupied, and on the rejection of his ultimatum, wherein he claimed, among other concessions, the acknowledgment of his right to nominate one-third of the cardinals, he marched his troops on Rome. The cardinals, whom he did not find sufficiently pliable, were dismissed; the pope's secretary of state was twice changed; but as all this produced no effect on Pius VII, even his person was at length assailed; he, too, was torn from his palace and capital. A decree of the senate (senatus consultum) then pronounced the union of the Ecclesiastical States with the French empire. The temporal sovereignty was declared incompatible with the exercise of spiritual prerogatives; the pope was for the future to be formally pledged to the four Gallican articles; he was to derive his revenues from real estates, very nearly as might a feudal vassal of the empire, while the state assumed to itself the arrangement of all expenditure as regarded the college of cardinals.[2]

[1] Schöll, Archives historiques et politiques, Paris, 1819, has given in his second and third volumes, a "Précis des contestations qui ont eu lieu entre le saint siége et Napoléon Bonaparte, accompagné d'un grand nombre de pièces officielles." The correspondence, which is here communicated in its full extent, is continued from 13th Nov., 1805, to 17th May, 1808. Yet we meet in Bignon, Histoire de France depuis la paix de Tilsit, 1838, tom. i. ch. iii. p. 125, such passages as the following: "Les publications faites depuis 1815 ne se composent guère que de pièces dont la date commence en 1808." And again: "Jusqu'à présent son caractère (de Pie VII) n'est pas suffisamment connu. On ne le connoîtra bien qu'en l'appréciant d'après ses actes." But, in point of fact, these "acts" were already well known. The documents given by Schöll have received but slight additions from Bignon.

[2] Thibaudeau, Histoire de la France et de Napoléon; Empire, tom. v. 221.

It is manifest that this was a plan by which the united powers of the Church, spiritual and temporal, would have been subjected to the empire, and the entire government of the hierarchy placed, at least indirectly, in the hands of the emperor.

But by what means would it be possible to secure what was yet, without doubt, indispensable,—the consent of the pope to this degradation? Pius VII had availed himself of his last moments of freedom to pronounce a sentence of excommunication. He refused canonical institution to the bishops appointed by the emperor; nor was Napoleon so absolutely master of his clergy but that he felt the consequences of this ban, first from one part of the empire, and then from another, as also, and more particularly, from the side of Germany.

The effects of this very opposition, however, finally served to overcome the pontiff's resolution. Its results were far more severely felt by the spiritual sovereign, whose sympathies were all for the internal state of the Church, than by the temporal ruler, to whom even spiritual things were but as instruments of his power, in themselves altogether indifferent.

In Savona, to which city the pope had been carried, he was alone, left to his own resources, and without any adviser. By the earnest and almost extravagant representations made to him, of the distractions and perplexities occasioned to the Church by his refusal to grant institution, the worthy old man was at length prevailed on, though not without bitter grief, and after violent conflicts with himself, to resolve on the virtual renunciation of this right; for in what other light could this act be regarded, since he was induced to consent that the power of granting institution should devolve on the metropolitan, in every case when he should himself defer to exercise it during a longer period than six months, for any other reason than personal unworthiness? But he herein renounced the right which really constituted his last remaining weapon of defence.

Nor was even this all that was required of him. He was hurried to Fontainebleau with an impatient and reckless speed, by which his physical infirmities were painfully

aggravated; and when arrived there, was assailed by repeated importunities, and pressed with the most urgent demand that he should completely restore the peace of the Church. By these means he was at length effectually wrought on to comply; the remaining points were finally conceded—even those most decisive. He submitted to reside in France, and acquiesced in the most essential provisions of the senatus consultum before mentioned. The concordat of Fontainebleau (25th January, 1813) was arranged on the understanding that he should no more return to Rome.[1]

Thus, what no previous Catholic prince had even ventured seriously to contemplate, the autocrat of the revolution had now actually accomplished. The pope agreed to render himself subject to the French empire. His authority would have become an instrument in the hands of the new dynasty, to all times. By this it would have been enabled to secure the obedience of its own territories, and to confirm in relations of dependence, those Catholic states which it had not yet subdued. The papacy would, to this extent, have returned to the position which it held with regard to the emperors, when those monarchs were in the plenitude of their power—more especially under Henry III; but it would have been subjected to much heavier bonds. In the power by which the pope was now over-mastered, there was something that directly contradicted the essential principle of the Church. It was in effect no other than a second metamorphosis of the spirit of opposition to ecclesiastical influences, which had made itself manifest in the eighteenth century, and which involved so determined a disposition to positive infidelity. To this malignantly hostile power, the papacy would have been subjected, and placed in a state of vassalage.

Yet, on this occasion, as on others, affairs were not destined to proceed to such an extremity.

[1] Bartolomeo Pacca: Memorie storiche del ministero de' due viaggi in Francia, etc., p. 323. Historisch-politische Zeitschrift, i. iv. 642 (Sämtliche Werke, vols. 40/41, p. 46).

7. THE RESTORATION

The empire, of which it was intended that the pope should constitute the hierarchical centre, was still engaged in doubtful warfare with unconquerable enemies. In the solitude of his captivity, the pontiff received no accurate intelligence relating to the vicissitudes of the conflict. Even at the moment, when, after so long a resistance, he finally yielded, Napoleon had already failed in his last and greatest enterprise against Russia, and by the long train of consequences inevitably resulting from that overthrow, his power was shaken to its utmost depths. Already the almost extinct hope of regaining her freedom, was awakened in the bosom of Europe. When the pope, to whom, after his submission, some few cardinals were suffered to return, was made acquainted with this state of things, he also felt his confidence revive; he could now breathe again. Every advantage gained by the Allied Powers, he felt to be a step taken for his deliverance—an act of liberation for himself.

When Prussia rose—immediately after the king's call to arms—Pius VII summoned courage to revoke the concordat. When the congress assembled at Prague, he ventured to cast his eyes beyond the boundaries of the empire that held him captive, and to remind the emperor of Austria of his rights. After the battle of Leipzig, he had regained confidence to such an extent as at once to reject the proposals then made to him for the restoration of a part of his territories. And when the Allies had crossed the Rhine, he declared that he would negotiate no further, until he should be completely reinstated in his dominions. Events then followed with the utmost rapidity. When the Allies took possession of Paris, the pope had already reached the frontiers of the States of the Church, and on the 24th May, 1814, he made his entry into Rome. The world then entered upon a new age; and a new era also began for the Roman see.

The period that has since elapsed has derived its character and tenor principally from the conflict between

those revolutionary tendencies, still maintaining so powerful a hold on the minds of men, and the ideas to which the older states returned with redoubled earnestness after their victory, as to their original and primitive bases. In this conflict, it is manifest that the supreme head of the Catholic church could not fail to assume an important position.

The most immediate support of the papacy was the idea of secular legitimacy, and it is to be observed that this support was offered with even more determination from the side of its opponents in faith, than from that of its adherents and the followers of its creed.

It was by the victory of the four great allied powers, three of which were non-Catholic, over the ruler, who had thought to make his capital the centre of Catholicism, that the pope was restored to freedom and enabled to return to Rome. It was to the three non-Catholic monarchs alone, at that time assembled in London, that the pope first submitted his desire to recover the entire States of the Church. How often, in earlier times, had every resource of those states been strained to effect the destruction of Protestantism, whether in England or in Germany, and for the extension of Roman Catholic doctrines over Russia or Scandinavia! Yet it was now almost entirely by the intervention of these non-Catholic powers, that the pope was to regain possession of his states. In the allocution, in which Pius VII communicated the fortunate result of his negotiations to the cardinals, he expressly refers to and extols the services of those sovereigns "who do not belong to the Catholic church, the emperor of Russia, by whom his rights were considered with particular attention, the king of Sweden, the prince regent of England, and the king of Prussia, who had declared himself in his favour throughout the whole course of the negotiations."[1] Differences of creed were for the moment forgotten, political interests only were taken into consideration.

[1] "Nè possiamo non fare un gran conto dei meriti verso di noi di Federigo (Gugl.) re di Prussia, il cui impegno fu constantemente in nostro favore nel decorso tutto delle trattative de' nostri affari." Allocution of the 4th Sept., 1815, in Pistolesi, Vita di Pio VII, ii. p. 144.

We have previously had occasion to remark the existence of similar tendencies, during the last century and a half. We have seen from what states Innocent XI received support and assistance in his conflicts with Louis XIV. When the Jesuits were doomed to destruction by the Bourbon courts, they found shelter in the north, and were protected by Russia and Prussia. When these courts took possession of Avignon and Benevento, in the year 1758, that step was the cause of a political commotion in England. But this relation of parties has, at no time, displayed itself in a manner more remarkable than on the occasion which we are here contemplating.

And now that the pope had once more acquired a free and independent position among the sovereigns of Europe, he could devote his undisturbed attention to the revival and recovery of spiritual obedience. One of the first acts, by which he distinguished his return to the administration of his office, was the solemn reinstatement of the Jesuits. On Sunday, the 7th August, 1814, the pontiff himself said mass in the church del Gesù, and before the altar of Ignatius Loyola; he then heard a second mass, and immediately afterwards caused a bull to be promulgated, wherein he empowered the yet surviving members of the Society of Jesus again to regulate their lives according to the rule of their founder, to receive novices, establish houses and colleges, and once more devote themselves to the service of the Church, by preaching, confession, and instruction. "On the stormy sea," he further remarked, "when at every moment threatened by death and shipwreck, he should violate his duty by declining the aid of powerful and experienced mariners, who offered themselves for his assistance."[1] He restored to them whatever portions of their former property yet remained, and promised them indemnification for what had been irrecoverably alienated. He entreated all temporal and spiritual powers to grant their favour to the order, and consent to promote its interests. It was manifest that he hoped to exercise his spiritual authority, not within the restrictions imposed on it in the latter part of the eighteenth century, but rather in the spirit

[1] Bull, "Sollicitudo omnium ecclesiarum."

of his earlier predecessors. And how, indeed, could he ever have found a more favourable or more inviting moment for that purpose? The temporal powers of Southern Europe, just restored to their possessions, were now, as it were, repentant of their former refractory and insubordinate proceedings; they believed that thereby they had unchained the spirit by which they had themselves been overthrown. They now considered the pope as their natural ally, and, by the aid of the spiritual influence, they hoped the more easily to subdue those domestic enemies by whom they saw themselves surrounded. The king of Spain recalled to his mind the fact that he bore the title of the "Catholic King," and declared that he would deserve it. The Jesuits, whom his father had so jealously banished, he recalled to his kingdom; he re-established the tribunal of the nuncio, and edicts of the grand inquisitor were once more published in the country. In Sardinia, new bishoprics were founded, and monasteries were restored in Tuscany. After some show of resistance, Naples also assented to a concordat, by which a very effective and immediate influence over the clergy of that kingdom was accorded to the Roman Curia. In France, meanwhile, the Chamber of 1815 considered the welfare of the nation to depend on the re-establishment of the ancient French church, "that work," as one of the speakers expressed himself, "of heaven, of time, of kings, and of forefathers." But the question really at issue was respecting the necessity of restoring to the clergy their practical influence on the state, the communes, families, public life, and public education;—not a word was now said of those liberties which the Gallican church had either possessed or expressly attributed to itself. By the new concordat then projected, it would have been submitted to a degree of dependence on Rome more absolute than had been known at any former period.

But it was not in the nature of things, that such decisive action should at once achieve the victory over the spirit of the Romance nations, which had been developed amidst views and tendencies so entirely opposite. The old antipathies to the hierarchy burst forth in France with loud cries of war against the new concordat. The legislative

power of that country was constituted in such a manner as to render the execution of the plans formed in 1815 altogether impossible. A reaction not less violent was excited in Spain, by the cruel and tyrannous government of Ferdinand: a revolution broke out, which, while immediately directed against the absolute power assumed by the king, who could offer it no resistance, evinced at the same time a decided tendency to oppose the claims of the clergy. One of the first acts of the new cortes was the renewed expulsion of the Jesuits; an edict soon followed, commanding the suppression of all religious orders, with the sequestration of their property, and its immediate application to the payment of the national debt. Movements of a similar character instantly took place in Italy: they extended into the States of the Church, which were filled with analogous elements of discord; and at one time, the Carbonari had even fixed the day for a general insurrection throughout the ecclesiastical dominions.

But the restored sovereigns once more received support and assistance from the great powers by whom the late victories had been obtained, and the revolutions were suppressed. It is true that on this occasion the non-Catholic states took no immediate part in the repression of the commotions, but it was not opposed by any, and by some it was approved.

And Catholicism had, meanwhile, received a new organization even in the non-Catholic countries. The opinion that positive religion, of whatever confession or form, was the best support and guarantee of civil obedience, universally prevailed: In all countries measures were carefully taken for the rearrangement of dioceses, the foundations of bishoprics and archbishoprics, and the establishment of Catholic seminaries and schools. How entirely different was the aspect now assumed by the ecclesiastical system of Catholicism in those provinces of Prussia which had been incorporated into the French empire, from that which it had exhibited under the rule of France! The attempts occasionally made in different places to oppose resistance to the ancient ordinances of the Roman church, found no support from the Protestant states; but, on the other hand,

the Roman court concluded treaties with Protestant as well as Catholic governments, and perceived the necessity of acknowledging their influence in the selection of bishops; nay, that influence was, in fact, sometimes employed for the promotion of those men who were most zealous in ecclesiastical affairs, to the highest offices. There seemed to be evidence that the conflict respecting creeds was altogether set at rest in the higher regions of politics, while it was perceived to be continually losing its violence in civil life and gradually ceasing to exist. A recognition was now accorded by Protestant literature to ancient Catholic institutions, which would have been found utterly impossible in earlier times.

In cases, nevertheless, in which the rigid principle of Catholicism which identifies itself with, and is represented by Rome, became involved in conflicts with the Protestant civil powers, it gained at first the upper hand.

In the year 1829 it obtained a great victory in England. During the wars of the revolution the government of England, which for a century had been exclusively Protestant, had made certain approaches to the Roman see. It was under the auspices of those victories obtained by the Coalition in 1799, and in which England took so conspicuous a part, that Pius VII was elected. We have previously remarked, that subsequently also this pontiff sought and found support from the might of England, and could not resolve on adopting any measure of hostility against that country. In England, in like manner, it was considered no longer so needful to exclude men from rights that were strictly political, on account of their spiritual relations with the pope. This had already been felt and expressed by Pitt:[1] yet, as might be expected, every change

[1] "Mr. Pitt is convinced," he observes in his letter to George III, 31st Jan., 1800, "that the grounds on which the laws on exclusion now remaining were founded, having long been narrowed,—that those principles, formerly held by the Catholics, which made them be considered as politically dangerous, have been for a course of time gradually declining,—that the political circumstances under which the exclusive laws originated, arising from the conflicting power of hostile and nearly balanced sects, . . . and a division in Europe between

in the habit of adhering firmly to the tried principles of the constitution, long experienced unconquerable opposition. Finally, however, the spirit of the age, which was adverse to all exclusive privileges, asserted its influence effectively on this question also: matters standing thus, acts of lawlessness and turbulence, with combinations, religious and political, gave such manifest tokens of a refractory spirit in the pre-eminently Catholic Ireland, that the great general by whom so many foes had been victoriously withstood, and in whose hands the government was then placed, was reduced to the declaration that he could no longer conduct affairs unless the concessions demanded were accorded. Those oaths of office by which alone the Protestant interest had believed its safety secured, in the times of the Restoration and Revolution in England, were accordingly repealed or modified. How often had Lord Liverpool previously declared, that if this measure were carried, England would no longer be a Protestant state; that if no important consequences should immediately follow, still it was not possible to foresee the results that might arise from it at some future time.[1] Yet the measure was adopted—the consequences were hazarded.

And a still more brilliant and more unexpected triumph was immediately afterwards achieved in Belgium.

In the kingdom of the Netherlands there had been evidence of animosity between the north and south, even from the first moments of its foundation; this feeling became so violent as to menace a rending asunder of the kingdom, and from the first had been exhibited most obviously in ecclesiastical affairs. The Protestant king adopted the ideas of Joseph II; under their influence he established higher and lower schools, and for the most part administered his share of the ecclesiastical government with

Catholic and Protestant powers, are no longer applicable to the present state of things."

[1] Speech of Lord Liverpool, 17th May, 1825. "Where was the danger of having a popish king or a popish chancellor, if all the other executive officers might acknowledge the pope? . . . It was said that a Catholic might be prime minister, and have the whole patronage of the Church and State at his disposal. . . . If the bill were to pass, Great Britain would be no longer a Protestant state."

the same views. The opposition founded educational institutions in a totally different spirit, and applied itself with deliberate intention to promote the most decided hierarchical principles. A liberal Catholic party was formed, which, taking its position here, as in England, on the universal rights of man, advanced daily to pretensions of higher importance; it first extorted concessions, liberation, for example, from the above-mentioned schools; and, ultimately, when the favourable moment presented itself, entirely threw off the detested dominion, and succeeded in founding a kingdom, in which priests have once more attained to high political importance. It was by the most decidedly liberal ideas that their triumph was most effectually promoted. The low qualification by which the inferior classes both in town and country are admitted to participation in public affairs, enabled the priesthood, who readily obtain influence over those classes, to control the elections; by means of the elections they rule the Chambers, and by the Chambers they govern the kingdom. They are to be seen on the public promenades in Brussels as in Rome; well-fed and full of pretension, they enjoy their triumph.

In neither of these events did the Roman court, so far as we know, assume an immediate or directing part, however advantageous they have obviously proved to its authority; but in a third, on the contrary, that of the dispute between Church and State in Prussia, the papacy actively interfered. The tendencies of the Protestant civil power and of the Catholic hierarchy, which seemed in some sort to have coalesced after the restoration, but which had subsequently, and for some time, again become estranged, now adopted the most opposite courses, and separating systematically, and with full purpose, became engaged in a contest which justly attracted the attention of the world. In spite of negotiations, as the outcome of which a favourable settlement might have been foretold, the pope, holding fast to the idea of exclusive orthodoxy, placed himself in opposition to an ordinance of the king, which was intended to regulate the family relations of the mixed population, from a religious point of view. In Germany itself the pope found willing instruments and powerful support.

Under the care of a prince, who allowed full recognition to religious conviction, even when it took a form of which he did not approve, a settlement was arrived at which accorded freedom of action to the ecclesiastical authorities and appeared to satisfy both parties.

It is true that about this time a remarkable reaction took place in Catholic Germany owing to the increased energy of the priesthood, who tried to revive all the old ceremonies and institutions. After thousands of people had been invited and drawn together for the purpose of venerating an exceedingly doubtful relic, a slight hostile demonstration, made without any definite object, brought to light the existence among the German middle classes of a disposition to secede from Rome, which was altogether unexpected in its intensity.

Nevertheless, the storm which broke over France proved in the long run of decided advantage to Catholicism.

The revolution of 1830 in France may be regarded in itself as a defeat of rigid Catholic opinions; it is well known that the religious zeal of Charles X was the principal agent of his own overthrow. It is true that after that time the extended constitutional rights, of which all could avail themselves, lent space and opportunity for the extension of hierarchical activity. But this very extension, together with the claim asserted by the clergy to the general control and guidance of education, reminded the State that it is not only based on the rights and immunities of individuals; but also, that the exercise of those immunities, in a spirit opposed to its essential principles, may prove exceedingly dangerous to itself. Rarely was the Chamber of Deputies of that time found so unanimous, as in their resolutions against the attempted organization of the Jesuits; so that Rome in fact retreated a step before them.

Now, however, there followed the upheaval of the year 1848.

Society was shaken to its very foundations, and as soon as it tried to restore the basis on which the whole of public order rests, the question of education was one of the first to be considered. Even the most violent opponents of the system which had been overthrown, admitted that religion

must be reconciled with the hitherto prevailing philosophy. An agreement was made between the opposing doctrines;[1] but the result was that the clergy—the dignitaries of the Church, as well as priests engaged in all grades of instruction—entered into competition with the civil government. How many congregations of men and women, acting under local or general authorization, were formed all over France in order to carry out elementary education in accordance with the views of the Church! For higher education the Jesuits regained a position similar to that which they occupied in earlier times. In every other respect too the clergy developed a zealous activity. They were aided by their conciliatory spirit, and above all by the apprehension which was widely felt lest the teachings of philosophy should lead to utter chaos. At the same time it was considered praiseworthy to prefer the specifically Roman rites and ceremonies to those of the Gallican church. The February revolution proved in its results generally advantageous to clerical endeavours.

Thus all over the world the revival of Catholicism was attended by great success, and still greater success was promised. This result was aided by influences tending towards the emancipation of the Church from the jurisdiction of the civil governments; and it is not surprising that these tendencies became visible in the territory belonging to the papacy—the States of the Church. We are approaching events which belong almost more to politics than to history; but in order that the position of the papacy in the modern world may be understood, it is necessary to give at least a brief account of them.

8. THE CHURCH AND THE PAPAL STATES UNDER PIUS IX

When the governments of southern Europe which had been overthrown were again established, that of Rome was not restored on its former basis. Far from it. The secretary

[1] Loi de l'enseignement, 15 Mars, 1850.

of state, Cardinal Consalvi, on the contrary, considered the French occupation as a happy precedent for imparting uniformity and consistency to the administration of the States of the Church, without consideration for the old-established rights of the communes, the nobility, and the provinces. It was said of him that he planted liberalism in the soil of superstition; only in one point did he remain true to the old traditions of the Holy See; he entrusted to the spiritual corporation the administration of the state, now organized on a uniform basis, from which it had in the meanwhile been excluded.

In the two following reigns, a return to the system which prevailed before the revolutionary epochs would have been preferred; but the attempt which was made to institute it, though otherwise without result, only served to intensify the aversion of the people to clerical rule, which under that system still maintained its supremacy. As soon, therefore, as the old order of things in Europe was overthrown in 1830, disturbances took place in the Papal States. Gregory XVI (1831–1846), who just at that time attained to the tiara, had only the satisfaction of feeling that they were directed not against him, but against the system of government;[1] and this he was determined to maintain. When the outbreak was put down, the great European powers in consequence expressed the wish that a greater share in the administration of the temporal affairs of the Papal States should be given to the laity. Something was indeed done to this end, but with so many reservations that the result amounted rather to a refusal of the request than compliance with it. The demands became more frequent, more urgent, and more comprehensive, but the repression was only carried out with more and more severity. At the death of Gregory it was calculated that there were some two thousand exiles or political prisoners.

This conflict produced great varieties of opinion in the sacred college. One, an active state official, said that he realized that it was necessary that the administration should be secularized, but could that be expected of the Head of the Church? Another, a member of one of

[1] Wiseman, Recollections of the Last Four Popes, p. 429.

the religious orders, whose election the people desired in hopes of an alleviation of their condition, publicly stated that he would grant them means of livelihood, but at the same time would erect gallows to punish them. A third opinion prevailed at the conclave; a pope, Pius IX, was elected, who was impressed with the conviction of the divine right of the papacy over the state, but at the same time believed that without in any way abrogating this right, he could fulfil all reasonable demands.[1]

He opened the prison doors, and then proceeded to some modifications of the existing system, which, though not sweeping, were hailed with universal delight; for it was the spirit of which they gave evidence, rather than the actual achievements, which called forth universal approval. He gradually removed the agents of the Gregorian reaction; as members of the commissions which were to carry out the proposed improvements, he chose men who were not priests, and who enjoyed a public reputation for special insight and efficiency; lastly, he created a council of state, which he himself designated as a consultative representation, in order to assist his government in law-giving and administration: under the control of the secretary of state, this council by degrees became composed chiefly of laymen. By such means did Pius IX hope to carry out the advice of the powers.[2]

But times and opinions were now altered; and the beginning of the movement of 1848 forced the pope much further along the path of reform. He too gave ear to the demand for constitutional government. Taking into consideration, as he says, the original prerogatives, which, once abrogated, could not be restored, he found himself moved to establish a constitution consisting of two chambers, or, as they were called, "councils," of which the first was directly nominated, and the second chosen according to the census

[1] Farini, Lo stato Romano dall' anno 1815 al 1850, a book which, to our taste, is almost too full of the rhetorical spirit of Italian historiography, and is by no means impartial; it is, nevertheless, based on accurate knowledge, and prints the most important documents.

[2] Allocution of April 29, 1848: "Le cose, che facevamo nei primi principii del nostro pontificato, bene si convengon con quello, che avevan desiderate i principi dell' Europa."

and number of the population. This was not, however, a constitution like other representative governments, and it was impossible that it should be; for the powers granted by the pope were in themselves limited; and, besides this, every law passed by the two chambers had to be examined and approved at a secret sitting of the cardinals, before it became legally valid.[1] The ultimate authority remained in the hands of the clergy.

On the other hand, the claim of the laity to have the complete control of temporal matters expressed itself in numerous manifestations. It was not to be expected that, after a strong representation in parliament had been granted them, they should be satisfied with limitations which were not in accordance with the principle of the system that had been adopted.

Hence arose an unavoidable dispute, with which a still wider and almost more urgent question was immediately associated.

The reforms which had hitherto been effected were the result of the February revolution in Paris. Now, however, occurred an event which was of still more direct influence on Italy and Italian affairs; the government in Vienna, against which the national feeling had fought in vain for four decades, was overthrown. In Rome the news was received with the ringing of bells and the cry of "Italy!"

In answer to the proclamation of Carlo Alberto of Piedmont, which announced his approaching advance into Lombardy to drive the foreigners from Italian soil, a band of volunteers was formed in Rome to lend assistance to the enterprise. The pope himself appeared to share their feelings. Such at least was the interpretation laid on his proclamation, in which he called down woe on those "who refuse to recognize the voice of God in the storm which tears down cedars and oaks," and urged the peoples of Italy to harmony among themselves.

This, however, cannot have been his real meaning.

At the departure of the volunteers, he refused to come on to the balcony to bid them farewell; and the injunction

[1] Statuto fondamentale, § 52. Compare Döllinger, Kirche und Kirchen, Papstthum und Kirchenstaat, p. 603.

he laid on those whom he summoned to him was to protect his house, and nothing more.[1]

Shortly before he had had a struggle with Austria in defence of his rights in Ferrara; his ambition did not seem to extend further than the preservation of the integrity of the States of the Church. When his constitutional government demanded that the regular troops, which had meanwhile also been advanced to the frontier, should be allowed to cross the Po, he consented, but with the reservation that he should recall them when he thought good. He did not approve of the proposal, but he did not definitely oppose it.

Thereupon the papal general considered himself empowered by the instructions he received to take open part in the war with Austria; he announced to the whole world, that the man of God, the great and righteous pope, was in favour of it; he had blessed the swords of the soldiers who were to join with Charles Albert, and prosecute the war against the enemy of God and of Italy. As the Austrian supremacy in Italy was identified, by a somewhat confused perception of its real significance, with the empire of the Hohenstaufen, it was natural that men should see in Pius IX a new Alexander III, who would decide to place himself at the head of a republican movement. The ministers of the pope were themselves of this mind; they urged him to follow the tendency of the time, and undertake the war with energy; he would then rule the present and secure the future.

The pope was thrown into the greatest consternation. He had not the slightest sympathy with republican views; he urged the Italians to be obedient to their princes who wished them well; to him the union of Italy took the form of a league of these princes with one another and with Austria as an Italian power; and his pontifical calling was of far greater importance in his eyes than any consideration for Italy. To the representations of his ministers he replied by an allocution in the consistory of cardinals (April 29),

[1] "Guardate la casa mia, no altro." From a despatch of Count Ludolf in Petrucelli, Pio IX.

in which he declared that he would not wage war against Austria, and that in accordance with his duty as supreme pontiff he embraced all nations with equal love.[1]

But by this declaration he not only separated himself from general Italian opinion, but his conflict with the parliament, now for the first time assembled under the influence of the national spirit, was renewed with redoubled strength.

Mamiani, at that time the chief minister, was intent on separating the state entirely from the influence of the cardinals, and concentrating the temporal power in the hands of parliament and the responsible ministers, whose advice the pope would then be obliged to follow like any other constitutional prince; but the terms of the statute, as well as the hierarchical instincts of Pius IX, stood in his way. The pope had never yet been able to arrive at an agreement with his ministers on any official declaration.

Finally, a man arose who undertook to reconcile the constitutional government of the state with the wording of the statute and the disposition of the pope. Pellegrino Rossi was one of the statesmen of that period who saw that constitutional formulas provided the only means of protecting the modern state both against the reactionary policy of absolution, and against the destructive tendencies of the republicans; a man of honour, possessed of all the culture of the century, energetic and fearless. He pronounced the statute to be the foundation on which the building of freedom must be erected. In the negotiations concerning the league of constitutional Italian states, which was attracting attention at the moment, he rejected the extensive and unreasonable demands of Piedmont, and asserted the preeminence of the papacy, "the only living greatness which Italy possesses." On this basis he proposed to restore the public order which had been destroyed. But people would not hear of any federation of the old type, a union of the spiritual power with the constitutional system; and the fact that Rossi appeared capable of carrying it through, combined with his stern severity and the success with which he

[1] As Rossi, in a posthumous essay (printed in Farini), expresses it, "Spiaceva la guerra: non fu nè dichiarata nè impedita. Il paese fe un po' la guerra; il papa servò la pace."

exercised the power of the state, aroused popular passions against him. The system which had been overthrown in France during the revolution of February should not be established in Rome. As Rossi was ascending the steps of the Cancellaria to open the new session of Parliament, on November 15, 1848, he was stabbed by a dagger, and killed on the spot. In the assembly not a word of sympathy for him was heard.

In the catastrophe which had befallen his minister the pope found that he was to share. At the first resistance which he made to the demands of the excited populace, in connection with the formation of a new ministry and the Italian question, he was besieged in his palace; bullets fell in his ante-room, and one of the prelates belonging to his court was shot. In this tumult he agreed to everything that was wanted, but failed, nevertheless, to pacify the people. When the proposal was made to the deputies that they should affirm their dependence on the holy father who had been thus outraged, the result was that, after several speeches on both sides, it was rejected. Hereupon the pope resolved to save himself from further compulsion by flight; and with the help of the foreign ambassadors who were present, he succeeded, on November 24, in crossing into Neapolitan territory, and escaping to Gaëta, whither already more than one of his predecessors had fled. Here a court soon assembled round him, consisting of emigrants and diplomatists, who acknowledged him as the head of the Catholic world.

In Rome, on the other hand, after the flight of the pope, the constitutional *régime* could not be continued.

By the votes of the deputies, a junta was chosen to take over the government; and they did take it over, acknowledging at the same time that they had no legal basis, and declaring that they only accepted the office until such time as a constituent assembly should have duly deliberated concerning the regulation of affairs.[1]

As there was now no sovereign power in the state, the idea of national sovereignty came to the front. After a few

[1] "Dichiariamo di assumere un tanto uffizio provisoriamente e temporaneamente," 20th December, 1848.

days a national assembly was announced, "to give the state a regular, stable, and comprehensive organization according to the wishes of the nation or the majority of the nation;" it was to be based on universal suffrage and direct elections. In spite of the censure of the Church, under penalty of which the pope forbade participation in these elections, they were carried out; and, as was boasted at the time, with an absence of disturbance such as had seldom been met with elsewhere.

The first sitting of the national assembly took place on February 5, 1849. A motion was brought forward to leave the decision concerning the future form of government to a constituent assembly of the whole of Italy. But the Roman assembly had far too strong a belief in its own rights, and refused to submit itself to an uncertain future. Of its own authority it passed a resolution affirming that the papacy had lapsed, both in law and in fact, to the government of the Roman state, and that the state should renew the glorious name of the Roman Republic. Its relations with the rest of Italy were to be in conformity with their common nationality. A violent contrast of ideas was apparent. Forsaking the pope, who attributed his temporal possessions to a special disposition of God for the independence of the Church, they laid down the doctrine that the sovereignty was an eternal right of the people; the republican idea arose out of the ruins of the ecclesiastical domination. There was, however, no desire to banish the pope from Rome altogether. The formula was adopted at that time, which has since been often repeated, that he should receive every guarantee necessary for the exercise of the spiritual power.

But Pius IX was not yet brought so low that he should submit to the elevation of the former subjects of the Church to be its patrons; he felt that there was enough power and support around him to enable him to renew the struggle. He had let the Italian idea drop, lest it should conflict with his position at the head of the universal Church; and in the misfortune into which he had fallen in consequence, he appealed for help to the Catholic powers. Austria was just rousing herself for a new campaign against Charles Albert, which was to end in his ruin. But in order that Austria

might not become all-powerful in Italy, France took up arms against the Roman republic, which was allied with the king. The Austrians took Bologna and Ancona; the French troops advanced against Rome. On the day on which the Roman republic announced on the Capitoline Hill the new constitution, which asserted the principle of the sovereignty of the people, the French marched across the Ponte Sisto "in order to restore the capital of the Catholic world to the sovereignty of the head of the Church, in accordance with the fervent wishes of all Catholics." [1]

The republic was thereupon dissolved, and the management of the civil order transferred to a commission of cardinals, nominated by the pope. In the spring of 1850 Pius IX returned to Rome and renewed the institutions of his earlier years—council of state, consulta, municipal and provincial colleges,—so that a not inconsiderable share in the administration still fell to the laity. The chief power in the state, however, in every branch, including home and foreign affairs, the administration of justice, education, and the control of the press, was again entrusted to the higher clergy, whose former privileges were restored to them.

It was a victory of clergy over laity, of monarchical over republican principles, above all, of the sympathy of zealous Catholics with their head, over national Italian aspirations. And at once, after this interruption, the authority of the Church arose to new growth: the struggle itself brought it unexpected advantage.

Once before in earlier times the Spanish government had taken the initiative in promoting an agreement among Catholics. It now adopted the same course, and did its utmost to produce a favourable result. In 1851 a concordat was signed completing the compact between Spain and the papacy, about which negotiations had been in progress for two or three years. Even in Spain ecclesiastical property had been put up to auction, property which, as an earlier allocution observes, remained in the possession of the Church under the rule of unbelievers. A stop had already been put to this sequestration by provisional agreements, the validity of which, however, was afterwards invariably called

[1] Oudinot's Proclamation

in question. The concordat contained a definite settlement of this question. Perhaps two-thirds of this property was reserved to the Church, and the pope acquiesced in the loss of the remainder. On the other hand, he had the triumph of raising the Catholic religion once more to undisputed supremacy in Spain and her colonies, and of subjecting public instruction to the absolute control and guidance of the priesthood.

In passing we may remark that in the colonies which had seceded, the Free States of South America, with whom treaties were concluded, Catholicism was recognized as the religion of the state, though not to the exclusion of other religions, and to the bishops was secured the control of the press and of education, in matters connected with religion, and free intercourse with the pope.

From the restoration of the empire in France, considering who the founder was, a revival of imperialistic aims might have been expected; and some such expressions of opinion were heard, but they were not listened to, and for the present affairs took an opposite turn. The clergy assumed a bold attitude, thus securing the position they had just won against the revolutionary movement, which was to be feared from a continuance of a republican form of government. They held Napoleon in high esteem, because, while still president, he had contributed largely by his influence and his troops to the restoration of the pope in Rome. General approval was aroused by his attachment to the Catholic church, which came to light during his travels.[1] He spoke, they said, like a Constantine; and in this spirit he was accepted by the clergy. The clerical party believed that they had themselves laid the train for the deed of December 2;[2] they helped to legalize it by the unanimous vote of their adherents. The bishops attached themselves to the new imperial power, which saw in their popular repute and influence one of its strongest supports, and found itself once more under obligations to ecclesiastical interests. Cardinals took their places in the imperial senate;

[1] Compare Veuillot, Le Pape et la Diplomatie, 1861, p. 14.

[2] [The *coup d'état* of Dec. 2, 1851, by which Louis Napoleon became President. He proclaimed himself Emperor in 1852.—Trs.]

consideration was shewn in the budget to ecclesiastical needs, even down to village churches; nominations to bishoprics were not made without consultation with the Roman court.[1]

A similar and still more striking change in favour of the papacy took place in the third great Catholic power in Europe, the Austrian empire.

The March revolution in Vienna, which overthrew the old despotism, gradually appeared to the higher clergy in the light of a deliverance. For the enactments of Joseph II were still in force, which placed the clergy under the strict supervision of the state in regard to their inner discipline, their educational work, their dotation, and their connection with Rome. In Austria also people were asking what was the meaning of the freedom which had been proclaimed, if the Church was not also free. At the diet of Kremsier the Austrian bishops presented comprehensive demands; they even proposed a concordat, in order to put an end to the one-sided legislation of the temporal government. The delegates, however, to whom the power of the Church appeared rather too strong than too weak, refused to listen to them, and the diet, fearing for the religious treaties and the freedom of individuals, rejected the proposals (March 1, 1849), and maintained the principles of the edicts of Joseph II.[2] But what was refused by the diet was readily granted by the government, which a few days later put an end to it. During the negotiations at Gaëta at the same time the question of the abrogation of the enactments of Joseph II, which were displeasing to the pope, were discussed.[3] The restoration of the pope in his territory, and closer intercourse with the Austrian episcopacy, went hand in hand. For the sudden convulsion of the empire by popular disturbances from which it seemed specially secure, was attributed to the lack of religious feeling, resulting from these hindrances to clerical activity. The imperial government believed that support to its own authority would be

[1] So we are assured by la Guerronnière, who was in a position to know: La France, Rome et l'Italie, p. 18.

[2] Springer, Geschichte von Oestreich, ii. 613.

[3] The allocution of April 20, 1849, expresses the sure hope, "che vengono eliminate da quel impero alcune massime riprovate sempre della sede apostolica."

provided by the unimpeded co-operation of the local ecclesiastical powers with those at Rome. The concordat which was agreed to some time afterwards (in the year 1855) was the result of these views. The state restored to the clergy the prerogatives which they "were entitled to by divine ordinance and by Catholic precepts"—free communication with Rome, and, above all, effective control of education and religious instruction. No one could be blind to the opposition which this must arouse in the country; but both internal political antagonism and the prevailing opinion led in this direction, and it also appeared to promise a considerable accession of prestige to the imperial power both in Italy and in Germany. The Roman Curia and the Austrian episcopacy were joined together in the closest connection; they combined in the desire and in the hope of carrying out the provisions of the Council of Trent in their entirety after the lapse of three hundred years.[1]

The movement in Austria was different in character from what took place in France and Spain. Here the advancement of Catholic ideas was more popular, and in accordance with the views of the legislative assemblies; in France, indeed, the opposition, so far as that term can be used, had made this policy their own. The general result was, nevertheless, the same; the hierarchy won, through the renewed understanding with the three powers, a firm support which gave it an increase of self-esteem. The idea of the unity of the Church, based on the primacy of the bishop of Rome, has, indeed, hardly ever been more distinctly expressed than it was by Pius IX; "through him speaks the apostle, on whom the Church is founded; he is the living authority, who in all disputes gives an infallible decision; from the throne of Peter proceeds the unity of the priesthood; round it the believing world must assemble."

And how strongly the bishops were inclined to yield to these claims appeared in the year 1854, when a new dogma was promulgated. The doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary and of her freedom from original sin had arisen in the days when the hierarchy was all-

[1] Brief of June 1, 1863, in Schrader, Pius IX als Papst und als König, p. 122.

powerful, but even then it had been rejected by the most distinguished authorities, whose opinion had been followed by the Church. Powerful popes in later times had approved of the doctrine, but had gone no further; Pope Pius IX set about, on the strength of his own authority, to stamp it as a dogma of the Church. Bishops assembled from all parts of the inhabited globe; but they did not form a council; what the pope announced as the revealed truth they accepted implicitly as such; never had the infallibility of the pope appeared more absolute, though it was not yet a definite dogma. The doctrine of the Immaculate Conception is the corner-stone of the cult of the Virgin, and on it the heart of Pius IX was set. He introduced a new office for it, and founded a new mass.

The papacy possessed undoubtedly the most monarchical and the most coherent organization then existing in the world; and every day it spread further and further over the earth's surface. By the side of the South American churches, in which the religious ideas of Philip II were perpetuated, a new hierarchical system was being erected in the democratic states of North America, where within a few years two new archbishoprics and twenty bishoprics were founded. Ecclesiastical foundations followed the extension of commerce and of settlements into California and Australasia; and no hesitation was felt in keeping the establishments of an earlier epoch on the coasts of Africa and in the East Indies in the old subordination to Rome. In Central Asia six new bishoprics were founded with Armenian-Catholic rites, and through the whole world, up to the Arctic circle, apostolic prefects and vicars were appointed in large numbers.

The pope claimed to be regarded as the father and teacher of all Christians and at the same time the head of the whole Church, and he was not unsuccessful in individual conversions—for the idea of community and infallibility meets a religious need of the human heart, and the earnest converts were full of propagandist zeal; but in the presence of the divergent formulas of the other great religious bodies his attempts to make good his claim failed. "Hear my voice," he cried, "all you in the East, who call yourselves

Christians, but have no communion with the Roman church!" He adjured them by the salvation of their souls to yield their assent. But from the answers which he received from the Oriental patriarchs, we may conclude that the latter were mindful far more of the old animosities than of the old communion; they reproached the Roman church both with the arbitrary imprisonment of men of learning in the middle ages and with the violence of their present propaganda.

Turning to the West, the pope made preparations to unite those of the Catholic faith in Protestant countries, such as Holland and England, into special provinces of the Church. In England Pius IX, "in the hope of again restoring the Catholic faith in that thriving land," established, without consulting the government, a hierarchy consisting of an archbishop and twelve suffragan bishops, all deriving their titles from their English sees—the archbishop from Westminster. The new archbishop was at the same time a cardinal of the Roman church, and he trusted that "Catholic England has been restored to its orbit in the ecclesiastical firmament from which its light has long vanished, and begins now anew its course of regularly adjusted action round the centre of unity, the source of jurisdiction, of light, and of vigour."

But for centuries the English people had fought for this very object—to shut out the authority of the pope from the land; and when this was accomplished they had, nevertheless, firmly upheld the claim that they were truly Catholic and had not in principle separated themselves from the universal Church. The share of ecclesiastical power which is reserved to the crown is part of the constitution of the country. What was thought of this innovation can, therefore, be imagined. The highest government officials and the lowest classes of the people, clergy and laity, Anglicans and Dissenters, were united in opposition to it. They saw in it an attack by the pope on the country, such as had often been attempted in earlier times, but had apparently long been given up. Was the cause of the hostility, or, at least, lack of regard, underlying the scheme, really, as was said, the indifference, to say the least, of England at the time of the restoration of the pope in Rome? The immediate

result was to place the government in a position of no little perplexity. They were obliged to do something, but at the same time it was necessary in warding off the danger to safeguard the principle of religious freedom inherent in the constitution. In consequence, the bill which was passed was concerned solely with the secular aspect of the question; it merely forbade the assumption of the arbitrarily distributed titles, and indeed such an aggression could not have been endured with impunity, even by any Catholic country. This, however, was not the whole result. Moderate as were the measures adopted, it was made clear that a conversion on the scale expected in Rome was out of the question; the Protestant faith was shewn to be the religion of the nation, which did not allow itself to be led astray by the apostasy of a few individuals. And further, we may ask whether English policy in the immediate future was not influenced by the papal aggression—whether it did not give expression to the bad feeling aroused by it among the people and their leaders?

But it was the dissensions prevailing among the German Protestants on which the highest hopes of the Propaganda were based. How often were they told that their Church organization was on the point of dissolution, and that its ruin was inevitable; as though Protestantism had ever existed without internal strife, which, indeed, so far as it is based on active assimilation of religious ideas, is inherent in its very nature. The antagonistic tendencies were successfully held in check by a deep-seated feeling of community, and by the great efforts which were made to translate this feeling into action. The contemptuous utterances of opponents contributed to bring to the knowledge of Protestants the historic claims of their faith. The astute prince who then sat upon the throne of Prussia conceived of Protestantism as a special form of Christianity, on an equality with all other forms. And whatever judgment is passed on transient circumstances and opinions, it is impossible to estimate too highly the value of Protestant German scholarship. Not only is it so firmly established as to be able to despise all attack, but, raising itself above all petty quarrels, it exercises a daily increasing influence on the learning of Catholics, who feel themselves more nearly allied to it in its method and results

than to the Roman canons. Theological research, however, without the supervision of the ecclesiastical power,[1] is contrary to the established conception of the apostolic prerogative of the pope.

Thus the opposing influences—lay and clerical, national and universal, scientific and social—fill men's minds with continual agitation on the subject of the papacy, which still forms a centre of controversy. The mighty faith of earlier times, the faith that could remove mountains, is no longer a factor to be reckoned with on either side; we see only continual encounters, advance and retreat, attack and defence, action and reaction. There is constant change; different elements combine together and separate again; every extravagant sentiment is succeeded by its exact opposite; extremes work together. One characteristic of the struggle is the continual influence of the past, which has become a living memory. Every controversy which has ever disturbed the world in this connection has again broken out—such as the contentions with regard to the councils and the heretics, the mediaeval power of the emperors and the popes, reformatory ideas and the Inquisition, religion and philosophy. And, diffused through and influencing the whole, like an all-pervading ferment, is the spirit of the age, struggling among violent dissensions towards unknown goals, self-confident yet ever unsatisfied.

Against the extension of ecclesiastical organization already noticed must be set some occurrences which were very disadvantageous to the Roman court.

In the north, in the lands bordering on the countries professing the Greek faith, the Roman church suffered an irreparable loss, such as it had not experienced since the Reformation. Two million united Greeks were brought back under the guidance of their bishops to the Greek church, to which their ancestors belonged. And when the revolt of the Poles assumed a religious character, and the clergy themselves took up arms, they found opposed to them among the Russians the religious impulse which underlies

[1] "Ecclesiasticae potestatis, ad quam proprio ac nativo jure unice pertinet advigilare et dirigere theologicarum praesertim rerum doctrinam." Pius IX to the Archbishop of Munich, March 21, 1863.

their national feeling. The suppression of the rising was accompanied not only by restrictions on Catholicism, but by actual persecution, resulting at last in an open breach with Rome.

Of still more importance than this was the struggle in which the papacy became involved in Italy itself—a struggle on matters of principle, both spiritual and temporal.

While Pius IX had restored, as far as possible, the authority of the clergy in temporal matters, Piedmont, where constitutional formulas had held their ground, took steps to overthrow, or to confine within the narrowest limits, the ancient influence of the priesthood. A beginning was made by withdrawing higher education from the supervision of the bishops. Shortly afterwards, at the University of Turin, a doctrine found favour which was diametrically opposed to the papal claims; the authority of the Church, it was said, possessed no other justification beyond what was conceded to it by the state, and even this could be abrogated.[1] Accepting this theory, the legislative power in Piedmont declared, in the year 1850, that the bishops' tribunals, the immunity of the clergy, the right of sanctuary, and the acquisition of mortmain, were illegal. In vain the highest ecclesiastic in the country endeavoured to raise up religious odium against this enactment; he suffered for his opposition by banishment. The tribute of the golden cup was paid no longer; and, in spite of all the proclamations of the Roman court in 1852, civil marriage was legalized. Some time afterwards the decisive step was taken and the convents and ecclesiastical communities dissolved.

The definite intention was to introduce into the territories of Sardinia and Piedmont, by means of legislation, the ecclesiastical conditions which had been evolved in France by the stress of the revolution. Austria had set aside the laws of the Emperor Joseph, and Piedmont was imitating her.

Under these circumstances, no course was open to the Roman Curia but once more to unsheathe its ecclesiastical weapons. The sentence of excommunication was pronounced against all and sundry, who had taken part—or should in future take part—in the attack on clerical property, either as

[1] J. N. Nuytz, Juris ecclesiastici institutiones.

members of the chambers or as officials. But this ban was almost too comprehensive to be effective; and meanwhile a change took place in the European situation.

The government of Sardinia and Piedmont secured powerful support through joining the alliance of the powers against Russia in the complications of the Crimean War. At the Congress of Paris, which took place in the spring of 1856, they did not find that their reforms required any long justification; on the contrary, they were able to take the initiative in denouncing the papal government before the forum of the powers. They stated that of all the promises made at the time of the restoration of the pope, not one had really been fully carried out; but the temper of the people was so excited on the matter that it would never be possible to remove the Austrian troops, which were still in the legations. And yet while they remained in the Papal States and Central Italy, no balance of power was possible in Italy; they were contrary to the spirit of the treaties of 1815.[1] Piedmont suggested that administrative independence should be given to the legations, and that the government should be secularized after the model of Napoleon I.

In the spring of 1857 Pius IX undertook a journey into Central Italy. It was observed that in territories not under his government, where he appeared merely as pope, he was received with enthusiasm; in his own dominion, on the other hand, with noticeable coolness; the addresses with which he was greeted contained bitter complaints. No one doubted that on the first opportunity a revolt would take place.

The whole situation in the Papal States was still based on the understanding between Austria and France; it was upset from its foundations when—on account of these very Piedmontese and Italian affairs—misunderstandings arose between the two powers, followed by dissensions, and finally, in 1859, by the outbreak of war. Thus, as soon as the Austrians, after their first losses, evacuated the Papal States in order to save Lombardy, the revolt broke out immediately, first in Bologna, where the papal government was replaced by a junta, and afterwards in the neighbouring provinces. A national assembly, based on universal suffrage,

[1] Notes des plénipotentiaires sardes, March 27, and April 16, 1856.

was called together. Its first decree (September 1, 1859) was in accord with the resolution which was the first act of the constituent assembly in Rome ten years before; relying on the rights of the people, it declared that the temporal power of the pope had ceased to exist. On this occasion, however, there was no further adoption of republican principles; on the contrary, the provinces expressed their wish to be united with Piedmont, who came forward as the champion of a great idea which captivated their minds—the idea of the unity of Italy. In earlier times the popes themselves seemed to be resolved to realize this conception; even Pius IX had been tempted to raise the banner of unity; but now the whole weight of this great principle was directed against Rome. Modena, Parma, and Tuscany shook themselves free from their Austrian and Bourbon rulers and joined Piedmont, and Lombardy, which had been conquered by the French, was also handed over to join the confederation. Thus the Italian idea, with this strength behind it, became a living force, and secured for itself a future. The French government demanded from the pope that he should recognize the independence of the revolted provinces, even if only in the form of a Piedmontese vicariate, but that at the same time he should introduce the reforms already resolved upon in the remaining provinces, in return for which the Catholic powers would guarantee these provinces to him, and would help him to uphold his authority over them with money and troops.[1]

Pius IX rejected these proposals entirely; for the acceptance of the guarantee for a portion of his territory would involve giving up the revolted provinces, and to this he would never consent. He even thought that he could still overcome his difficulties with his own troops.

Yet what an undertaking this was, in the midst of a population on the verge of revolt, without allies, in the

[1] The proposals concerning the lost provinces and those which were still retained, though not made simultaneously, nevertheless hang together. The latter were made conditional on the former being carried out, though perhaps more stress was laid on the vicariate than on the separation, as appears from a note of Cardinal Antonelli, April 14, 1860.

presence of a determined enemy, who was fighting for the principle of nationality, and had the moral support of the chief European powers! Events developed quickly. As soon as opportunity offered, the revolted provinces, by an almost unanimous plebiscite, declared in favour of union with Piedmont, which was carried out. By April, 1860, it was possible to open a parliament, in which Central Italy participated. The revolt then spread to the Marches and Umbria; here and there feelings of municipal independence were aroused, only to yield to Italian unity. Against the strength of this idea the troops collected by the pope for the preservation of ecclesiastical principles could do nothing. The papal regiments refused to act, as soon as they came in sight of the Piedmontese. Everywhere, wherever they had a free hand, they planted the tricolour and demanded annexation; the capital itself was only saved by the presence of the French troops. For these, however, another great danger arose from the course of events. The King of Sardinia took the title of King of Italy, and his chief minister expressed the opinion that the new kingdom could not be looked upon as founded until it had Rome as its capital. This claim afterwards formed one of the most important points of discussion in Franco-Italian politics, while at the same time it was continually influenced by the changes in European relations; for already Italy was a power which had to be taken into consideration in all political calculations.

Dissatisfied with what was happening in the north, the French emperor in 1864 found it advisable to strengthen his understanding with Italy. A new recognition of Italian unity underlay his proposal to make Florence the capital of the Italian kingdom; but this only postponed without settling the important question. The French emperor, in the Convention of September, 1864, promised to recall his troops from Rome within two years, in which time the pope would be able again to collect a sufficient military force to maintain internal order. The Italians, on the other hand, pledged themselves neither to attack the papal state in its present boundaries, nor to allow it to be attacked.[1] The policy of the French

[1] In the negotiations on the subject great difficulty was caused by one word, the interpretation of which touched the question of the

emperor was founded on his desire to maintain good relations with Italy, and at the same time not to break with the pope. The first was necessitated by his European relations, the other by the influence of papal authority throughout France. He thought that it was possible to effect a reconciliation between Rome and the new Italian kingdom, based on a modification by the pope of the principles he had hitherto upheld; this would have the most salutary results for the whole Catholic world; the pope would recognize the liberal ideas on which most governments were founded, and give believers a proof that the Catholic religion acknowledged and supported the progress of the human race. This was really to ask too much of the pope, at the moment when the ideas which he was to sanction were imperilling his existence. How could he acknowledge the sovereignty of the people, which had declared him deposed, or the unity of Italy, which threatened to rob him of his temporal possessions?

To all suggestions concerning the Papal States, the pope invariably opposed the principle of the unity of the Church and his pontifical duty; "for the rights of the papal see could not be renounced as could the rights of a temporal dynasty: they were the possession of the Catholics; if he abandoned them, he would injure the whole body, break the oath by which he was bound, and at the same time admit principles which must be fatal to all sovereigns." So he once wrote to the emperor of the French.[1] Upon the rebels and usurpers of the revolted provinces he did not hesitate to pronounce the great excommunication in the resounding words of the traditional formulas, with special reference to the decrees of the Council of Trent. In the brief which contained it he pointed out that, among the varying interests of princes, it was one of the wisest dispensations of providence to grant to the pope of Rome a

existence of the papal throne itself. The Italians did not bind themselves, as was originally expected of them, to respect the papal state, as it then was; for they would then have prejudiced the strong inward movements in favour of unity, which existed in the state; they only agreed not to attack it themselves.

[1] The encyclical of January 19, 1860, contains a communication on the subject.

temporal dominion, and with it political independence: for it would not be right that the Catholic church should have cause for anxiety lest the administration of its public business should be dependent upon foreign and secular influence: consequently it was necessary that the government of the Papal States, with every care for the well-being of its subjects, should still have an ecclesiastical character.[1]

From time to time festivities took place in Rome, in which once again appeared the mysticism of the early papacy mingling heaven and earth together. At Whitsuntide, 1862, a number of monks, who more than two and a half centuries before had met with martyrs' deaths in Japan, were canonised, expressly for this reason, "because the Church in these times of trial needs new intercessors with God." In the great assembly of bishops who came together for this purpose—they numbered 240—the immediate difficulties were discussed. The bishops expressed their satisfaction that they were able once again to come, themselves independent, to the independent pope and king, and their firm conviction that the pope must not become either the subject or the guest of another sovereign; he must have his residence in his own territory, his own kingdom. When Pius declared that he would give up his life rather than abandon this cause, the cause of God, of justice, and of the Church, they signified their willingness to share with him imprisonment and death in support of his claims.

It is true that the bishops were not unanimous in this opinion; but by far the greater majority agreed in rejecting all negotiations with reference to the Papal States; the Catholic episcopacy approved the ecclesiastical policy of the Holy Father.

In the lower ranks of the clergy, indeed, other opinions found utterance; well-known Church historians of orthodox reputation declared against the temporal power of the pope, and the current literature of the day was unfavourable to his claims. Nor did the Convention of September, 1864, restore to the pope the security on which the authority

[1] Literae apostolicae, quibus majoris excommunicationis poena infligatur invasoribus et usurpatoribus aliquot provinciarum pontificiae ditionis.

of his predecessors had rested for many centuries. Far from it. It was concluded without his having taken part in the deliberations. After consulting the cardinals, he hesitated to make a pronouncement on the subject; in his heart of hearts he was busy with schemes for securing general acceptance once more for the old fundamental principles of the Church, and his advisers, especially the Jesuit fathers, encouraged him in these resolves. It was determined to meet the hostile spirit of the age with a comprehensive and authentic declaration, and to this end, on December, 8, 1864, an encyclical was issued, to which was appended a list of prevalent errors already condemned by the pope himself. The innovations in Piedmont were specially indicated; but a series of the most far-reaching principles in opposition to the theory of the omnipotence of the state was also added.[1] If it was accepted that the state must be governed without reference to religion, the conclusion was that the Catholic church only deserved protection in so far as any injury to it might disturb the public peace; the official publications of the head of the Church were subjected to the promulgation of the temporal power, without which no efficacy was allowed to them; the ecclesiastical communities and the prescribed holy days were done away with, because it was so ordered by the new administration; the education of the young was removed from the supervision of the priests, as though the latter stood in the way of the progress of knowledge and civilization, while thus full scope was given only to pernicious opinions. The bishops were urged to counteract these ideas by inculcating the teaching of the earliest popes, that the Catholic faith is the foundation of all states.

For it had already been maintained that the Church had no right to punish those who despised its ordinances; the binding force of the decree of the Council of Trent concerning the Papal States was disputed, since it was based on a combination of the clerical and secular order of things; the divine right of an independent ecclesiastical power was altogether denied. While rejecting these theories, Pius IX at the same time upheld the tradition of his predecessors,

[1] A long series of propositions in the Syllabus is taken from the papal brief of August 26, 1851, which was directed against Nuytz.

who had always claimed for the Church a salutary authority over nations and princes, and defended his own political status. In the learned theological manner peculiar to him, he proceeded to seek out the causes of the general disorder, and discovered them in the exaltation of reason over revelation, and in the theory that the highest law lay in the expressed will of the people; freedom of conscience and of worship was considered as the inborn right of every man, unrestrained freedom of the press as necessary to every well-ordered state; Protestantism was declared to be an ecclesiastical system under which it was possible to live in a manner pleasing to God. Pius IX, on the contrary, did not allow that those who were outside the Catholic church could hope for everlasting salvation; firmly maintaining the prerogative of the papal throne to convene a General Council, he condemned the very idea of referring disputed questions to a National Council; he again expressed his disapproval of the Bible societies, the most genuine product of the religious spirit of old England, and also of civil marriage, which modern legislation demanded; he defended the practice of celibacy.

The sensation caused by this pronouncement can easily be imagined. How often had the wish been expressed, even by ecclesiastics, that the pope would reconcile himself to liberal ideas! The assumption that he would do so provoked the renewed sympathy extended to him in France,[1] and expressed by the emperor. But the new encyclical showed that the assumption was unfounded. The pope rejected, if not actually in every detail, still in the main, the whole system of modern conceptions and theories which have become the settled convictions of mankind at the present day.

With traditional self-assertion, the papacy opposed itself to the advancing waves of politics and opinions; whether it would give way before them or offer resistance was one of the great questions of the century.

[1] Dupanloup, La Convention de 15 Sept. et l'Encyclique de 8 Décbr., challenges only the false and exaggerated declarations of the encyclical. In his famous "Discours sur la question Romaine" (April, 1865) M. Thiers states that he regrets the encyclical.

9. THE VATICAN COUNCIL

Pius IX himself was not disposed to face unaided the struggle on which he was entering. He thought that he could support his pronouncements by the authority of a General Council, such as, though in earlier times it had usually opposed the papacy, yet had also on occasion rendered it the greatest services. On December 6, 1864, during a sitting of the congregation of rites, the pope interrupted the business on hand, and ordered the officials present to retire, in order to make a special communication to the cardinals who were taking part in the proceedings. For a long time, he told them, he had been occupied with an idea which concerned the well-being of the whole Church —the idea of convening a General Council, in order by this extraordinary measure to provide for the extraordinary needs of the Christian soul. He requested the cardinals to forward him their judgments on the subject. After thus broaching the question, the officials were recalled and ordinary business resumed. But this request was made not only to the cardinals present at the congregation, but to all members of the sacred college. In due course twenty-one opinions were sent in, of which by far the greater number approved of the pope's proposal, only two being unfavourable.

The conviction, which chiefly conduced to this result, was that the antagonism of the ideas then predominant to the doctrines of the papal throne, and the distressed condition of the Church in general, rendered necessary the application of the most extreme remedies, since the condemnation of prevalent errors by the pope alone was not sufficient to bring about the desired result. As the teaching of Luther had been condemned by the pope, but the condemnation did not become effective until adopted and confirmed by the Council of Trent, so it was necessary now to oppose a similar bulwark to the false doctrines which had meanwhile arisen. The cardinals again mention Jansenism; but that heresy was of too little consequence at that time to be a matter of anxiety. The chief objects of their concern

were the philosophical doctrines which had originated a century before and were supported by the secular power, in direct opposition to the teaching of the Church; for the latter is based on revealed truth, while the former are the presumptuous creations of independent human thought. While Pius IX stretched his conception of divine right and of divine influence so far as to declare the possession of the States of the Church by the Holy See to be a sacred and inalienable right, at that very time the intention had been formed, based on the opposing view, of robbing the pope of this territory. On all sides religious, and especially Catholic opinions, were attacked, and the whole of the episcopate, the teaching body in the Church, was affected by these tendencies.

Pius IX received the favourable opinions of the cardinals with pleasure, and instituted a commission to make the necessary preparations for the convening of the council. Their first sitting was held in March, 1865. In November the nuncios in Paris, Munich, Vienna, Madrid, and Brussels were informed of the intention to summon a council; they were requested to name such scholars as might be brought to Rome to arrange beforehand the work of the council. It was the intention of the pope that the matters fixed upon for deliberation should be discussed in the managing congregation, before the convening of the council was even announced. At the sitting of the congregation in May, 1866, however, no agreement had yet been arrived at, and there followed a long interval of discussion, during which great events took place closely affecting the pope's position. The war between Austria and Prussia had been fought out; the result of the battle of Sadowa was of decisive importance not only for Germany, but also for Italy. Venice fell to the King of Italy; but he declared that his programme was not yet carried out, and repeated, what his ministers had long since asserted, that the unity of Italy demanded the incorporation of Rome in his kingdom.

In the face of this intention, it may be asked upon what the continued existence of the Papal States depended; the answer is, the September convention alone, and this the French proceeded to carry out in earnest. In December,

1866, they retired from Rome, but before a year had passed, they found themselves obliged to return; for it was almost impossible for the Italian government to withstand the national movement in favour of seizing the capital. It had not provoked the popular aggression of the Garibaldians, but it appeared not unwilling to turn it to account and to overstep the boundaries of the Papal States. To counteract this, the French occupied Cività Vecchia; the Garibaldians were repulsed by the French forces, and the pope was once more placed in possession of his dominions. Evidently, however, it was difficult for the pope to rely on a support of this nature, when the interests of the emperor in Italy, and the political changes which might influence him, were taken into account.

During this period, the importance of the temporal power in the eyes of the Church received lively expression. Pius IX had again summoned the bishops from all parts of the world in large numbers to celebrate the eighteen hundredth anniversary of the apostles Peter and Paul. To the Church it seemed necessary that this celebration should take place in territory which was under no other rule but that of the supreme pontiff; or, as the bishops expressed it, that the legitimate power of the pope should be upheld; to the pope, they said, must be preserved the freedom of his power and the power of his freedom; he must retain the means to exercise his high office; the object of their assembling was to support his territorial authority, which was attacked from all sides, and to demonstrate how indispensable it was for the government of the Church. In danger from all quarters, and strengthened only by the united opinion of the bishops, the pope felt that the time was come, when he must definitely announce the convening of a General Council. To see in this resolve merely the idea of preserving the temporal power, would be to misunderstand his object. At bottom, it is true, the struggle was an Italian one—between the aspirations of the new kingdom towards unity, and the independent existence of an ecclesiastical state. But it attained a universal character from the fact that the Italian kingdom had taken hold of modern ideas and adopted them uncompromisingly, while

the papacy, on the other hand, intended to renew in their entirety and to sanction the doctrines of the Church, which stood in direct opposition to them. Now, if the bishops took the side of the pope-sovereign on the special matter, it might all the more be expected that they would uphold him on the wider question, which closely affected themselves. There is an element of greatness in the fact of Pius IX, at the very moment when the secular power and the pressure of hostile and anti-ecclesiastical opinions threatened to deprive him of the remainder of his dominions, forming the resolve to give authoritative sanction once more, by means of a general assembly of the Church, to the doctrines on which the papacy as a whole, as well as its temporal possessions, had rested from time immemorial; more especially since they were directly antagonistic to the existing situation of the secular powers. It was not only to the kingdom of Italy, nor to European policy, which had as good as abandoned the cause of the Papal States, but to the system of modern ideas by which the nations themselves had been transformed, that a strong opposition was to be offered on the part of the Church. The sovereignty of the people, with which the most eminent spokesmen of the papacy had once sympathized, now aroused the opposition of the Church, since the ruler, against whom the doctrine was directed, was invested with the supreme ecclesiastical dignity.

Thus the object of a General Council, from the point of view of the Church, was to protect the doctrines and the interests of the papacy, and to condemn those that were opposed to them, however widespread they might be. It was an act of isolation and hostility; the theory on which the modern state—more or less affected by the Revolution—rests was to be destroyed, and its doctrinaire basis accordingly cut away from under it—at least in the opinion of the faithful. No one should be able to speak of the powerlessness of the Roman see. Its power is immeasurable, in so far as it has on its side the whole doctrinal system of the Church, which embraces hundreds of millions of living and thinking men and women.

The deliberations of the preparatory congregation are

characteristic. It resumed its sittings on July 28, 1867, at the very moment when the Italian parliament again declared in favour of the principle of non-intervention, *i.e.* of the non-assistance of the pope by France; and one of the first questions which arose, was to what extent ruling sovereigns should be invited to take part in the council, according to the old custom. They had taken part in the Council of Trent even, and it is well known that this assembly of the Church owed its successful result to the agreement arrived at by a former Pius, the fourth in the line, and the most eminent among the temporal rulers, especially the emperor and the king of Spain. Now also it had been proposed in the first sitting of the commission that the sovereigns should be invited to the council.[1] Nevertheless, the objections to such a course were evident; for even the king of Italy, to whom the pope stood in direct and irreconcilable opposition, would have to be invited. The commission expressed no opinion on the matter, but left it to the pope, who rejected it, not only for the reason just given, but because his whole heart was set on an exclusive assembly of the Church; he would not in any way give confirmation to the theory that the Church was subject to the State. In the final version of the bull convening the council the goodwill of the sovereigns was invoked, but their participation was not invited either directly or through representatives.[2]

Yet another departure from the earlier custom was made in drawing up the bull of convocation. Paul III had caused his bull to be read in the consistory of the cardinals: it was approved and signed by them. To Pius IX it appeared sufficient that the bull should be examined by the commission, which consisted of his most trusted cardinals. It was never laid before the whole college; the cardinals were only questioned as to the convenience of the time appointed, and replied with their placet.

[1] Proposal of Giannelli, in Cecconi, Storia del Concilio Ecumenico Vaticano, 23: "per persuaderli a favorire il concilio ed invitarli ad intervenir vi mediante i loro Legati."

[2] "Studiosissime uti decet catholicos principes, iis cooperentur, quae in maiorem Dei gloriam eiusdemque Concilii bonum cedere queant." This passage is explained by Cecconi, p. 124, as indirectly leaving the attendance of the sovereigns open.

What now were to be the mutual relations between the assembled dignitaries of the Church and the pope?

Nothing had caused greater opposition, at the reopening of the Council of Trent under Pius IV, than the claim that the propositions should proceed from the papal legates. The Spanish bishops especially had opposed it, at first indeed with the approval of the Catholic king, whose influence on the council was exercised through the bishops devoted to his interests. A similar result was to be expected now, though on a smaller scale, and this must be avoided at all events.

In convening the council, the pope nevertheless held fast to the conception of his primacy, which shut out all free debate. In the preliminary discussions of the managing commission this point of view was strongly insisted upon. From the idea of the primacy, invested by divine authority in the papal throne, the deduction was drawn that to the pope alone could belong the right of proposition. As the visible head of the mystic body of the Church, the successor of St. Peter is intrusted with the supreme care of the Christian flock. In assembling the bishops round his throne in these times of peril, when dangerous heresies are so widely disseminated, it is for him to announce to them the aim which he has in view, and this he must do by proposition of the subjects to be discussed.

The right of proposition was not entirely denied to the bishops; but they were obliged to communicate their proposals to the pope, or rather to the congregation convened for this purpose. When it was suggested that by this method some good proposals might perhaps remain unconsidered, the reply was that every one should be content to have done his duty, and for the rest trust must be placed in divine providence.

In earlier times, at the Lateran councils, special congregations had been formed for the examination of subjects of discussion; but these congregations had been elected by the assembly itself. On this occasion the pope nominated the members himself, in virtue of the onerous duty imposed upon him of guiding the deliberations of the council.

It will be seen in what light the idea of the council appeared to the pope. He would have no secular interference, either by sovereigns themselves or by their representatives. He even abstracted from the influence of the Roman Curia, as constituted in the cardinals. For he had no intention of evoking any independent expression of opinion. And though he convened the bishops, he allowed them no shred of independence. He insisted firmly on his position as primate, the supreme pastor. He demanded not their advice, but their concurrence. It was the spiritual dominion of the popes which, in the form of the council, he intended at once to maintain and to make effective.

On the feast of St. Peter and St. Paul, 1868, the announcement was definitely made that a General Council would be summoned on another feast-day which was specially held in honour by Pius IX, the feast of the Immaculate Conception, December 8, 1869. The wording of the bull breathes the same spirit as had manifested itself in the preliminary deliberations. In it the idea of the papacy emerges distinctly, connecting itself with the highest mysteries of the faith, absolutely autonomous, isolated, but well prepared on all sides against attack.

Was it now to be permitted to develop this idea,—to establish the most comprehensive claims in ecclesiastical affairs, at the time when its temporal sovereignty was in danger of destruction?

On the promulgation of the bull, it was seen that the temporal powers, contrary to former custom, were excluded from the council. In France the question was immediately raised whether they could not demand to be allowed to participate. That this was impossible was owing to the revolution, which in this case was an advantage to the papacy. For the powers had constitutionally given up their confessional character: the principle which they avowed was that of religious indifference. The revolutions had resulted to a great extent from the opposition to the intimate connection between Church and State, and this they had dissolved. There had been a period in which popes and emperors had disputed over the right to call a council. But in those times Church and State were in some measure

identical, and the emperor was at times even more ecclesiastical than the pope. Now, the temporal power, while active in secularization, had become to some extent secularized itself; it was represented by several great powers, who were most hostile to one another. What formula could be found, by which the State, as such, could be represented at the council? The idea was entertained for a moment, but immediately given up; but the powers had, nevertheless, no intention of leaving the council to the sole influence of the pope, to manage at his discretion.

In the clerical community itself opposition arose. Of the early councils, those were specially remembered which had taken up an attitude towards the pope of complete independence, or at times even of strong opposition. In the new council such opposition was not expected, but rather the deliberation of all questions raised, in the freest possible discussion. In Germany it was hoped that a more perfect harmony would be established between the two powers which regulate man's life—the State and the Church. Decisions were desired concerning the relations of the clergy and the general body of the laity towards culture and learning, and concerning the part to be taken by the laity in the institution of the Church; and the revival by means of the General Council of the national, provincial, and diocesan synods, whose value had been proved through centuries of activity, was discussed. The higher clergy were themselves mostly of this mind. In France the chief demands were that the relations between the pope and the bishop, and between the bishop and the curé, should be more definitely settled, and that the constitution of the college of cardinals and the Roman congregations should be improved; they ought to be composed of representatives of the different nations.

How entirely opposed were the intentions of the pope, who thought only of re-establishing and strengthening the supreme power in the traditional sense, and those of numerous bishops, as well as of such of the laity as took interest in ecclesiastical questions, whose aim was to reform the ecclesiastical power in accordance with the spirit of the time! The pope desired to strengthen the authority exercised by his predecessors and to centralize it; a not inconsiderable

body of bishops were bent on decentralization; they wished for a renewal, in the various provinces and states, of their own characteristic ecclesiastical life. There was no question of any divergence in matters of faith. The aim of the pope was not merely to exclude, but to put down entirely the popular principles which had been universally accepted. Among the bishops, many were inclined to welcome the new doctrines; they saw in the council the opportunity they desired to gain a footing for their ideas.

On December 8, 1869, the council was opened in the basilica of St. Peter. The assembly numbered 764 members, from all parts of the world, more than one-third, however, being Italians.[1] In the roll they appear as one great society, arranged according to their ecclesiastical rank, and in each class according to the date of their appointment.

It was an assembly which well deserves the epithet occumenical. It recalls the council which, in the year 1215, came from the East and the West at the bidding of Innocent III; but it was infinitely more comprehensive, since furthest Asia and Africa, as well as a new world across the ocean, sent their prelates. A difference of another kind comes to view if we compare the Rome of the thirteenth century with that of the present day. Under Innocent III the papacy was still engaged in developing its world-power; and the temporal sovereigns appeared in large numbers, eager to be recognized as active members of the Catholic church. These were now absent, or rather they had been purposely excluded. The assembled bishops could bear witness to what an extent the anti-clerical spirit had made way in their dioceses.[2] Among them, as we have already remarked, there were many who thought that the clerical principle could only be saved by coming to terms with the

[1] The numbers were as follows: from Italy, 276; France, 84; Spain, 41; Great Britain and Ireland, 35; Germany, 19; Belgium, 6; Portugal, 2; Austria-Hungary, 48. Non-Christian countries were, however, well represented: European Turkey, 12; Asia Minor, 49; Egypt and Tunis, 3; the French colony of Algiers, the Canaries, and the Azores, 3 each; Central and South Africa, 5. The United States sent 48 representatives, the rest of America 65, and Australia 13.

[2] L'Episcopato cattolico, guerreggiato a morte in ogni contrada dallo "spirito del secolo." Civiltà catt. Ser. vii., vol. ix. p. 17.

spirit of the age; but the choice of members of the special congregations, which was the first business undertaken, showed them how difficult it would be even to give expression to their views. The pope and his congregations were supported by a compact majority of 550 votes, and these kept so well together that the proposals of the minority, whose numbers were less than half those of the papal party, obtained practically no consideration whatever.

Nevertheless, on the first subject brought forward for discussion—a proposal for turning the Syllabus into dogma—strong and active opposition was displayed. The speeches were so vigorous and made so great an impression that it seemed inadvisable to proceed further with the matter in this form. We have mentioned the restrictions in the matter of propositions laid down by the rules of procedure of the council. But freedom of debate, such as was now attempted, was equally opposed to the pope's theory of his prerogative. Pius IX considered it necessary to suppress it.

An addition was made to the rules of procedure by which it was ordained that all objections to any matter brought before the council must be brought forward in writing, accompanied by a draft for amendment. The commissions would then examine the objections, and report on them to the council. Not until this preliminary decision, as it were, had been taken, could any debate take place; and the debate might then be interrupted by the president, and on the motion of ten members might be closed by a majority vote.

Whatever may be said,[1] it is impossible to deny that no thorough and effective discussion could take place under such a system. The object for which the council was originally intended was still more precisely defined. It appeared rather as a Church conference on a large scale, than as an assembly in the style of the old councils. No room was left in it for arguments and counter-arguments.

It was at this stage that the great question of the Infallibility of the Pope, which was already exercising all minds, came up for consideration. The original question was as

[1] Döllinger opposes it with moderation and thoroughness; Veuillot (Rome pendant le Concile, i. 290 ff.), with his unusual enthusiasm, declares in favour of it.

to the relation of this doctrine to the Gallican articles; for it was natural that the convening of the council should bring to memory the old disputes as to the superiority of councils over the pope and the relations between papal and conciliar authority. All legitimate opposition within the Catholic church rested in reality on this antithesis. The difference between the Catholic and the Protestant conception lies above all in this, that the latter rejects the authority, not only of the pope, but of councils, while the former upholds both. The opposition between the two in the Catholic world had, nevertheless, not been reconciled. Louis XIV, who, of all sovereigns in modern times, perhaps rendered the greatest benefits to the ancient Church, proclaimed anew the authority of councils. But Pius IX would never have assembled round him a council with such claims; he clung fast to the superiority of papal authority, and this theory, when freed from all opposition, necessarily led to the doctrine of infallibility. The Vatican Council, which he called together, so far from mentioning the claims of the early councils, was rather to serve to put an end to them altogether; a conciliar decree was to define the infallibility of the Holy See in such a way that no opposition on the part of national churches was to be apprehended. In the preliminary commissions this point was discussed, but no great importance was laid on it. Authentic information does not confirm the opinion that the pope convened the council for the sake of this declaration; but the attitude which he took up leaves no doubt that it was in his mind. The claim to infallibility made all the greater impression, because it was considered only from the point of view of the infallibility of the pope in matters of faith and morals, without direct reference to the Gallican articles.

For one moment there was an idea of bringing about the recognition of papal infallibility by acclamation; but the temper of the assembly made this impossible. The majority, however, presented an address to the council itself, urging it to declare that the authority of the pope was free from all error.[1]

[1] "Ab errore immunem esse Romani pontificis auctoritatem." This address, and the others, can be found in Friedberg, Sammlung von Actenstücken zum ersten vaticanischen Concil, 465.

The address proceeded from the Italian and Spanish bishops, whose ecclesiastical schools clung to the traditions of the middle ages. They were opposed, above all, by the German bishops, whose education rested on an entirely different basis. They maintained, on the one hand, that the council, without the pope, could not be considered as representative of the Church, but, on the other hand, that the decision in matters of faith was dependent on apostolic tradition and the agreement of the Church. They entered a warning against establishing the infallibility of the pope as a dogma: for in their dioceses this would serve their governments as a reason or an excuse for still further limiting the rights of the Church.

The French bishops associated themselves with this address. They repeated most of it as it stood, only omitting a few lines in which the Germans had recognized an independent authority as belonging to the Holy See in the earliest pre-conciliar times; they avoided everything which was directly opposed to the Gallican articles. Independently of these addresses, the Oriental bishops brought to the notice of the pope the difficulties and dangers in which they would be involved by the acceptance of the proposed decree. In England, at the time of the Catholic emancipation, it had been specially stipulated that this doctrine should be abandoned. A warning reminder now came from the Puseyites, who approached closely to the Catholic position, that the promulgation of the doctrine would for ever prevent the union of the Anglican with the Roman church.

But if the proposal for the declaration of infallibility woke such reflections among the body of the clergy, how much more was it calculated to rouse the antagonism of those who regarded the proceedings of the council from the outside! Already, either by accident or design, the scheme concerning the authority of the Church, which had been laid before the council, had been made public; it was well adapted to provoke the opposition of the temporal sovereigns against the claims of the hierarchy as regards public affairs. The French government, which had not yet renounced the Gallican traditions, took advantage of it in the latter half of

February, to enter a protest against the hierarchical tendencies of the council in general. The scheme was concerned immediately only with the infallibility of the Church, which extended not only to dogmas themselves, but to the means to be adopted in order to uphold them; not only to revelation, but also to everything which might be considered necessary to explain and defend it. The minister of foreign affairs in France remarked that it proclaimed the superiority of the ecclesiastical over the civil power, wherever they came into contact; the authority of the Church appeared absolute, independent of the civil power in matters of legislation and jurisdiction. The authority of the Church would thus extend over the constitutive principles of society, the rights and duties of the rulers as well as the ruled, the franchise, and even the family. If the infallibility of the Church was now transferred, as was contemplated, to the pope, all authority of every kind would become dependent upon him. How could it be expected that the princes should yield up their sovereign authority in deference to claims of the Holy See, which had been determined without their compliance? The minister demanded detailed information as to the questions under discussion, and even the admission of a French plenipotentiary to the council.[1]

The object of this demand was very comprehensive; it was nothing less than an adjustment between the strict ecclesiastical doctrines and the constitutional system which had resulted from the movements of the century, between the supreme authority of the Church and the requirements of the various nations. In the French press, especially in the newspapers connected with the government, analogous demonstrations were observed, which even went considerably further. It was urged that the council was no longer free; a minority, which was, however, in reality the majority, if the extent of the bishops' dioceses were considered, was tyrannized over by a majority (really from this point of view the minority) which blindly followed its ultramontane leaders. But the whole conception of a council implied that in its deliberations it should be independent; it was

[1] Despatch of Daru, Feb. 20, in Jules Favre, Rome et la république française, 18.

necessary that it should be convened by the pope, but it must itself determine the subjects of discussion and the forms of procedure. It should only attempt to secure a settlement between the doctrines of the Church and the demands of national life, to bring both into harmony; the Syllabus, for the ratification of which the pope had called it together, should be rejected and annulled. An appeal must be made, it was said, from a fettered assembly to a free genuine council guided by the Holy Ghost, and the present council must be dissolved. It still endured, however. No one had protested against its convocation; it moved on preconceived lines to a predetermined goal. The zealous adherents of the pope saw in the objections now raised, merely a surging up of the ideas of 1789, which had been the cause of all the havoc that had occurred, and which must be firmly opposed. Even supposing that the sovereigns sent representatives to the council, in order to give effect to the ideas of this or that government, they would make no impression on the majority of the assembled bishops; it was not a European, but an oecumenical council. How could bishops, who had come together from all parts of the world, be expected to accept proposals put forward perhaps in conformity with the temporary objects of a French or an Austrian ministry?[1] It was their intention to give wider scope to purely ecclesiastical ideas, and all the protests and demonstrations made against them, all the difficulties which were raised, merely fortified them in their opinions.

In the early days of March, 1870, the pope ordained that to the scheme concerning the Church, a section should be added touching the infallibility of the Roman pontiff. In this scheme[2] the primacy of the Roman church is again emphatically proclaimed, in the sense that the pope is the true representative of Christ, the head of the whole Church, the father, teacher, and supreme judge of all Christians. The opinion that an appeal could be made from the pope to a council, and that the authority of the latter was superior to that of the pope, is expressly interdicted. In the paragraphs which follow,[3] the necessity of a special temporal sovereignty

[1] Extracts from magazine articles in Veuillot, i.
[2] Cap. xi. in Friedberg, 450. [3] Cap. xii. in Friedberg.

for the pope is based on the view that, in order to exercise his divine office with perfect freedom, he must not be subject to any prince. This argument, by which the most extensive ecclesiastical power is connected with the possession of a temporal dominion, was already used by Pius IX. It needed to substantiate it no special declaration of infallibility, which was indeed comprised in the idea of the primacy, as he conceived it; but in view of the many dissentient opinions which were expressed in the council itself, and, as we have seen, met with sympathetic approval outside it from the governments of Europe, such a declaration nevertheless appeared very desirable. The new section now ordained that the bishop of Rome, who had to maintain the truth of the faith, and to settle all disputes connected with it, could not err, when he should define, in matters of faith and morals, what was to be accepted by the whole Church: this was henceforward to be considered as a dogma of the Church.[1]

Meanwhile the Roman government attempted to refute the objections of the French minister, and to allay his apprehensions; they asserted that the proposals contained nothing by which the independence of the civil power was impugned; the ecclesiastical authority claimed only to uphold the ecclesiastical point of view, which was concerned not with this world, but the next; they demanded no direct influence in public affairs. No state could endure without a moral principle behind its institutions, and it was this alone to which the attention of the Church was directed. The object of the new proposals was only to remind the modern world of what was right, in order thereby to bring about peace and well-being. The infallibility of the pope was as old as the Church itself. So far from prejudicing the bishops, it could only contribute to their dignity—and not only that of the bishops, but also of the various governments; for the peace of nations depended on the good understanding of the two powers. The secretary of state avoided any mention of the radical antagonism between the doctrines of

[1] Ut Romanus pontifex, cum supremi omnium Christianorum doctoris munere fungens pro auctoritate definit, quid in rebus fidei et morum ab universa Ecclesia tenendum sit, errare non possit.

the Church and the principles on which the modern state rests; he insisted only on the moral supervision of the Church, which a Catholic ruler could hardly deny.

The French minister, however, was not satisfied with this reply. He proceeded to state his views in a memorandum, which the pope was asked to communicate to the council. This the pope positively refused, though he accepted the document.

A question of the greatest importance in the political and ecclesiastical world now arose, as to whether the French government would persist in their opposition or not. For other governments were also discussing the dangers likely to arise from the theocratical decisions of the council. A conference of representatives was suggested, which should watch the proceedings and counteract the encroachments of ecclesiastical authority. Some result might be expected so long as the opposition in the assembly continued to adopt a vigorous attitude. The opposition laid stress on the necessity for free discussion, which was inherent in the conception of a council; the method of procedure adopted; and more particularly the new rules, were entirely opposed to the freedom of the Church. In all councils, from that of Nicaea to that of Trent, the rule had been that the decision in matters of doctrine should depend, not on the vote of the majority, but on a moral unanimity of the assembly. In the special debate on the introduction to the scheme "de fide," which was the first to be discussed, the Bishop of Syrmia and Bosnia caused great offence, because he rejected the attacks on Protestantism contained in it; and still more when he proceeded to attack the rules of procedure in that decisive point—that, not by means of a numerical authority, but by moral unanimity, could a council define and draw up decrees which should be binding both as regards this world and the next. The present procedure would have the effect of shutting out freedom and truth from the council. This expression of opinion provoked such a tumult in the assembly that the bishop was unable to continue his speech; the president did not interfere. Next day the bishop complained of the treatment he had received, and demanded all the more strongly a decisive declaration on the question

that had been raised; otherwise he did not know whether he could remain in the council, in which the freedom of the bishops was so entirely set at naught. This protestation was approved by a considerable number of other bishops, so that between a section of the bishops and the opposing governments a certain community of interests and ideas came into existence, which appeared likely to lead to further results. For now, as in old times, it was to the interest of the governments to vindicate for the bishops, with whom they stood in daily relationship, some amount of independence of the Holy See. The unlimited authority of the pope was vexatious to both.

Looking at the matter from a historical standpoint, it must be remembered that the condition of affairs which had existed for three and a half centuries in Germany, and on which the whole development of the German nation is based, would have been impossible had the dependence of the episcopacy on the papacy been as complete as it was now endeavoured to make it. For the popes had never acknowledged, and could hardly be expected to acknowledge, the peace of Augsburg. But the bishops of the empire, the German hierarchy, had acknowledged it, even in opposition to the papacy. The peace of Augsburg has always been looked upon as based on justice, and the popes have never ventured to take active steps against it. The higher clergy in Germany have thus attained a position at once historically invaluable, and to the nation altogether beneficial. Though this state of things had been ended by the dissolution of the hierarchical body, there was, nevertheless, no decree subjecting the ecclesiastical authority in the empire to that of the pope. It would have been in accordance with old tradition, had the changes of the times brought about the establishment of a relationship which should give opportunity in case of need for an autonomous alliance between the governments and their bishops. For any successful result on these lines, however, it would have been necessary that the governments should hold together with fixed determination, and that the bishops should firmly maintain their position. The French government had a means of pressure in their hands; their troops were in

occupation of Cività Vecchia; and it had been said that only under their protection could the council take place.[1] Owing to this state of affairs, the political movements of the time were bound up with the question of the council. That the representatives of the powers on whom most depended —Prussia, Austria, and France—would come to an understanding and agree to collective action, seemed in the spring of 1870 not probable. The popular and military agitation in France, where the ascendency which Prussia had won over Austria in the last war was found intolerable, roused apprehensions of the outbreak of a new European war, in which possibly Austria would also be involved. The position of the French government was not such that it could afford to alienate either of the opposing parties in Italy.

It has been stated[2] that a motion was brought forward at this moment in the French ministry to compel the pope to agree to the proposals made to him, by withdrawing the troops from Cività Vecchia; for a deliberation must not be allowed to continue by which the civil and political constitution of France would be condemned; and also from the general ecclesiastical point of view the Church must be held back from a course which would for ever separate it from modern ideas. At the Tuileries, however, the opinions just indicated prevailed. To Louis XIV Gallicanism had been an instrument of his policy; Napoleon III demanded the resignation of the clergy devoted to the pope and of the pope himself. And besides this, the French had not been sent to Cività Vecchia as a protection for the council, but to guard the Papal States against Italian invasions. It could not be intended to abandon the papal territory on a matter connected with the council. Thus, since the other powers

[1] This opinion was expressed at the very beginning in the Civiltà catt. Ser. vii., vol. ii. p. 9: "Conservando allo stato pontificio un presidio militare, che è di guarentigia validissima alla pace del concilio."

[2] Jules Favre, p. 26: "Le ministre des affaires étrangères n'avait plus qu'à rompre et à exiger le retrait de nos troupes. S'il faut en croire une lettre publiée par une de ces indiscrétions trop familières aux affaires de ce genre, il en avait exprimé l'intention. Le cabinet recula devant une résolution si grave et ne consultant qu'une délicatesse assez rare qu'on la puisse louer, M. le comte Daru donna sa démission."

raised no protest—for they considered themselves strong enough to be able to prevent any decrees which were unacceptable to them from being carried out—Pius IX retained a perfectly free hand from this side. His plan of excluding the secular powers from all participation in the ecclesiastical deliberations was actually accepted by these powers; the European situation could not have been more favourable to the pope. The opposition within the council, too, became daily weaker.

With regard to the introduction and the subsequent articles "de fide," after the arguments raised by the minority had been considered, they were passed without much opposition. The new order of procedure was thereby substantially recognized.

After this experience of the temper of the council, the pope was encouraged to proceed to the question of infallibility. As already mentioned, this was originally intended to be included in the scheme concerning the Church. The deliberations upon this scheme, however, were prolonged more than was desired, and the question of infallibility was therefore introduced separately. On May 10 the pope had the draft of a constitution distributed, which, under a title of general import, contained mainly the dogma of papal infallibility. In it the doctrine of the superiority of the council over the pope, as well as that of the power of appeal from papal to conciliar authority, were again condemned. It is emphatically stated that the decisions of the Roman throne do not require the ratification of the secular power in order to be valid. Special stress is laid on the fundamental principles which had formerly been asserted during the controversies between the Roman and the Greek church. It is somewhat astonishing to find that in this document of the second half of the nineteenth century words are repeated which, more than thirteen centuries earlier, a patriarch of Constantinople wrote to the pope of Rome at the demand of the latter. They are words which contain the most solemn recognition of the claims of the Roman throne and of its infallibility that it is possible to conceive.[1]

[1] The recognition of the infallibility of the Roman pope is expressed in precisely the same words as the declaration of the patriarch

The significance of the decisions of the second council of Lyons and of the council of Florence, which had been called in question by others, is here maintained as beyond all doubt; the scope of papal infallibility is increased to its widest extent. It all forms a single chain of claims and demands for which it was now hoped to obtain a universal recognition such as they had never yet had.

The general debate began on May 14.

Again the arguments based on public opinion in the different states and the effect which the decree would have, were brought forward. It was said that in Switzerland it would work in favour of the Radicals; the Protestants in England even wished for it; the Catholics in Ireland were by no means favourable. There was no denying the fact that German scholarship was ranged in opposition to the decree. The Americans said that in the United States only a church possessed of the utmost freedom could hope to progress; in that country it was held that as kings exist for the sake of their people, so the pope exists for the sake of the Church, to be of service to it, not to tyrannize over it. The Bishop of Syrmia remarked that the eight millions of Catholics in Croatia would find their life among their countrymen of other creeds made much more difficult, and would indeed themselves be shaken in their faith. The Archbishop of Prague gave it as his opinion that among the Bohemians the effect of the decree would be that they would become first schismatics and then Protestants. The most comprehensive view was that of Darboy, Archbishop of Paris. He contended that the declaration of infallibility would neither invigorate oriental Christianity, nor promote the conversion of the heathen, nor aid in bringing back the Protestants into the bosom of the Catholic church; and, above all, in the Catholic states it would have injurious results. Legislation and government was everywhere entirely secular in character; even the family was affected by this spirit, through the marriage laws; and it was now intended to impose a new dogma on people who were trying to free themselves from the burden

John in 519 to Pope Hormisdas: "Prima salus est, quia in sede apostolica inviolabilis semper catholica custoditur religio" (Labbe, viii, 451, 452).

of old doctrines, and this by means of an assembly whose independence was gravely questioned. But the world would not allow truth to be forced upon it in the form of a command; the Syllabus was known throughout the whole of Europe: what good had it done, even in places where it was accepted as an infallible oracle? In two specially Catholic countries, Spain and Austria, it had aroused an agitation prejudicial to religion. The archbishop hinted that the decree would lead in France to the separation of Church and State, and that this example would be followed elsewhere in Europe.[1] The force of these arguments, and the impression which they made, renewed the courage of the minority once more; and when the general debate was suddenly suspended, it was proposed that they should withdraw from all further active participation in the council, or should protect themselves by energetic protests. But there were internal bonds which made all serious opposition impossible—the veneration inspired by the pope, who had convened the assembly, and the general devotion to the Church shared by all.

In the special debate, which began on June 6, and on June 15 reached the fourth and critical section with reference to infallibility, yet another doctrinal aspect of the question came up for consideration. A cardinal of the Dominican order (who were never very friendly with the Jesuits), in conjunction with fifteen other Dominican bishops, asserted that the infallibility of the pope was not based on any kind of personal inspiration, but only existed when the pope gave expression to the opinion of the bishops and of the universal Church. He proposed a canon, the purport of which was that the pope does not promulgate his definitions according to his own free will, but according to the counsel of the bishops, who represent the tradition of the Church.[2] He quoted from Thomas Aquinas, whose

[1] Speech of Darboy, May 20, in Friedrich, Documenta ad illustrandum concilium Vaticanum, ii. p. 415.

[2] "Facta, ut mos est, inquisitione de traditione quoad veritatem definiendam in aliis Ecclesiis collatoque aliquando consilio cum pluribus vel paucioribus episcopis juxta rei gravitatem et difficultatem, Papam vi assistentiae divinae Ipsi repromissae errare non posse." Friedrich, Documenta, i. p. 421.

words he interpreted in this sense. This objection was entirely unexpected, and aroused the special indignation of the pope, who is said to have remarked, "La tradizione son' io" [I am the tradition]. He accused the cardinal of supporting the Liberal Catholics, the revolution, and the Court of Florence. In the next congregation[1] the cardinal was informed that in this matter it did not depend so much on the bishops (whose authority was indeed derived from that of the pope) as on the aid of the Holy Ghost. But the question was still not settled. The belief in the infallibility of the Church is an essential part of Catholicism; and thus the greatest weight has at all times been laid on the utterances of bishops and doctors, especially when they meet together in a council. A right has been ascribed to them, which is based on their own inherent authority.[2] The most distinguished teachers of modern times deduce the infallibility of the Church from the fact that the Saviour lives on in the Church, the Divine in the Human. The question now was through whom it received expression. Many people brought the charge against the council that it was not qualified to interpret the collective mind of the Church. To this argument the pope paid little heed; although he upheld the validity of the decisions arrived at by the council which he had convened, and acknowledged the value of the concurrence of the bishops, yet he did not believe himself to be bound by their decrees.

In the revised scheme, which was laid before the council on July 13, participation in infallibility was entirely denied to episcopal authority. It was recalled, that it had often happened that the bishops, either singly or in a body, in difficult questions that had arisen concerning the faith, had turned to the Holy See, in order to seek a cure for their

[1] Quirinus, Römische Briefe von Concil, p. 556.

[2] "Per quos tandem nos docet Spiritus in Ecclesia veritatem? Per eos plane, quos Apostolus testatur a Spiritu sancto, ut Ecclesiam regant, esse constitutos, quales vocat Episcopos, Praepositos, Pastores itidem atque Doctores. Horum vero auctoritas cum in aliis, tum in sacris Synodis quam maxime cernitur, ubi de fide ac religione illi non modo definire quaedam, sed suo etiam jure ac pro auctoritate Apostolica contestari possunt ac dicere: 'Visum est Spiritu sancto et nobis,' sicut ex actis constat primi Consilii Hierosolymis celebrati."

evils there, where the faith is never wanting.[1] Not seldom has the pope found it expedient to give forth in general councils or in special synods a definition concerning which he knew, with the help of God, that it agreed with revelation and the apostolical traditions. For the assistance of the Holy Ghost was promised to the popes of Rome, in order that they might be able to hold and to expound the faith delivered to them by the apostles. The successors of St. Peter had been endowed with a faith which could not fail, in order that the Church might be maintained in its unity without danger of a schism. In the earlier drafts it had been laid down that infallibility should be declared an article of faith; but now it was asserted with still greater emphasis as a God-revealed dogma that the pope of Rome, when he speaks *ex cathedra*, *i.e.* when by virtue of his apostolic authority he defines doctrines concerning faith and morals for the whole of Christendom, enjoys the infallibility which Christ promised to his Church. To Pius IX it was a matter of indifference whether the bishops who were present were competent to represent and express the mind of the Church; he had no need of them; for he claimed for the throne of St. Peter the infallibility promised to the Church. It had already been said that the pope promulgated definitions of faith *ex sese* (by his own authority), and in order to leave no room for doubt, these words were added to the draft; the agreement of the Church was not necessary.[2]

In this shape the definition came up for the final vote on July 18, 1870. Pius IX appeared in full pontificals and occupied the papal throne. The approaches to the hall were thrown wide open. Although the proposition ran counter to the previously asserted claims to independent authority on the part of the bishops, it was practically unopposed. It is true that a considerable number of bishops were absent from one cause or another; but by those who

[1] "Ubi fides non potest sentire defectum."

[2] "Romani pontificis definitiones ex sese, non autem ex consensu Ecclesiae, irreformabiles esse." Acta et decreta Oecum. concilii Vaticani (Romae 1872, p. 172; Frib. Brisg., 1871, p. 187). In Bishop Martin's "Omnium concilii Vaticani documentorum collectio," p. 20, the words "non autem ex concensu Ecclesiae" are omitted.

were present, 535 in number, the dogma was accepted almost unanimously; only two voted "non placet." This result of the voting was received with general jubilation. In perfect silence the assembly then listened to the final decision of the pope, who rose from his throne and confirmed, with apostolic authority, the articles which had been read and to which the holy council had agreed. At the same moment a storm of thunder and lightning broke over the Vatican,[1] and the ardent adherents of the papacy had no hesitation in conjuring up the recollection of the announcement of the Mosaic law on Mount Sinai.[2]

The council was not concluded with this session; it was only adjourned. But the decree which had been promulgated and had met with such enthusiastic sanction was in itself of far-reaching importance.

The question of the relation between episcopal and pastoral, papal and conciliar authority, which had been a cause of strife for so many centuries, was now decided in favour of the absolute power of the papal throne. An end was made to the struggles after nationality in the Church, represented by the bishops, whose success at one time seemed inevitable. And, what was considered almost the greatest result of all, recognition was made of a living authority, resting on divine influence, amid the dissensions of the world which had arisen from the very fact that men would recognize no authority at all. It was the ecclesiastical idea in the most personal form. So had Pius IX ever conceived his goal; he had now reached it. But as the infallible pope had delivered judgment against all the innovations of modern life, he now received the strongest possible confirmation of this attitude, approved by the assembled bishops of the Church.

No bishop could now dare to oppose the dogma which had been announced without imperilling his existence and falling out with the authority on which his own mainly rested. There could be no doubt that the declaration of infallibility must, in course of time, exercise the greatest influence on the Catholic states. Also, on the other hand,

[1] Stimmen aus Maria-Laach, Neue Folge, x. p. 100.
[2] Veuillot, Rome pendant le Concile, ii. p. 431.

the reaction against which the pope was warned, but to which he gave no attention, was bound to set in. That, however, was not the most important eventuality impending.

In the very days in which the pope was announcing and confirming his infallibility, the war broke out between France and Prussia. I cannot find definitely that the French aggression was influenced by religious motives. But who could say what might have happened, if the fortune of war had given victory to the Catholic nation? What new ascendancy, even in the attitude which it adopted, would thereby have accrued to the papacy?

The result was otherwise. A power was victorious which had risen in antagonism to the exclusive hegemony of the papacy, and was now at the same time fighting for German interests. She succeeded to a position which ensured for her a decisive part in the universal political and religious movements agitating the world. A convinced Protestant might say that this result was the divine decision against the claim of the pope to be the only interpreter on earth of faith and the divine mysteries.

The outbreak of war was immediately fatal to the existence of the States of the Church, not only because France had military reasons for withdrawing her troops, but also because she had to consider how to maintain the neutrality of Italy. It was said, in order to reassure that power, that it was necessary to extract the thorn from her foot, which consisted in the preservation of the temporal power of the pope. The Italians saw in the Papal States, even as they then were, a centre of reaction, which they could not brook, or even the danger of a republican revolution, which they dare not permit. Since meanwhile the French empire was conquered by the Prussian arms, they received a perfectly free hand. It was impossible to think of defending Rome against a great Italian army with the volunteers who surrounded the pope. The pope gave way not without dignity. He entered into no agreement, but he allowed the occupation to take place without any real opposition. Since it could not be otherwise, he himself gave orders for the white flag to be flown from the castle of St. Angelo. To the troops who had gathered in his defence, he gave his blessing from

the steps of St. Peter's. He withdrew into his spiritual authority, in the unhindered exercise of which the Italians had guaranteed him against all the other powers.

To what an extent this will be possible under the altered circumstances,—on this will depend the present and the future.

LIST OF POPES,

EMPERORS, AND KINGS OF SPAIN AND FRANCE SINCE THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

	Popes.	Emperors.	Kings of Spain.	Kings of France.
1492	Alexander VI (Lenzuoli, afterwards Borgia)	Frederick IV	Ferdinand V	Charles VIII
1493		Maximilian I		
1498				Louis XII
1503	Pius III (Todeschini)			
1503	Julius II (della Rovere)			
1513	Leo X (de' Medici)			
1515				Francis I
1516			Charles I (Emp. Chas. V)	
1519		Charles V		
1522	Adrian VI (of Utrecht)			
1523	Clement VII (de' Medici)			
1534	Paul III (Farnese)			
1547				Henry II
1550	Julius III (del Monte)			
1555	Marcellus II (Cervini)			
1555	Paul IV (Caraffa)			
1556			Philip II	
1558		Ferdinand I		
1559	Pius IV (Medici)			Francis II
1560				Charles IX
1564		Maximilian II		
1566	Pius V (Ghislieri)			
1572	Gregory XIII (Buoncompagno)			
1574				Henry III
1576		Rudolf II		
1585	Sixtus V (Peretti, Montalto)			
1589				Henry IV
1590	Urban VII (Castagna)			
1590	Gregory XIV (Sfondrato)			
1591	Innocent IX (Fachinetto)			
1592	Clement VIII (Aldobrandini)			
1598			Philip III	
1605	Leo XI (de' Medici)			
1605	Paul V (Borghese)			Louis XIII
1610				
1612		Matthias		
1619		Ferdinand II		
1621	Gregory XV (Ludovisio)		Philip IV	
1623	Urban VIII (Barberini)			
1637		Ferdinand III		

	Popes.	Emperors.	Kings of Spain.	Kings of France.
1643				Louis XIV
1644	Innocent X (Pamfili)			
1655	Alexander VII (Chigi)			
1658		Leopold I		
1665			Charles II	
1667	Clement IX (Rospigliosi)			
1670	Clement X (Altieri)			
1676	Innocent XI (Odescalchi)			
1689	Alexander VIII (Ottoboni)			
1691	Innocent XII (Pignatelli)			
1700	Clement XI (Albani)		Philip V	
1705		Joseph I		
1711		Charles VI		
1715				Louis XV
1720	Innocent XIII (Conti)			
1724	Benedict XIII (Orsini)			
1730	Clement XII (Corsini)			
1740	Benedict XIV (Lambertini)			
1742		Charles VII		
1745		Francis I		
1746			Ferdinand VI	
1758	Clement XIII (Rezzonico)			
1759			Charles III	
1765		Joseph II		
1769	Clement XIV (Ganganelli)			
1774				Louis XVI
1775	Pius VI (Braschi)			
1788			Charles IV	
1790		Leopold II		
1792		Francis II		
1799				Napoleon Bonaparte
1800	Pius VII (Chiaramonti)			
1808			Ferdinand VII	
1814				Louis XVIII
1823	Leo XII (della Genga)			
1824				Charles X
1829	Pius VIII (Castiglioni)			
1830				Louis Philippe
1831	Gregory XVI (Capellari)			
1833			Isabella II	
1846	Pius IX (Mastai-Ferretti)			
1848				Louis Napoleon
1878	Leo XIII (Pecci)			
1903	Pius X (Sarto)			

END OF VOL. II

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